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Modern Philology

VOL. II.

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No. 1.

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED CHANÇUN DE WILLAME.

I.

THE discovery of a new epic in the *Cycle de Guillaume* could hardly fail to be received with astonishment, and, in some cases, with incredulity. It must have struck many like the discovery of a new planet in a system all of whose members were supposed long since to have been known and catalogued. It will indeed be necessary now to change the chart and to indicate upon it the presence of a strange and peculiar orb.

The circumstances connected with the discovery and publication of the *Chanson de Guillaume* are mysterious and as yet unexplained. No one, apparently, had ever heard of the existence in England or elsewhere of such a poem, nor had any catalogue, as far as I know, ever shown such a title until the sale of the library of the late Sir Henry Hope Edwardes, in May, 1901.¹ The catalogue announcing this sale seems not to have been widely circulated, and no one apparently noticed the title in question until the fortunate purchaser published the MS in June, 1903.² Even then several months appear to have passed before any scholars realized what the publication meant. In common with others I saw the announcement of the publication of such a book, but did not think that it could be a matter of any consequence until friends wrote me from Paris of the priceless

¹ Vide *Romania*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 395, 597, 598.

² *La Chançon de Willame*, printed at the Chiswick Press, in an edition limited to two hundred copies.

discovery. Finally, thanks doubtless to the generosity of the unknown owner of the MS, a copy was sent me, arriving in December last. I take this opportunity to thank publicly my unknown benefactor. The owner of the MS conceals his identity with unprecedented modesty. He deserves richly the thanks of Romance scholars the world over for so promptly and excellently printing this first edition. The volume is indeed beautifully printed, in type almost as perfect as the writing of the MS itself, and with red initial letters at the beginning of the *laisses*. Very wisely, no attempt was made to edit the text; hence we enjoy the rare privilege of possessing an exact copy of an invaluable original.

To M. Paul Meyer belongs the honor—certainly not the least in his distinguished career—of having written the first notice and analysis of the newly discovered epic.¹ In the following pages a liberal use will be made of this article of M. Meyer.

The *Chançon de Willame* is a Norman French copy of a poem belonging, as its name indicates, to the *Cycle de Guillaume*. The poem is in assonance, and numbers 3,553 lines. The MS appears to be complete,² is in an English hand, and was written, according to M. Meyer, about the middle of the thirteenth century. It has evidently remained in England ever since, probably in obscure private libraries, so that it has had no effect on the subsequent development of the legend in France, where there once existed, as we shall see, a poem of the same name, the prototype of the present song. The redaction of the poem, in the opinion of M. Meyer, goes back to the first half of the twelfth century. While this date may prove to be correct, we shall see that the epic preserves references to a stage of the legend which belongs to the eleventh century. The versification and the language of the poem, especially of the first eighteen hundred lines, are in a regrettable condition. A large number of lines have too many or too few syllables; the transition from one assonance to another

¹ *Romania*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 597-618.

² M. MEYER, loc. cit., p. 598, is of the opinion that the MS is incomplete at the end. It seems to me, on the contrary, complete. The ending, to be sure, is somewhat abrupt, but the story has all been told. The evidence, such as it is, of the *Willehalm* goes to indicate a somewhat abrupt close. One indication that the poem is drawing to an end is the recurrence, after a long interruption, of the peculiar refrain which terminates a large number of the *laisses* in the first twenty-three hundred lines (vide l. 3436 to close).

occurs not infrequently in the middle of a sentence. The existence of these irregularities and the corruption of the language indicate that the copyist was either incapable of appreciating correctness, or performed his task with criminal indifference. One of the most peculiar things in this peculiar poem is the sort of refrain which terminates many of the *laissez* in that part of the poem which precedes the entry of the hero into Orange, vs. 2326, and which occurs only with extreme rareness thereafter.¹ This refrain is much more frequent in the first thirteen hundred lines than in the succeeding one thousand. A partial explanation for the irregular and rapidly changing assonance, especially in the first eighteen hundred lines, is to be found in the condensation which this part of the poem has undergone. In the first part of the poem the *remanieurs* seem to be hurrying over the events, as if in haste to arrive at scenes of greater interest, or as if they felt ill at ease among passages whose allusions and bearings they did not grasp. This remark applies above all to the first thirteen hundred lines, where the narration is so lacking in consecutiveness and reasonableness that we are at times unable to comprehend. The geography of these lines is fantastical, and must be carefully examined before it is accepted in any important particular. The vagueness of the topography and the paucity of proper names make one inclined to believe that the originals of these passages were probably copied a number of times in England, and that they lost no small part of their individuality at each copying.²

The literary workmanship of the *Chançon de Willame* is rough, but it is the roughness of a primitive monument. The monument, to be sure, has been defaced, but one can still discern the power, simplicity, and directness of the original. Several of the scenes of the poem, even as they stand now, will rank among the celebrated passages of the Old French epic. The range of feeling shown in the *Chançon de Willame* is remarkable,³ considerably greater than that of the *Roland*, for example. Unlike

¹ This is explainable by the fact that the parts of the poem indicated do not come from the same source.

² The frequent mention of *rivage de mer* (52) may be taken to indicate that the public before whom the poem was sung had a feeling for the sea.

³ Many passages indicate a sense of humor (vide, for instance, ll. 1610-17).

the *Roland*, however, the poem does not present the defeats and victories of princes and armies which represent the fatherland itself.¹ We feel at no time in the narration that France is menaced or betrayed. Nor is the defense of Christianity made one of the leading motifs of the story. The epic is largely feudal, and our interest, in the main, is in the fortunes of a single family of heroes.

One of the most remarkable things about the new poem is the ballad quality of many passages in the first part. Several of these passages are veritable ballads. No other *chanson de geste* shows so clearly the possible relation of the ballad to epic verse. It will be well to cite one passage to illustrate this, giving the text without any effort whatever at amendment. The moment is that when Vivien sends Girart for aid to Guillaume, who is at Barcelona. Nearly all of Vivien's men have been slain; some have abandoned him. He says to Girart:²

- Amis Girard, es tu sein del cors?
 Oil, dist il, et dedenz et defors.
 Di dunc, Girard, coment te contennent tes armes?
 625 Par fei, sire, bones sunt et aates,
 Cum a tel home qui n'ad fait granz batailles,
 Et, si bosoinz est, qui referat altres.
 Di dunc, Girard, sentes tu alques ta vertu?
 Et cil respunt que unques plus fort ne fu.
 630 Di dunc, Girard, cum se content tun cheval?
 Tost se laissed, et ben se tient et dreit.
 3 Amis Girard, si io te ossasse quere
 Que par la lune me alasses a Willame!
 Va si me di a Willame mun uncle
 635 Si li remembre del champ del Saraguce,
 Quant il se combati al paen Alderufe.

Vivien charges Girart to recall to his uncle a number of occasions when he rendered him signal service, and to urge him, by the memory of this service, to come and aid him now in turn.³

¹ The name France appears less than a score of times.

² The corresponding scene of the *Covenant Vivien* is found in ll. 833-905, which are vastly inferior to those before us. This scene in the *Storie Nerbonesi* is found in Vol. II, p. 157; it is interesting to note that Vivien, according to this recital (vide p. 156), has recently aided Girart to mount a good horse. Cf. *Aliscans*, ed. ROLIN, ll. 190 ff., which offer a similar passage.

³ One of these injunctions is quoted by M. MEYER, loc. cit., p. 606.

The ballad quality continues throughout these lines. He closes his injunctions with a message to his brother and one to his aunt:

- Sez que dirras a Guiot, mun petit frere?
 De hui a quinze anz ne deust ceindre espee,
 680 Mais ore la ceindrat pur secure le fiz sa mere!
 Aider me vienge en estrange cuntree!
 Sez que dirras dame Guiberc, ma drue?
 Si li remembre de la grant nurreture¹
 Plus de .xv. anz qu'ele ad vers mei eue.
 685 Ore gardez pur Deu qu'ele ne seit perdue!
 Qu'ele m'enveit sun seigneur en aie!
 Se le ne m'enveit le cunte, d'altre n'ai io ceu.²

The poem is almost equally remarkable for the large number of lines that express a proverb or something akin thereto: *Or est tut sage quant ad dormi assez* (l. 115, of one who has been sleeping off drunkenness); *A home mort ne devez pas mentir* (l. 595); [*Ia*] *n'est nul si grant que petit ne fust né* (l. 1464); *Cors as d'enfant et raisun as de ber* (l. 1636, repeated in ll. 1478 and 1976). There are many other lines whose expression is so apt, and whose facility of application to the affairs of life is so great, that they must have been of frequent use among those who heard the epic sung. These lines are of such happy wording that the memory refuses to give them up. Some of the lines just quoted are of this sort. Here is a humble example drawn from the latter part of the poem: A clown-like hero goes into battle armed with a bludgeon, with which he does terrible execution. He finally breaks his bludgeon, the enemy surround him, but he fights with his fists and works such havoc that the pagans cry: *Ore est il pire qu'il ne fu al tinel* (l. 3316). We read of a man who sleeps sprawled out by the hearth in the kitchen: *Tiel gist sur cuille qui ne dort si suef* (l. 2894). Of course, a homely expression like this last must have been current long before the song of William was composed, and must have penetrated into a number of poems.

The discovery of the MS preserves for us, almost in its entirety, the lost *Renoart*, which, in a much less altered form than in

¹ It is perhaps needless to say that this word does not mean food.

² This line offers an excellent example of the corruption of the text. It should read: *Se le ne m'enveit, d'altre n'ai io cure*, and the last word in the preceding line should be *aue*.

Aliscans, constitutes the close of the *Chançon de Willame*. The *Renoart* begins with l. 2647, *De la quisine al rei issit un bacheler*, and continues, with only slight interpolations, to the end of the MS, the space of about nine hundred lines. The beginning of the *Renoart* is of course lacking, by the exigencies of its union with sources originally independent. It may be doubted whether the lost beginning counted more than two hundred lines.

The *Chançon de Willame* is an antecedent type of *Aliscans*, but it is not the archetype. It itself is the result of a number of blendings and *remaniements*, the traces of which are perfectly visible to unprejudiced eyes. Indeed, the poem offers in its present form an object-lesson in the fusion of epic fragments, and is the most valuable single monument for a study of the development of the *Cycle de Guillaume*. The poem was made by the blending of several different songs concerning the hero; it unites in one poem his salient exploits in several, and thus deserves the title so well given it in the MS: *La Chançon de Willame*, "The Song of William" *par excellence*. It is to be hoped, by the way, that no one will ever propose to call this epic *Aliscans*—a word which does not occur in the entire poem.

While we are speaking of the name of the new epic, it is interesting to note that we can now see why Wolfram von Eschenbach did not call his poem *Aliscans*. The original which he was translating evidently bore the title *La Chanson de Guillaume*, called familiarly the *Guillaume*, as we say the *Roland*. He remained faithful to the title, and called his translation the *Willehalm*.

Turning now from more general considerations, it is my purpose to set down here some brief notes resulting from my first readings of this remarkable text. The value of first impressions, even if they prove later to be somewhat erroneous, cannot be denied.

When a person familiar with the *Cycle de Guillaume* begins to read for the first time the *Willame*, his feeling is one of surprise and amazement. This feeling, if he happens to have any theories of his own concerning the cycle, gives way to consternation—to consternation so profound as to yield (if at all) only to persistent and resourceful treatment. The story is all so new!

Where are the old landmarks? We seek them in vain. For a while all the theories about *Aliscans*—if this be, indeed, the prototype of *Aliscans*—seem to come tumbling to the ground. After reading about fifteen hundred lines, however, one begins to understand: the poem is, indeed, an early form of what we call *Aliscans*—so early that it does not bear the name *Aliscans*, nor does it even mention the name; but, what is more interesting, the poem recounts twice the hero's expedition to the relief of his nephew! The two versions are there as clear as day, side by side, differing from each other sufficiently for the easy conscience of some copyist or *remanieur* to place them thus without suspecting that they were one and the same story!¹ But let us begin at the beginning of the poem.

The opening scenes of the *chanson* are the ones that make it most difficult to recognize the story. Who are this Tedbald and this Esturmi who meet us on the very first page? We finish the episode, and are still perplexed. We are puzzled, too, at an occasional note of levity in the presence of an impending disaster. As a matter of fact, the opening scenes have nothing to correspond to them in *Aliscans*, which begins at a much later point in the narration. The beginning of *Aliscans* is in fact visibly truncated; the action opens so abruptly that we do not know what has brought on the conflict. The *Willame*, on the other hand, begins farther back in the story, and offers, although in condensed form, some explanation of the events that are to follow. Its opening lines, too, unlike those of *Aliscans*, are cast in the traditional mould of the ancient epics. The more recent poem, *Aliscans*, as will appear later, takes up the story at a point not far from l. 1700 of the *Willame*, and retains little, if anything, of what precedes, beyond some of the last acts of Vivien and his death. In this light the absence of Tedbald and his nephew from the newer poem need occasion no surprise, since the part of the action in which they seem to have played a rôle has been cut off.

The expression, "in which they seem to have played a rôle," is used advisedly, for it may be that the episode in which they appear has strayed in from some other source. As a matter of

¹ The facts, as will appear later, allow another and more complex explanation of this strange duality of action.

fact the episode does not aid in any marked degree the action, save that we see that Vivien was abandoned by some who should have remained with him. His courage is perhaps heightened by comparison with their cowardice. On the whole it is more than likely that these "heroes" belong here, for several reasons. In the first place, their very presence in an episode of such length indicates that they are "original;" in the second place, the last *remanieur*, indifferent and careless as he was, appears to have omitted and—very rarely—to have transposed, but he does not seem to have cared enough about his task to introduce episodes foreign to his sources. Finally, a reference in the *Enfances Vivien* (ll. 3805 ff.) says of Estourmi that later, *en la bataille Vivien lou vaillant*, he fled, precisely as we shall see his uncle flee in the poem we are considering.¹

One of the first things in the poem which attracts our attention is the confused ideas of geography which prevail. It will be well, however, before discussing this subject, to resume in a very few sentences the events of the first part of the poem.

Deramé, at the head of a numerous army of Saracens, arrives at "Mont Gironde," and attacks Vivien, who is abandoned by Tedbalt and Estourmi. These typical cowards flee with their men. Vivien has with him Girart,² who follows the cowards long enough to inflict indignities upon them, and to possess himself of arms and steed at their expense. He then returns to aid Vivien, who, when nearly all his men are slain, sends him to Guillaume for help. Guillaume is at Barcelona, and sets out the next morning with thirty thousand men. Guiborc, also, is at Barcelona, and intrusts to him her own nephew, Guischart, charging him to bring him back alive or dead. Vivien has perished long before the arrival of his uncle, and the Saracens have loaded the booty into their ships, and are waiting for a wind to sail away.³ The nobles and leaders of the Saracens had gone to examine "Terre

¹ The *Willame*, ll. 252-402. One thing that would have favored the retention of any humorous episode, like that of these two, is the tendency of the poem toward humor. It must be admitted that a number of lines in the episode of Tedbalt and Estourmi are genuinely comic.

² Vivien calls Girart "cousin": vide ll. 459, 649; cf. l. 690.

³ This statement, which recurs, gives quite the setting of the invasions of the Northmen, and is perhaps to be considered along with the respect shown for the *meillurs homes de rivage de mer* (l. 52 and *statim*).

Certaine.”¹ Guillaume attacks them, and is at first successful, but is overwhelmed by a fresh division from “Segune Tere.” All of his knights are slain. Guillaume bears away with him the body of Guischart, according to his promise to Guiborc. He arrives, apparently at Barcelona, and finds Guiborc, who in his absence has gathered another army. He sets out in the morning with thirty thousand men, and is followed by Gui, the brother of Vivien, a mere lad. When they arrive at the scene of the battle, the Saracens have already carried the booty into the ships, and are waiting for a wind. Their nobles and leaders, however, have gone to see Terre Certaine, and are feasting at table when Guillaume and his followers attack them and put them to flight. Unfortunately, Deramé himself comes onto the scene with a fresh division, takes prisoner Bertram, Guielin, Guischart, Galter de Termes, and Reiner, no one of whom, unless it be Guischart, has been present thus far in the poem, and slays all the rest of the Christians, save Gui. The uncle and his diminutive nephew fight on through improbable combats, and finally wound and kill Deramé, whose horse falls to the lot of Gui. Before he dies, Deramé “regrets” his horse, just as does Aerofle in *Aliscans*. Gui is soon slightly separated from his uncle, who comes upon Vivien, expiring, but still able to speak. Vivien dies, and his uncle tries to carry away his body on his horse, but is forced to replace it upon the ground. Gui is taken prisoner. Guillaume remains entirely alone, and is attacked by Alderufe, whose leg Guillaume cuts off, just as he had done with Deramé; like him, Alderufe, lying wounded, “regrets” his horse, which his adversary has seized. Guillaume slays the horse on which he had been riding, and puts the Saracen out of his misery. He arrives at last before Orange, here mentioned by name for the second time in the series of events; the porter refuses to admit him, as does at first Guiborc also; she sends him to liberate some prisoners who are being led by and then admits him.² In her inquiries as

¹ This name occurs in the following passages of the poem: ll. 229, 1095, 1116, 1686, 1703. The same name appears in the *Roland*, l. 856, and in *Foucon*, p. 137.

² In an invaluable passage, ll. 665-75 (cited by M. MEYER, loc. cit., p. 606) Vivien bids the messenger recall to his uncle how he with Bertram came to his rescue in the battle under the walls of Orange, where he slew Tibaut. In this passage the mention of Orange is thus retrospective. The first mention of Orange in the action of the poem is in l. 2054.

to his nephews she names Vivien, Bertram, Gui, Walter, Guielin, and Reiner. No mention is made of Guischart.¹ He answers that Vivien is dead, the others prisoners.

This brief analysis of the first part of the poem, taken with that given by M. P. Meyer, will enable one to follow the argument here unfolded.

The events narrated include two redactions of the battle of the Archamp: one, which we may call A, beginning at about l. 450 and extending to about l. 1326; the other, which we may call B, beginning, roughly speaking, where A ends and extending to about l. 2420. These events correspond to those beginning in the *Covenant Vivien* at l. 832, but they carry the story farther, and tell of the death of Vivien and the flight of his uncle. In A, Guillaume departs from Barcelona with thirty thousand men; they all perish, and he flees alone,² bearing on his saddle the body of the young nephew of Guiborc; Vivien died before his arrival, and he does not even find his body.³ In B, he sets out from Barcelona⁴ with thirty thousand men, all of whom, save five, who are his nephews,⁵ perish; he flees alone, after having in vain tried to carry away the body of Vivien, whom he has found expiring.

We can best understand the relation of A and B by a comparison with the account of the events in question given in the *Storie Nerbonesi*,⁶ an account which is peculiarly valuable because it is less ancient than that of A, and yet older than that of B. According to this account, which we may for brevity call

¹ He is mentioned a little later, however, as having been taken prisoner with the others: ll. 2485, 2520, 3055, 3154.

² Line 1224 says: *Nen fuit mie Willame, ainz s'en vait*. It will not do, however, to take these words literally, for the hero tells Guiborc in the plainest language that she is the wife of a *malveis fueur*, a *malveis tresturneur* (ll. 1306, 1307). While it is probable that his flight is less animated than in *Atiscans*, since he is able to bear away the body of a boy, l. 1224 probably perverts the truth, and may show evidence of editing, i. e., an effort to avoid repetition.

³ The fact that this action is almost exactly that of the *Nerbonesi* might have been mentioned by M. Meyer.

⁴ The text does not say that he starts again from Barcelona, but the context establishes the fact.

⁵ The fact that all the nephews—save, of course, always Vivien—perish in A, while they are all taken prisoner in B, would alone suffice to show which redaction of the battle is the older.

⁶ Edited by I. G. ISOLA (Bologna, 1877-87), Vol. II, pp. 145 ff., the beginning of the sixth book, evidently the point at which the record of a separate poem begins.

N, Vivien had established himself, with the aid of Guillaume and others, as master of the principal cities of Catalonia. He is menaced with an attack from the Saracens under Tibaut, Malduc Deramé, and many other princes; he sends word of the threatened invasion to Guillaume at Orange, who gathers an army and marches to Barcelona, in order to be near at hand. Vivien is at Tortosa when the Saracens land. He hastens to meet them; the battle turns against him, and, at the eleventh hour, he sends Girart to Barcelona to summon his uncle. Guillaume sets out at once, but does not reach the field of battle until long after the death of Vivien, whose body he does not even see. His men are all slain, save three nephews, Girart, Guichart, and Gui, who are taken prisoner. He flees alone, and slays in his flight Acchin¹ and his son Baudus, taking in each case the horse of his adversary. He is pursued clear to Orange, which is at once besieged by the enemy.

We find here nearly all the elements present in A, and some which are lacking. The fact that the three nephews who in A perish² are taken prisoner in itself indicates a later version of the legend—one in which the sympathies of the Christian auditors of the poem demanded a gentler solution; one, further, which allowed these heroes to subsist that they might play a rôle in later episodes and poems. If in this regard N is manifestly more recent than A, it preserves none the less an ancient sequence of events in explanation of the presence of Guillaume at Barcelona. The testimony of A offers no explanation whatever of this presence, which justly surprises us.³ The testimony of N makes all clear. The *Willame* and the *Nerbonesi* offer each other mutual support in all that pertains to the geography of the battle of Aliscans, so called, which we now see to be the battle of the Archamp, or Archant. In the light of this united testimony it is no longer possible to sneer at the information given by the latter work concerning this battle, as nearly all critics have

¹ P. 166; another form of this name is given as Archillo.

² It is true that Gui appears only in B, and that he is there taken prisoner, but, as will be shown later, he probably figured in A, and there lost his life.

³ M. P. MEYER goes so far as to say that we cannot tell from the poem whether the poet places Barcelona to the south or to the north of the Pyrenees (loc. cit., p. 606).

hitherto done.¹ What, however, is the testimony of the *Willame* as to the place of this celebrated battle? It has already been stated that the geography of the poem is lamentably weak. None the less, there can be no serious doubt; the redaction of A places the battle near Barcelona, and there is not the slightest real reason for supposing that this city is anywhere else than in Spain. M. Meyer says that we cannot tell whether the *author* places Barcelona to the north or to the south of the Pyrenees. Of what author does he speak? Can he believe for an instant that the epic, as we have it, is the final product of one man, and that we possess it just as it came from his hand? Such a theory could not be maintained for a moment, since no one worthy of the name of poet, or capable of composing the best scenes in this epic, could have left it with such crying absurdities on all sides. The poem must have passed through the hands of a number of *remanieurs* and copyists to have reached such a condition; indeed, it could not well contain so many and such grave contradictions, were it not formed by the awkward combination of different sources. It is therefore a matter of relative indifference to us whether the *remanieurs* or copyists placed in their mind Barcelona to the north or to the south of the Pyrenees. What is important is that the original author of the part of the poem which mentions this city probably knew whereof he sang and placed the city where it belongs. But, one may say, l. 962 reads of the invading Saracen commander: *Et est en France que si mal de sen orte*. Let us note, however, that this line is not to be weighed in comparison with the formal mention, twice repeated, of Barcelona, for the line is manifestly corrupt, as is indicated, not alone by its obscurity, but by the fact that three versions of it exist; l. 15 reads, *Entred que si mal des cunorted*, and l. 41, *En vostre tere est que si mal desonorted*. Furthermore, shortly after the passage mentioning France, the fact of the invasion is again stated (l. 969), where it stands: *Et est en terre qu'il met tut a exil*. The reading *France* of l. 962 would be doubtful in a poem whose geography was not askew; it can have no bearing

¹ It would be of little use to cite the critics who, from GAUTIER, *Epopees*, Vol. IV, p. 473, to A. F. REINHARD, *Die Quellen der Nerbonesi* (Altenburg, 1900), have nearly all failed to perceive the real value of the Italian compilation.

here, when it stands in plain contradiction with the most authoritative internal and external evidence.

Another point in this connection is the mention of Bourges and of Mont Gironde. The messenger who announces the invasion in the opening lines is said to find Tedbalt at Bourges, and he brings news that Deramé has landed at Mont Gironde.¹ The mention of Bourges here is probably due to the name Tedbald de Burges, which occurs two lines previously (l. 21). Not only does l. 23 have a lame appearance, as will be evident on reading the passage, but it occurs in that part of the poem which contains the greatest absurdities, both of action and geography. In fact, the mere narration of the events shows sufficiently their absurdity: A messenger announces at Bourges that the Saracens have landed at Mont Gironde, which, in the *Geste de Guillaume*, probably indicates Gironde, the modern Gerona, in Catalonia, called Gironde in the French epics, the supposed seat of Guillaume's epic brother Ernaut,² and that they are in the "Archamp." Tedbalt passes the night where he is, supposedly at Bourges, and in the morning he beholds the earth covered with the enemy. None the less, he slips out of the city, accompanied by ten thousand men, and marches to the "Archamp" to find the Saracens! The only other evidence we have to indicate where the "Archamp" is, lies in the fact that Vivien, his men reduced to one hundred (l. 556), and then to twenty (ll. 568, 575, 743, 746), sends Girart to his uncle at Barcelona. The distance does not seem to be great, although much dependence cannot of course be placed on the indications of time and distance as given.³ Girart, we are told, had to fight his way for five "leagues," when his horse gave out. He went on on foot, and found the country alarmed for fifteen "leagues" farther; he hastens on, running all

¹ For these passages vide *Romania*, Vol. XXXII, p. 602.

² M. MEYER, who seems unwilling to admit that the battle took place in Spain, refers Mont Gironde to the Gironde, and takes with seriousness the mention of Bourges: loc. cit., pp. 602, 603. The poem mentions Hernald de Gironde in l. 2551, and also applies to the locality in Catalonia the words: *as prez de Girunde* (375), cf. 635, also *Aymeri de Narbonne*, 4545-4571. These facts, taken with the proximity of the city of Gironde to Barcelona and the evident field of military activity, exclude the possibility of "Mont Gironde" indicating the river.

³ Such passages as ll. 749, 750 indicate in Vivien a hope, which we must think reasonable, that the aid sent for will arrive.

day long (ll. 736, 737). The journey seems much of it to be along the shore of the sea (ll. 710-12); the "Archamp" itself is evidently by the salt sea (ll. 839-66). The army of relief starts from Barcelona at nightfall, rides all night, and arrives at the "Archamp" in the morning (ll. 1082-89). If the indications of the poem could be relied on, the battlefield would certainly not be far from Barcelona, rather than near Bourges. We need, however, only to look at the matter in another light to feel that the "Archamp" must be in Catalonia, not far from Barcelona. What was Guillaume doing at this city, unless, as recounted in N, to be near at hand in case of an attack on Vivien? No other motive is visible, and this one fits so perfectly all the facts that we are obliged to accept it. Another point: Where had he come from in betaking himself to Barcelona? From Orange, doubtless. If, then, he went from Orange to Barcelona to be ready to relieve Vivien who was near Bourges or the Gironde, it must be admitted that he adopted a novel way of doing so. The only reasonable supposition is that Vivien was near Barcelona.

But, after all, what evidence is there that Guillaume set out from Barcelona to relieve Vivien? One may say, *a priori*, that, Spain being the scene of the exploits of Vivien in general, it is likely that the culminating scene of his death is there also. We know, for instance, that the *Covenant Vivien*¹ and the *Enfances Vivien*² place his exploits in Spain. The only sources which state that Guillaume marched from Barcelona to the field of battle where Vivien died are the *Willame*, N, and *Foucon*. This last poem says of Guillaume on this occasion: *De Barzelone quand il issit*.³ The evidence was deemed sufficiently strong before the discovery of the *Willame*; since then, it is overwhelming.⁴

It being granted that the army went from Barcelona to the battlefield of the Archamp, is there any further evidence to enable

¹ Vide l. 62: *Il sont entré en Espaigne la grant*.

² Vide *statim*. Mention is made in two excellent MSS of Galice, which is the scene of some of the hero's exploits in N: vide MS 1449, l. 3375; MS 1448, l. 3384. The MS in prose, ll. 2046 ff., shows also that the city which Vivien has taken is in Spain, near the road of St. Jacques-de-Compostelle. This city is said to be in Galicia in the text F of the life of St. Vidian: *St. Vidian de Martres-Tolosanes*, p. 52, *Bulletin de lit. ecclésiastique*, published by the Institut Catholique de Toulouse, No. 2, février 1902. ³ Edition of TARBÉ, pp. 6, 7.

⁴ Vide *The Origin of the Covenant Vivien*, in "The University of Missouri Studies," Vol. I, No. 2, 1902, pp. 37, 40, 50, 51; also *Romania*, Vol. XXX, p. 197.

us to locate this spot? According to N, Vivien was at Tortosa when the invasion was announced, and he there awaited the enemy.¹ Guillaume came to Barcelona with a newly gathered army, lest the enemy should retake this city. It is here that he is summoned, just as in the *Willame*, by Girart, and from here that he sets out for the fatal field. It may be observed, in passing, that the distance as indicated by the *Willame* squares very well with the geography of N. But N is not the only source which gives the neighborhood of Tortosa as the site of this celebrated struggle. In *Foucon*, p. 83, Tibaut, in reciting the conflicts he has had with the family of Guillaume, says that it is true that they took away from him—presumably without great loss—Balesguer, Barcelona, Porpaillart, and “Gloriette,” but that he made them pay dearly for Tortelouse, where he slew Vivien.² Tortelouse is a frequently found form of Tortose. It seems clear that the battle of the Archamp, which has generally been called the battle of Aliscans, took place in Catalonia, not far from Tortosa.

What are we to say, however, about the evidence of *Aliscans*, and of the *Covenant*, according to which Guillaume goes from Orange to the field of battle, which appears to be quite near?

The newly discovered *chanson* allows us to answer this question authoritatively. If the *Willame* began at the same point in the action as *Aliscans*, it would contain no mention of Barcelona. Indeed, what distinguishes these two epics is the sloughing off of the first branch of the *Willame*—the more ancient branch, the one which alone preserved to some extent the original action. Nor does it require a seer to divine that the expeditions of Guillaume from Barcelona were destined to disappear from the *Willame*, provided that the epic continued to be sung, for the presence of the hero at Barcelona is entirely unmotivated. The stages in the development of the *Chançon de Willame*, or of its original, in the march toward *Aliscans*, were probably as follows: First stage:³ Guillaume was at Orange, where he learned of an invasion of

¹ Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.

² Another mention of this is found on p. 86 of the same poem.

³ It may be that the original scene of Guillaume's exploits was Catalonia, a supposition whose possibility has never been suggested. The accepted theories of the critics all place his original seat at Orange, and treat his exploits in Spain as relatively modern. If the original scene of his exploits was in Spain, the first stage of the legend contained of course no mention of Orange.

the lands of Vivien, in the Archamp. He gathers an army, betakes himself to Barcelona, and is summoned from there to the field of battle. He arrives after the death of Vivien, loses all his men, and flees alone to Barcelona. Second stage: Guillaume is at Barcelona—we are not told why—whence he is summoned by Vivien, who is in mortal danger in the Archamp. He hastens to the rescue, but arrives too late, his nephew being already dead. He loses all his men, and flees alone to Barcelona. Third stage: Guillaume's presence at Barcelona, being unmotivated, is left out. He is summoned from Orange, marches to the Archamp in the same time as in the other versions from Barcelona, finds Vivien dying, ministers to his wants, loses all his men, save his other nephews, who, instead of perishing as in previous versions, are taken prisoner, and flees alone to Orange. Fourth stage: virtually the same as the preceding, save that, the name "Archamp" not being understood, the *remanieurs* begin to use concurrently with it the name "Aliscans," which came about in this way: The field of this terrible battle, being now evidently near Orange, could only be the site of the celebrated cemetery at Arles, called Aliscamps, where countless ancient tombs were to be seen—tombs which the people venerated as those of martyrs who had many of them fallen in defense of the cross.¹ There has thus been a steady trend of the action from Spain toward Orange, the cyclic seat of Guillaume.

Of the versions of the battle extant, N preserves the ancient geography best and clearest, although it is posterior to A in a number of points, such as the taking prisoner of the nephews. The version of *Foucon*, as far as it goes, is of the second stage. The redaction A belongs to the second stage; B, in part to the third stage; the *Covenant*, *Aliscans*, and the *Willehalm*, to the fourth. In the last-mentioned poem Vivien accompanies Guillaume from Orange to the scene of the battle,² and Wulfram speaks of the tombs that strew the battlefield.³

RAYMOND WEEKS.

COLUMBIA, Mo.

¹ The testimony of the *Chronicle of TURPIN* concerning the cemetery at Arles is well known, as is the passage from PHILIPPE MOUSKET, ll. 8970-72. A similar passage is found in the *Codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, edited by FITA and VINSON (Paris, 1882), p. 21.

² Vide 13, 21.

³ Vide ll. 386, 6 ff.; 259, 5 ff.; 394, 20 ff.; 487, 20 ff., 259, 6 ff.

KÖGELSPIL.

THE following rhymed dialogue was published in 1522 at Nuremberg and is a worthy contribution to the literature of the Reformation movement. Burckhard in his *Vita Hutteni*, T. III, p. 316, describes it as follows:

Facere non possum, quin & de alio, eoque ludicro prorsus, Versibus Germ. conscripto, Libello, cuius euoluendi max. reverendus Olearius, pro saepius iam laudata sua commodandi aliis voluntate, copiam mihi fecit, qui & memorati modo Dialogi notitiam mihi aperuit quaedam addam. Titulus eius hic est. Kögelspil etc. 1522. Effigies, quae in prima Libelli pagina, siue in fronte eius, adparet, repraesentat b. Lutherum, in habitu, quo Monachui vsus fuerat: in manibus globum, cui verba haec inscripta leguntur, hailig gschrift, tenentem: ad cuius, si in ipsam aream, siue sphaeristerium, prospicit, sinistram Huttenus loricatus, Erasmus Roter. nominatim, alique adstant; ad dexteram Pontifex, & Curtisani in ipsis cancellis tres comparent homunciones, conos in manibus tenentes. Post praefationem, loquentes introducuntur: Martinus Luther, aller Kegler mutter, der Hutt: etc.

The *Kögelspil* is directed against Eberlin von Günzburg and his fifteen *Bundsgenossen* that were printed in Basel in 1521. The fact that Erasmus Roterodamus and Ulrich von Hutten are represented on the title page side by side with Martin Luther, *aller kegle mütter*, must mean that the author of this rhymed dialogue, whose name we do not yet know, looked upon Hutten and Erasmus as direct or indirect supporters of Luther. The author was surely not a friend of the humanists, whom he seems to hold responsible for the present disturbances in the church.

The reprint follows the original copy that Goedeke mentions in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Vol. II, p. 221, the one in the Royal Library at Göttingen, H. E. Eccl. 104g² (*Varia ad Historiam Reformat. Spectantia*). A similar copy is in the British Museum (11517. ee. 6), eight leaves. Reg. A-B iv, without pagination, wood cut beneath the title.

Panzer, *Annalen*, Vol. II, p. 122, mentions under No. 1582 another edition that differs in language from the one here printed. I have not been able to ascertain whether this edition still exists.

KÖGELSPIL GEBRACHTIZIERT AUSZ DEM YEOZIGEN ZWY,,
 TRACHT DES GLAUBENS ZÜ EYM TAIL AIN GESELLETZ, ALLE SO DANN MART,
 TINO LUTHER ANNHANGENT. ZÜM TAIL DIE DANN DEM RECHTEN
 ALTEN WEG DES EUANGELIUMS NACH JREM VERMÜGEN NACH
 VOLGENT, MIT SAMPT ANDREN SO HYE DYSEM SPIL ZÜ LÜGEN
 HYERINN VERGRIFFEN GENENTT WERDENT. DIE KUGEL
 IST DIE HAILIG GESCHRIFFT. DAS ZYL IST DER GLAUB.

DER PLATZ DES JAMERTAL, KEGEL SEIND DIE AR
 MEN SCHLECHTEN EINFELTIGEN LEYEN, DIE AB
 ENTHEYER IST DAS EWIG LEBEN, DIE DREYER
 SEIND DIE HAILGEN LERER DER PAULUS M D xxii.
 .iiij. EUANGELI. VND DIE .xij. POTEN.

(Wood cut.)

A VSZ götlicher gnad seind wir alle geboren
 vnnd zü der ewigen seligkait auszerkoren.
 Got der almechtig gesprochen hat
 Wie dann Marce am .xvj. stadt
 Welcher glaubt vnnd getauft wirt
 vnd sunst an dem rechten weeg mit yrrt
 Gütter werck nach götlichem gebot
 spricht Jacobus on allen spot.
 Fides mortua est sine operibus
 vnd nit wie Judas gab den falschen kusz
 Der wirt selig on allen won
 wie ich dann von Paulo auch verston
 Ad Philippenses. XXX. Capitulo
 stat geschriben krad inn medio
 Welcher nun sich also schickt in disem leben
 dem wil got die ewig rû geben
 Das wirt der best lon sein | so wir faren von hinnen
 welcher will mag in wol hye gewinnen.

¶ Martinus Luther aller kegler
 (mütter.)

Dise abetheür ist vns lang hie verhalten
 wie ich dann hab vnder den alten
 Des Euangeliums bûcher funden
 schier zerrissen von den hunden
 Zü der selbigen abentheür das zil.
 ich yetz gantz krumm machen wil
 Aller kegler mûter bin ich genant
 wie dann meine gesellen mich lang hond erkant
 Alle krümmy kan ich wol erdencken

hindren stülen vnnnd hindern bencken
 Vnnnd krad kan ich werffen zû der quest¹
 es dunckt mich yetz das aller best
 Wir jungen wend das zyl verrucken
 die alten mügent sich nyt seer bucken
 Jr glider seind in vngleychsam worden
 Aij

besunder der .iiij. Betlers ordenn
 Das preyor² müsz hat sy verderbtt
 vnd ye ainer es von dem andren ererbt.

¶ Der Hutt.

Tag vnnnd nacht will ich mich besynnen
 wie ich die Kugel well dahinnen
 Schyeben krumb über die letze hand
 ich wirff sy durch alle land
 Teütsch vnnnd³ welsch dem bapst zû laid
 die Kugel laufft heer auff weyter haid
 Jnn dem lufft gleich wie der staub
 auff den Hussen setz ich den besten glaub.

¶ Erasmus Rotterdam.

Jnn Grecia bin ich lang zeit gewesen
 Greckisch vnd Hebraisch geleert lesen
 Die Epistolas Pauli⁴ recht transzferiert
 christenlichen glauben mit meiner geschrift zyert
 Ee man gewiszt hat mein rechte kunst
 darumb so sol ich haben gunst
 Von allen geleerten auff diser erden
 wann der glaub schier zû nichten wolt werden
 Mit der gschrift der alten büchen
 welcher recht will thûn solsz bey mir sûchen

¶ Philippus Melanthon.

Wie wol ich noch nit seer bin alt
 hab doch der dapffern weiszhait gstat.
 Was die alten überhupfft hond mit springen
 thûn ich wider an tag bringen
 Mit kunst vnnnd weiszhait klûg
 deren hinder mir steckent genûg

¶ Maister Letiw.

Vndrem hûtlin habent sy wellen spilen
 hab ich wol gemerckt von fylen
 Mit jren Ceremonijs der zeit
 das alles geschehen ist auff den geyt.⁵

¹ DWb., 7, 2365, *quest, queste, m. f. gewinn.*

² †

³ Referring to Hutten's writings both in Latin and German.

⁴ Published in 1518.

⁵ Avarice.

Darumb wolten sy nit haben
 das man den Lateinischen büchstaben
 Brechte zû Teutscher zungen
 jr Kugel hat die kegel übersprungen
 der platz ist lang wol gewesen jr fûg
 nach meinem geduncken so ist es gnûg
 Die kegel stond erst steiff auff dem platz
 ja mit meiner teütschen jnterpretatz
 Dann was vor verborgen ist gewesen
 mag yetz ain yetlicher selbs lesen.

¶ Maister Cûnrat ain kreytzherr.

Jch wondt ich wer auff dem rechten weg
 so habendt sy mir gelegt ain anndern steeg
 Da ich erst hort von disem spil sagen
 maindt man solt die bûben all veryagen
 Bin doch dar hinder kommen weysz nit wie
 maindt es wer noch recht zû gangen hie
 Habendt nun die alten nit recht gethon
 so müsz ich mein Gotzhausz auch verlorn
 Jst es nun als ichs hab yetz vernommen
 so habendt wir vnsers auch nit rechtlich überkommen
 Wer not das wir als vnsers klosters gût
 wie dann ain yetlicher wücherer thût
 Will er besitzen das ewig leben
 alles sammet vmb gots willen geben.

¶ Maister Bastian

Es ist nit mynder vil ist inn der welt
 als erdacht auff geytz vnd auff gelt.
 Vnder Bâpsten Bischoffen vnd pfaffen
 man hat lang zeit gelauset dem affen
 Der inn der küsten ist gelegen
 doch so darff ichs von niemants sâgen
 Dar gegen ist es yetz auch erdichtet vil
 das mir nit als beym besten gefallen will.
 wie wol ich des meer tails beredt bin.

Aiij

ich lassz doch also schleichen dahin
 Was mir gefeldt das halten ich
 was mir nit gefeldt das scheüß ich neben sich
 Wer wol gût vnnd das aller best
 wir hielten all ain steten glauben fest
 Vmb des willen got zu biten bin ich alzeit beraydt
 das er vns geb ain gûtte ainigkait

¶ Die Jungen nach hetscher.¹

Das ich von dem keglen vil künde sagen
 ich hab noch nit souil auff mir der tagen.
 Es dunckt mich aber ain gût spil
 das man vns auch weiber geben wil.
 Jch hab auch sunst nit vil oft beten
 ich will Lieber auff der gassen tredten
 Das wirt vns sein ain gûtter krieg
 es sey dann sach das der Luther lieg
 Es wirt bald dartzû kommen
 das man die bôszten mit den frommen
 Wirt nemen alles das sy hond
 Dann so wirt vns villeicht auch ain gût pfand
 Geet es mir wol so sich ichs gern
 geettz mir übel so ists heûer wie ferndt
 Jch will auch seer nachher sagen
 vnnd was ich in den vorigen tagen
 hab gehôrt, von andren leûten gesprochen
 das thû ich an meyner Cantzel auch kochen
 Das ist mein predigen vnd mein weszen
 ich übertreib mich sunst nit mit leszen
 Man wirt bald vnser pfründen beszer machen.
 das mûgen wir dann wol gelachen
 Wyrff meer lassz die kugel lauffen heer.
 hab acht wie sy hin vnnd wider feer.
 Triffts, so treffs was leydt mir dran
 nachts ich nicks destminder schlaffen kan.

Wir wellen auch faren nach disem schein
 so spricht man, sy mûgen auch wol geleert sein.

¶ Maister Ulrich zwingly.

Jr gesellen jr werffent gar vngeleich
 ich mein das jr nit wellent werden reich
 Von diser abentheûr vnnd gewûnn
 von disem werffen mag ich nit kommen hin
 Jr mûssent noch seer zû der schûle gon
 Wolt jr die alten mit keglen beston.
 Was ich gewynn das verlierent jr
 jr werffent vnwissent gar bôsze geschir
 Den rechten weeg welt ich gern faren
 vnd mich damit nicks sparen
 Was ich môcht in mir selbs erfynden

¹ Cf. GRIMM, *Wb.*, IV, 2, 1289, under *hetschen*, verb. intrans. *ziehen, gehen, bummeln*.
 The noun is not given by Heyne, nor does Sanders have it.

damit ich vil armer kinder
 Möcht bringen zû der waren abentheûr
 wir werffen all ferndt¹ vnnd heûr²
 Vnder ain ander zabeln³ das ist nit gût
 des kegel spil leynt mir seer jm mût
 Zûm zyl bin ich yetz gestanden so dick
 das ich darab selbs schier darab erschrick.
 ¶ Zû seher disem kegel spil seind
 disz nachfolgent

Bapst.

Disze kegler all seind mir zegrad
 vnd stündent kegel als grosz als ain rad
 Mit jrem vil krummen zil stellen
 kainen kûnd ich da fellen
 Jch sprech schier wol auff mein ayd
 sy thetents nun als mir zû layd
 Souil scheltwort ein genommen hab ich.
 das es nun seer bekümmert mich
 Wenn sy nun den Christen glauben also meren.
 paulus hat sy das schelten mit thûn leeren
 Wann sy solchs woltent vnderston

so müstens anderst fahen an
 Wir seind ja all brüder von ainem leib
 Christus schüff auch das erste weib
 Von deren wir alle kommen synd
 leipblichen genent ainer mûter kynd
 Auff ain news durch den tauff geboren.
 Jn Christum kinder anszerkoren
 Christus das haupt hat vns bracht wider
 welches haupts wir alle seind glider
 Secht durch got das kenn ich wol
 jr die da seind alles neydes vol
 Gegen eûrn brüdern, vnd gegen mir vorusz
 was wirt hinden nach eûr Conclus
 So doch als allain ausz eûrm hasz geschicht
 wie dann eûr gschrift, wort vnd werck vergicht.⁴
 Die hoffart hat eûch gar über geben
 nîchs gûts seind jr in eûrem hertzen pflegen
 Aufrûr vnnd vil grosser zwitracht
 hond jr mit eûrer hoffart gemacht
 Jr woltent gern hye auff diszer erden
 für die geleertesten geacht werden.

¹ "Far."

² "Near."

³ For *zappeln*.

⁴ "Proves."

Darumb jr mit euren listigen fünden
 der welt etwas news verkünden
 Fuchszlistigkait ist eür hailiger gaist
 durch den teüfel eingeblaszt¹ aller mayst.
 Ach got wer es recht fürgenommen.
 ich welt willenklich² sein kommen
 Mit meynem leben in ain rechte reformatz
 wie wol ich mich durch das loblich gesatz
 Vnsern frommen vorfaren hab gehalten
 vnd noch weiter lassen got walten
 Ausz dem Paulo des Euangelium gemacht.
 durch frümkait geschehen in gütter acht
 Es müssent dartzû thûn nach ander leüt
 sunst ker ich mich ann eür geschwetz neüt

Jeh gib wol dar für Vnnd ist also
 wer der Marthinus Luther da.
 Zû ainem Cardinal worden wie ersz begert
 er Schlyff mit so scharpff sein schwert
 Wider ain ganntze hailigkayt
 sunnst ist jm nicks gethon zû layd.

¶ Kayserlich Mayestat.

Ain auff mercken haben wir auff dises spyl
 kyndent nit ersynnen wa es hinn ausz wil.
 Ain Reichsztat³ haben wir gehabt
 da ist auch kommen heer getrabt.
 Martinus Luther inn ainem gelaidt
 jm da zû geben gütte sycherhait.
 Seyne artickel haben wir vernommen
 mit sampt andren so dahin seind kommen
 Den Doctoribus weysen maystern klüg
 zimlicher zal da gewesen genüg
 Etlich artickel habent wir jm verboten
 das er weder inn Fryeszland oder schoten⁴
 Solte meer daruon sagen
 über das thût er weitter heer jagen.
 Die Kugel über alles gebot
 hat ann sych gehenckt etlych rott.
 Wellent wir ain zeit lanng lassen ston
 vnnd sy wol damit Verzabeln lon.
 Bysz es fûg hat inn rechtter massen
 wellent wir inn weytter verhören lassen.

¹ Modern High German, *eingeblesen*.

² For *willentlich*. Occurs several times in the text in this form.

³ Worms, 1521.

⁴ An expression very common in Middle High German epics.

¶ Byschoff.

Es ist nit minder vnnnd erkenn es wol
das ain yetlicher mensch sol
Leben, nach dem er ist inn seynem stadt
wie Paulus oft gemeldet hat.
Fruchtpar mit ainem gütten beyspil
des halb ich mich selbs nennen wil.
Nyemandts kain har spalten oder hofyeren

B

Ye ainer kan den andren wol reformieren
Basz dann er sich selbs erkenn
damit ich sy all samet nenn
Ye ainer dem andren wol kan sagen
was er hab ligen inn seinem magen
Unuertewts, solltu glauben
die sahent auch inn ander leüt augen
Ain klain stebly darinn verharren
vnd merckent nit den grossen sparren¹
Den sy lang habent getragen
doch so zimpts sich yetz nit zû sagen
Von disen dingen, got erkent vns all wol
seydt ich aber auch dartzû sehen sol.
So erman ich die alten priesters gnossen
das sy auch schyebent die kegel possen

¶ Gemain Eydgnossen auch zû seher

Zürich spricht.

Wir haben bey vns ain gelerten man
der alle schrifft wol ermessen kan
Der ist gaistlich vnd weiszhait vol
yetlicher seinem gaistlichen vater sol
Glauben was er jm seyt
vnd alzeit nach zû volgen sein berayt
Nun sagt er vns vil vnd gnüg
yetlicher verstats aber nach seinem fûg
Es ist nit minder es were recht
man liesz zûm tail von disem brecht²
Das sy selb vnder ainander hyeltent radt
wie dan jr Consilium auch inn hat
Selbs ain andern sagtent mit dem mund
nit wider ain andren byllent³ wie die hund.

¶ Auff das, der andern Eydgnoss,
en anttwurt.

¹ "Beam."

² MHG. *brecht* stn., "controversy."

³ "To bark."

Sy habent lang pollen¹ wie brüder clausz ist
 der gesprochen hat man solle auff vnsrem myst
 bleiben. Deinem herren sunst ziehen zû
 wellen wir in vnsrem nest haben rû
 an allen kantzlen sunst nit künnent sagen
 dann wie man hin vnd heer reyzt zetagen
 So seer seind sy auff seiner weyssag gelegen
 wie man nach seinem radt all ding sol pflegen
 Vnd habent nun vil auff jn gehalten
 nun ist er warlich auch gewesen der alten
 Hat er auch weiszgesagt von diser newen leer?
 das man beeten vnd fasten sol nymmer meer
 Oder anders man yetzunnd seyt
 widerwertigkait machen in der Christenhait
 Jch gyb wol darfür er hab sein nye gedacht
 got geb wer dises spil hab her bracht
 Es wer mein radt dz man vnsren pfaffen thet bieten
 sy jnen selbs auch das bestrieten
 Künden sy vns brüder Clausen in die nasen reyben.
 so müstend sy auch auff seinem alten weg bleyben
 Lassent recht den alten weeg also beston
 vnd nemendt sich vnsers tagens auch nit mer an.
¶ Zûm andren tayl so dann an dem kegel rysz
 seind sunst gemein priester vnd ver
 kûnder des Euangeliums.
 Das zyl wellent wir widerumb rucken
 ich mag mich nit so krumm vmbher bucken
 Vil renckens kûdent sy mit jren leyben
 ich wil die kugel schlechts einher treiben
 Wie vnsre vorfaren gethon hond
 es müsz vns ymmer sein ain schand
 Das yetz die jungen lollfetzen²
 mit jrem vnnutzen schwetzen,
 Das zyl also woltten verkeren
 vnnd das gemain volck nichts gûts leeren
 mit jren seltzamen newen fynden
 etlich weder jm alten noch newen gsatz nichts kunden.

Bij.

Dann allain schryen in jrem stoltzen mût
 wie ain yeglicher senff ryeffen thût.
 Lobt in seer, vnd wunst sein nit
 dann wa er sy zû vil nem auff die schnidt.

¹Not to be found in GRIMM or SANDERS. Same as *lol-hart*, "lay brother," used disparagingly.

Darein gedunckt mit seynem brot
 es brecht jm grosz angst vnnd not.
 Die alten rechten weg, machent sy vns krumm
 vnnd wyssent warlich nichts darumb.
 Sy treyben all nichts dann ain schein
 vnnd wellent dardurch gesehen sein.
 Jeh hab noch nye kayn kendt oder gesehen
 der da kündt mit der warhait yehen
 Er hab sich bessert ab jrem weszen
 durch jr predigen, oder sunst ab leszen.
 Jnn den büchlen sy habent ausz lassen gan
 du bist meer darab inn ergernus kan.
 Vnnd gantz leichtfertig darab worden
 got geb was du habst für ain orden.
 Gaistlich oder weltlich warinn du bist
 welcher sunst ist ain böszter Christ.
 Magst jm leicht vrsach machen
 er haytzt nit, wann er nit müsz bachen.
 Das soltu von den gaistlichen verston
 er beet nicht wann er nicht müsz messz hon.
 Doch so sein jr souil also verrucht
 sy haben mesz halten, on beten auch versücht.
 Fleisch fressen vnnd auch nicht fasten
 pfaffen weyber nemen, vnd die medlein tasten.
 Nymmen beychten nit vil beeten
 mit dem opffer nicht meer zum altar dretten.
 Mit hinweg lauffen der münch vnd der nunnen
 ausz dem orden als wer das kloster verbrunnen.
 Vil hüren vnnd büben wirt das geben
 sy haben vorhyn gewont wol leben.
 Essen vnnd trincken on arbeit
 yetzund wirt es in werden laid
 Wann sy sich mit arbeit müssen begon
 werden sy steelen vnd mürden fahen an.
 Das ist vns noch als recht vnnd wol geseyt
 wann zum beszen seind wir alweg ee bereyt.
 Dann zu dem guten inn allen dingen.
 man dorfft vns darumb nit gschrift her bringen
 Doch so maynents es sey nit der gleichen
 vnnd wellent jm ain farb an streychen.
 Sy habent zum ersten zu vil daran gethon
 yetz meynens man solsz nit also verston.
 Sechent das seind mir redlich sachen
 das yetz ain yetlicher selbs will machen

Vber den Paulum das Euangelium
 nach seinen syn schlecht oder krum.
 Sy wellent mir nun krum machen das zyl
 den glauben ich dardurch nemen wil
 Die kugel dreens auff letzter¹ hand
 gleich als ob sich niemants darauff verstand
 Ringglens vnd rangglens hin vnnd har
 darumb sich darauff du gemaine schar
 Du Bapst vnnd Kayser vor allen
 was keglen mit der kugel myessent fallen
 Die kugel habent sy wol beschniten
 ain falben² ring hat sy an mitten
 Vnder allen dreern³ seind sy gewesen
 vnnd maynent sy haben ausserlesen
 Die aller best die da mocht sein
 der hailigen gschriff geben sy also ain schein
 Sy sprechent es sey verborgen vnnd verhalten
 gewesen, in gschriff vnder den alten
 Die recht Kugel an ketten gebunden
 die selben habent sy erst yetz funden
 Ausz dem Hussen seiner zauberey
 ich glaub nit das das recht Euangelium sey.

Bij

der Hussz der wil sych widerumb regen
 man müsz denen auch also geleben
 Jre ausz fynding syn vnnd gedanck
 welches sy durch des weinnesz getranck
 Im schlaf trunck angeschlagen habent, vnd einhellig
 worden seind.

wie ich dann in jren büchlen fynd
 Sy bey ain andern gesessen
 oder sunst getrunncken vnnd geessen
 Einhellig jren radt beschlossen
 in sunderhait die .xv. bossen⁴
 Vnd kainer dem andren nichts verlorems geben
 wann ainer heer hat bracht ain gespan
 so sprachens gleych wir wellens also han
 Wie dann die .xv. Bossen⁴
 in jren pundtsz büchlen habent beschlossen
 Sy schwürn all bey dem als sy werendt fromm
 man müsz das gantz Concilyum

¹ "Left."

² "Yellow."

³ "Worker in wood, turner." Cf. on the title page: *die dreyer seind die hailgen lerer.*

⁴ By Eberlin von Guenzburg.

Mit niemants anders verletzen
dann allain als in jr mainung setzen
Ha Ha Ha nun müsz ich doch warlich lachen
das sy also ausz jnen selbs wellent machen
Bapst Bischoff vnnd Kayser auch
thet ichs man sprech ich wer ain gauch.

¶ Schulthaysz von ober Eszlingen.

Jeh waisz nicht was sy all machent
ich sich aber wol das die pauren lachent
Sy weltent nit das es anderst solte gon
was güt wer das wellen sy nicht verston
Nicht opffern nit meer zehent geben
das weren jnen ain güt leben
Wie der bischoff von steffen seyt
der von solchem spil hat jm selbs auff geleytt
Den bischoff hüt mit aignem gewalt
yetlichem narren seyn aigner kolb wol gefalt.

¶ Conclusio.

Dises spil ist also bereydt
niemants zü lieb noch zü laid
Also inn vnuerdachtem müt
ain yetlicher sein selbs hüt
Habe, vnd sech sich eben für
glück vnnd vngelück vor der thür
Wartet auff vns in baydem stadt
dann welcher nun des glück hat
vorausz die gottes krafft genent
Der wirt nymmer meer geschent
Ain partey yetz hat erhebt sich
wersz nun gewunn wundert mich
Die abentheür auff disem plan.
disz spil solt jr also verston.
Die kegler zü aym tail ich fynnd
alle die da Lutherisch seind
Züm andren tail vorausz vnd vorab
die nit Lutherisch seind gezelt hab.

¶ Lenhart¹ zü der aych.

Man schreibt vil von Christenlicher leer
ich sich aber niemants der sich daran ker
News vnnd alts gilt seer gleich
got geb was der² wer nun ich reich
Also geet es yetz in diser welt
mein kummer welt ich auch wenden, het ich gelt.

AMEN

ERNST VOSS.

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¹ GORDEKE², II, 221, remarks: "Der Ba genannte 'Lenhart zü der aych' ist mit Unrecht als Verfasser angesehen."

² Insert *wil*.

THE OLD ENGLISH OFFA SAGA.

I.

It has long been recognized that the epic hero Offa of "Ongle," first mentioned in *Widsið* and *Beowulf*, by the end of the twelfth century had become confused in tradition with the historic Offa of Mercia (757-96). The question of the origin and relationships of the stories attached to the name Offa, touched upon by Gramm,¹ Langebek,² Suhm,³ Dahlmann,⁴ and Müller-Velschow,⁵ in connection with the Danish traditions written down by Sveno Aggonis (about 1185) and Saxo Grammaticus (before 1208), and discussed in connection with *Beowulf* by Kemble,⁶ Lappenberg,⁷ Suchier,⁸ Ten Brink,⁹ Müllenhoff,¹⁰ and Olrik¹¹ especially, has up to the present time reached no more definite conclusion than that stated by Ten Brink,¹² in speaking of the twelfth century, as follows:

Das alte Epos war schwerlich mehr lebendig, doch wurde noch manches Stück epischer Sage, wenn auch in modifizierter Gestalt, fortgepflanzt. So die Sage vom alten, epischen Angelnkönig Offa, die man auf den grossen Offa von Mercien übertragen hatte.¹³

It is the aim of the present paper (1) to separate, as far as possible, the materials belonging to the lost saga of the epic *Offa* from legends attached directly to the name of the historic king; (2) to trace, as far as possible, the sources of the separate stories

¹ MEYERII, *Opera* (Florence, 1746), IX, cols. 35 F., 36 D, E, F.

² *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi* (Copenhagen, 1772), I, 45, n. *.

³ SUHM-GRÄTER, *Geschichte der Dänen* (Leipzig, 1803), I, 111-55.

⁴ *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Geschichte* (Altona, 1822), I, 233-37.

⁵ *Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica* (Copenhagen, 1858), Pars II, 137-39.

⁶ *Beowulf* (London, 1837), xxx-xxxvi.

⁷ *Gesch. von Eng.* (HEEREN U. UKENT, *Europ. Staaten*, I, II, Hamburg, 1834), 222-32.

⁸ PAUL U. BRAUNE, *Beiträge*, etc. (Halle, 1876), IV, 500-521.

⁹ *Quell. und Forsch.* (Strassburg, 1888), LXII, 116-18, 221, 222, 229-31.

¹⁰ *Beowulf* (Berlin, 1889), 72-88.

¹¹ *Arkiv f. nord. Fil.*, Ny Følge, Fjerde Bind, 4. Hæfte (Christiania), 368-75.

¹² *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.* ed. BRANDL (Strassburg, 1899), 174.

¹³ SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 500) gives a bibliography of the early discussions. To his list and the names given above may be added: PAUL, *Grundriss* (Strassburg, 1891-93), II, 534; BROOKE, *Hist. of Early Eng. Lit.* (New York and London, 1892), 67, note, 76, 253.

and the process by which the two figures came to be confused; (3) to indicate the probable content of the lost saga; (4) to form, if possible, some conclusion in regard to its relationship to other sagas known in England and the place of the personality of Offa in Old English and mediæval literature.

The chief basis for this study is the *Vitae Duorum Offarum*,¹ of which the oldest manuscript is Cotton Nero D I² (fols. 2-25), believed to be the original *Liber Additamentorum* written under the direction of Matthew Paris before 1259 and intended by him to illustrate his *Chronica Majora*.³ Since *V* contains most of the non-historical material relative to Offa of Mercia, and the only detailed account of the earlier *Offa* written in England, an inquiry into its authorship may throw light upon its sources.

It is certain that the writer was a monk of St. Albans,⁴ not Matthew Paris;⁵ and probable that the time of its composition was during the abbacy of John de Cella (1195-1214).⁶ Luard maintains that the abbot himself compiled *CM* I,⁷ and suggests, though on very slight grounds, that he may also have written *V*.⁸

Another chronicle, however, likewise written at St. Albans, and

¹ Hereafter referred to as *V*, or *V* 1 and *V* 2, when it is necessary to distinguish between the two parts; the kings, as O 1 and O 2 respectively.

² Published by William Wats, 1639, as an appendix to his reprint of part of the *Chronica Majora*, London, 1640; again in 1641-40; 1644 (Paris); London, 1634-83-82. All references will be to the edition of 1640-39; but quotations from MS Nero D I, as Wats sometimes takes liberties with the text.

³ Cf. LUARD, *Matthæi Parisiensis . . . Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series (*CM*), 1882, VI, vii-x; RILEY, *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, Gesta Abbatum*, Rolls Series, 1867, I, xi, xii.

⁴ The only other MSS are Cotton Claudius E IV, fols. 84-97 (cf. RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, ix-xi), and Vitellius A XX, fols. 67-70 (cf. MADDEN, *Matthæi Parisiensis . . . Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1896, I, xxiv n. i, and li n. 1). All contain matters relating almost entirely to the affairs of St. Albans. Nero D I and Claudius E IV were written in the scriptorium of St. Albans; Vitellius A XX consists of a copy of selections presented to the cell of St. Albans at Dunstable.

⁵ Aside from the question of date, Paris misunderstands and wrongly emends *V*. Cf. LUARD, *CM*, I, lxxix, lxxx.

⁶ It is quoted largely in the original text of the *Chronica Majora* upon which Paris and Wendover based their works, which could not have been written earlier than 1195-1214, because it also uses Comestor's *Historia Scholastica cum Allegoriis*, first brought to St. Albans and copied in the time of John de Cella. Cf. RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, 233; also LUARD *CM*, I, xxxii; SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 507); and HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Rolls Series, 1862, I, 499.

⁷ *CM*, II, x-xii; VII, ix-xii. The letters *CM* represent the text of PARIS as edited by LUARD in the Rolls Series. When the original chronicle is to be distinguished from the versions of WENDOVER and PARIS, I call it, as here, *CM* I.

⁸ *CM*, I, xxxii, xxxiii.

preserved in the unique MS Cotton Julius D VII (fols. 10-33b),¹ forms a curious connecting link between *CM1* and *V*, suggests strongly that Abbot John may be the author of all three works, and gives information in regard to the character of the sources used in *V*.

That *J* is earlier than *CM1* appears from the fact that, while it declares and reveals acquaintance with the principal twelfth-century chroniclers of English history and with none of later date, it either shows ignorance or blunders in regard to many points for which *CM1*, followed by Wendover and Paris, became until modern times the chief authority.²

Of Offa it says:

Solent autem de isto Offa multa narrari, que etiam relinquimus pro incertis et apocriphis. Ea tamen in cedulis notauimus ut si quando uera possint uel probari uel certe deprehendi maiori operi commendemus.

Again:

Anno primo sequente occidit in campestri ut dicunt bello sanctum Ethelbrithum regem Westsaxonum, re quidem uera sed causa incerta. Eumque solum neuum glorie sue prehabite reliquit. Porro nec ipse diu super morte eius gauisus est. Nam anno abhinc tercio hoc est ab incarnatione domini DCCXCVI et ipse obiit, sepultusque est ut dicunt in Usa flumine iuxta Bedeford. Multa quidem et alia his eque commemoranda de uiro isto audiui, que cum ueriora esse constiterit, alias Deo largiente, explicabo.³

¹ Hereafter alluded to as *J*. Printed with many omissions by GALE in his *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, Oxford, 1691, III, 525-54, under the title *Chronica Joannis Wallingford*, although there is no reason for believing that John de Wallingford was the author. He owned the book (cf. rubric on fol. 1b); a drawing of him with his name and office (*infirmarius*) is on fol. 42b; while on fols. 112b-113b is an obituary list of the monastery from 1231 to 1258, with a rubric indicating that he kept the list: "Hic scribuntur nomina fratrum de professione sancti Albani defunctorum a susceptione fratris Johannis de Walingeford in eodem ordine, uidelicet a die sanctorum Dionisii, Rustici et Eleutherii, anno ab incarnatione domini MCC XXX primo." In 1258, in another hand occurs the notice of his death, with the addition, which may have misled Gale, "sacerdos, dominus et scriptor huius libri." As the MS is in several hands (cf., for instance, fols. 10a, 26a, 61a), scriptor cannot mean copyist; and as extracts from the *Historia Anglorum* by Henry of Huntingdon are included (fols. 46b ff.), it cannot mean author of the whole. But a chronicle (agreeing in parts very closely with that published in the Rolls series under the name of John of Oxened), on fols. 61a-110a, appears to be in the same hand as the obituary, from which it is separated only by two blank ruled leaves, and as this chronicle stops abruptly in 1258, it was perhaps written or copied by Wallingford. It shows no resemblance to *J*. A rubric (fol. 46b) seems to indicate that the book is a collection from various sources: "Prefaciuncula in cronicis fratris Johannis de Walingeford excerpta a cronicis diuersorum ystoriographorum." Cf. MADDEN, *Hist. Anglor.*, I, lv n. 2.

² This point will become clear in the discussion of the relationship between *J* and *CM1*. The MS was written before 1259.

³ Fols. 13, 13b; GALE, III, 529, 530. I quote from the MS, because Gale sometimes prints wrongly.

These words can mean only that the stories alluded to were popular, much-repeated tales¹ (*solent narrari ut dicunt*), which the author took down from oral narration (*in cedula notauimus audiui*), that they were of a marvelous or at least apparently fictitious character (*que etiam relinquimus pro incertis et apocriphis*), and that the author intended to sift them and, as far as possible, verify them, with a view to embodying the results of his labor in a larger work (*ut si quando uera possint uel probari uel certe deprehendi maiori operi commendemus, que cum ueriora esse constiterit alias Deo largiente explicabo*).

Since both *J* and *V* were written by a monk of St. Albans at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, the latter at once suggests itself as the "*maiori operi*;" and a comparison of the only two passages in *J* that are detailed in regard to Offa, with the text of *V*, shows a strong probability that *V* is this work.

1. The only event in Offa's career treated at length in *J* is the translation of St. Alban and foundation of the abbey, to which about fourteen lines (in Gale) are given. Since *V* relates substantially the same facts as *J*, usually with similar phrases, drawn out to greater length, and with some differences in arrangement,² it is more reasonable to suppose that in *V* the author is working over his own material jotted down roughly in *J*, than that the resemblances and differences in the two passages are due to independent use of the same source by two writers, or to the working up of one man's materials by another; in other words, when we find two passages of approximately the same date, one of which reads like an elaborated version of the other, and when the author of the one states that he hopes to treat the subject more fully,

¹ Cf. *Refert autem usque in hodiernum diem, omnium fere conprovincialium assercio* (*V*, 32, ll. 10, 11).

² Cf., for example, in *J*: "*accitoque Humberto Merciorum Archiepiscopo diuinam de martire transferendo pandit uoluntatem, ac Archiepiscopus assumptis secum Ceolwlfo et Vnwona Episcopis, magnaue multitudine clericorum diuersorum graduum, venit ad locum sanctum*"; and in *V*: "*accito Humberto Merciorum Archiepiscopo (cuius sedes apud Lichefeld ut predictum est nuper ab eodem rege fuerat constituta,) diuinam ei uoluntatem indicat de premissis. Tunc Archiepiscopus sepedictus, assumptis continuo secum Ceolwlfo Lindesiensi, et Vnwona Legrecestri Episcopis suis suffraganeis, cum innumera utriusque sexus, et diuerse etatis multitudine regi die sibi statuta, apud Uerolamium occurrerunt (sic).*"—GALE, III, 530, and *V*, 26, ll. 47-52.

the presumption is heavy in favor of a common authorship for the two.

2. More striking is the passage referring to Offa's tomb in the Ouse, not found elsewhere, except in works based upon *CM* or *V* itself.¹ The difference between the two descriptions is significant. *J* states that the king was buried *ut dicunt* in the Ouse near Bedford. *V* gives a more elaborate version of how *iuxta multorum opinionem* he died at *Offeleia* (Offley), and was buried at Bedford, adding:

Refert autem usque in hodiernum diem. omnium fere conprouincialium assercio quod capella prefata longo usu et uiolentia illius fluminis corrosa sit submersa atque eius rapacitate cum ipso regis sepulchro ad nichilum redacta, uel saltem, ut quamplurimi perhibent in medio fluminis alueo² precipitata.

It is obvious that neither text borrows here from the other, and that the phrase *certe deprehendi* describes the relationship between the two.

If these two passages suggest a common authorship for *J* and *V*, *J* contains other allusions to the author's intention of writing a larger work,³ which is once described as follows:

Nos autem eandem Historiam Deo commendamus, et prout ipse donauerit exsequemur, tantam ymaginem future edicionis et materiam hic prepingentes.⁴

These words must mean that *J* is only a rough preliminary sketch or outline for a chronicle. This opinion is confirmed by the arrangement of the matter and the appearance of the MS. It is closely written, much abbreviated, with little or no space

¹Cf. p. 3, above, and p. 7, below.

²*V*, 32, ll. 10-15.

³Cf. "*sed quia res se ingerit de gentis huius origine pauca prelibabo, pauca enim de ea prediximus, et multa si Deus annuat, dicturi sumus*" (*GALE*, III, 532); "*sed hec alias*" (*ibid.*, 539); "*que maiori opera conseruanda estimo*" (*ibid.*, 528).

⁴*Ibid.*, 539. As the passage shows the author's knowledge of three important chroniclers of the twelfth century and his critical attitude toward them, it may be worth while to quote it at length:

"Successitque ei Ethelstanus, filius eius maior natu . . . de quo Galfridus Monemutensis quamuis inuidulos (*sic*) genti et gestis regum Anglorum esset, scribit quod primus de gente Saxonum diadema portauerit; quod et possit esse uerum, tamen credendum est inuidum magis prioribus regibus derogasse, quam Ealstanum laudasse. Nam et subsequenter historiam Anglorum tradit, Wilhelmo Malmesberiensi et Henrico Hunteduniensi in corde et corde locutus (*sic*), et uerendum est de eo ne disperdat Dominus labia dolosa: verum quia uices interpretis se dicit exsequi utcumque excusari posset, si ad tempus Ealstani eius editor quem Britonem dicit perscripsisset. Nos autem," etc.

between words, with narrow margins and no division into years. Different kings and kingdoms are mentioned in the same paragraph, with small pretense at order. Long extracts from lives of saints are introduced without any connection whatever; for example, the life of St. Guthlac is written in blank spaces around parallel lists of the early kings, and, although the death of St. Kenelm is related at length in its proper place, another miracle is added in a space on the page dealing with Edmund Ironside.

The writing is much corrected, apparently both by the original scribe and by at least one other; and from fol. 27 to fol. 33b is on irregular scraps of parchment that look like trimmings of sheep-skin after the cutting out of perfect leaves.¹

The character of the Julius D VII as a whole bears out the theory that it is a collection of notes or materials for a history. It consists of extracts from the works of Henry of Huntingdon, St. Bernard, and other writers, calendars, a map, stray drawings (much resembling in style those illustrating *V* in Nero D I), the chronicle which may be Wallingford's own, quotations (with variations) from the *Gesta Abbatum*, an obituary list, and various odds and ends.

Since *J* is clearly a preliminary sketch and definitely states the author's intention of writing a larger chronicle, and since *CM1*, which arose at the same place and about the same time, shows many points of resemblance to *J*, the claim of this to be the work in question must be considered.

1. The fact that *J* shows the use of no authority unknown to *CM1* might be due to their dependence upon the same library,² but the insertion in both chronicles of long accounts of the same saints, Guthlac, Kenelm, Neot, Edmund, and Dunstan, in neither case quoted from the other, but based on the same sources, and in *CM1* more condensed, is significant. Since neither chronicle

¹ That the MS had become separated into two parts in Sir Robert Cotton's time is perhaps indicated by the fact that his autograph is on fol. 10a. But the collection was put together in the thirteenth century — by Wallingford most probably — as is indicated by a rubric on fol. 33b, not much later than the body of the MS, referring, for a continuation of the history, to fol. 64, which is in Oxenad's (?) or Wallingford's (?) chronicle.

² During the period covered by *J* (449-1036), *CM1* shows the use of only one or two unimportant additional works for English history, but of several important authors for continental history. This indicates perhaps that the chronicle had increased in scope beyond the original plan.

borrow from the other, a natural explanation of the coincidence seems to lie in the hypothesis that the writer, who had copied long extracts in a rough draft, had condensed these materials when he came to insert them in a work of larger scope.¹

2. The characteristics which Luard² observes in *CM 1* (even after it has passed through the hands of Wendover and Paris) are found to a striking degree in *J*: (1) the same curious combination of apparent care and absurd blunders; (2) the same attempts to sift materials and combine authorities, resulting often in discrepancies and confusion; (3) the same mixture of history and legend. These qualities³ seem to me to characterize peculiarly⁴ the attempts of a historical writer to break fresh ground, and that *CM 1* initiated a new school of chronicle-writing is certain.⁵

¹ Several small points that seem to show a consultation of the same authorities in regard to matters in which *J* and *CM* agree against the common opinion might be urged. I give two examples. The assertion that Alfred's youth was given up to luxury and vice is implied in several chronicles, but nowhere stated so definitely as in *J*. *CM*, however, adds to the conventional stories of Alfred's youth the distinct allusion to "libidinis incendiis," which agrees perfectly with the account given in *J*. Cf. *CM*, I, 412 n. 3, and GALE, III, 535. Again, the account of how Kenneth of Scotland received Lothian as a fief from King Edgar is particularly full in *J* and *CM*, and agrees in substance, though not in words. A possible indication of the date of *J* is in its assertion that the agreement with the Scotch king had held until "today;" in *CM* the corresponding phrase is "until the time of Henry II." Was *J* then written before the capture of William the Lion in 1174? Cf. GALE, 544, 545, and *CM*, I, 467, 468.

² *CM*, I, xxxiii, xli-xlvi.

³ Cf. "ut in gestis Sancti Cuthberti legitur, sed fides historie communis habet nullum" (GALE, III, 540); "auctoritati factum relinquimus qua probatur" (*ibid.*); "Caue autem hic de historia Normannorum, que falso quidem suggerit" (*ibid.*); "sed multi alii historici ob auctoritatem Ealstani ad eum referunt, que ad eum constat non pertinere," (*ibid.*); "uerendum est de eo ne disperdat Dominus labia dolosa" (*ibid.*, 539); "ideo horum numeri annotationem, ut aliquantulum ceteris certiore, sequar. Nam aliorum prope usque ad Alfredum filium quartum Ethelwolphi numeri annotationem inueni fluctuantem et incertum, sed et ante hec multa in numeri annotatione relinquimus incerta" (*ibid.*, 529); "quod si cui hec non placet genealogie deductio, querat aliam, non enim ut autenticam eam proponimus, sed si alterutrum cogeret, potius inter apocrypha numerarem" (*ibid.*, 535); "alii uero aliter et forte melius huius gentis originem texunt" (*ibid.*, 532). Cf. also the quotations concerning Offa (p. 3, above). His blunders are too numerous to quote. The statement that Charlemagne conquered England (*ibid.*, 529), in addition to the mistakes about Offa and Alfred mentioned above (p. 7, n. 1), may suffice. The large admixture of legend is shown in the long extracts from the lives of saints. The author's bewilderment in his mass of material is indicated in "Nam rerum pelagus quis sequetur?" (*ibid.*, 532).

⁴ Other points in Luard's characterization of the compiler of *CM 1*, a tendency to rhetorical embellishment and to quotation from the classical poets, true of *V*, and to the use of the first person, true of both *J* and *V*, have been passed over, as not sufficiently distinctive. The tendency to repeat favorite expressions, very prominent in both *J* and *V*, is perhaps more important.

⁵ I do not find that these three qualities apply to any other twelfth-century chronicle-writer in England. Henry of Huntingdon perhaps comes nearest, but does not show the same wide reading, particularly in hagiology. "Matthew of Westminster," indeed, in the thirteenth century shows many of the same peculiarities, but the first part of his work, based largely on Paris, and therefore on *CM 1* (cf. LUARD, *Flores Historiarum*, Rolls 1890, I, xxxiv, xxxv).

3. The very discrepancies¹ among the many resemblances between the two works, when taken in connection with the character of *J*, are an additional argument for their common authorship. The original MS of *CM1* is not known. The text, as we have it, has passed through two revisions, by Wendover and by Paris. There are resemblances enough in detail between *J* and *CM1* to show a distinct relation between the two works; and while it is highly improbable that Paris or Wendover would have borrowed minute points from a chronicle so obviously imperfect as *J*, the general agreement of plan (*CM1* is, of course, greatly extended) and resemblances in style and point of view are exactly what we should expect to find surviving, if *J* had been revised and rewritten, first by the original compiler, secondly by Wendover, and thirdly by Paris.

From the comparison, then, of *J*, *V*, and *CM*, it seems more reasonable to believe that *V* and *CM1* represent the larger works foreshadowed in *J*, than that the author of *J* failed to carry out his purpose, while *V* and *CM1*, agreeing in time and place with *J*, and showing the same mental and stylistic qualities, were compiled by different writers. It remains to consider the claims of Abbot John de Cella to be the author of the three works.

In favor of his authorship may be mentioned the following facts:

1. As Luard notes,² he was eminently fitted for such a task. He had been a student many years at Paris,³ and was described by Matthew Paris as an Ovid in metrics, a Priscian in grammar, and a Galen in physic.⁴

2. He alone among the twenty-three abbots in the *Gesta* resigned the entire charge of the monastery in secular matters to

¹ In this connection it should be noted that *V* also is known to us only as it was copied under the direction of Paris, and may differ considerably from the original account. The rubrics certainly point to variations in the materials known to the rubricator. See pp. 35, 43, below.

² Cf. LUARD, *CM*, II, x, xi.

³ Although the word *Cella* enters into various place names, the phrase *de Cella* may be the equivalent of *Cellensis*. Hence, Abbot John may have studied also at the famous monastery of Montier-la-Celle in Champagne, of which Petrus *Cellensis* was abbot, who numbered among his pupils John of Salisbury.

⁴ RILEY, *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217. In a supposed quotation from the *Gesta Abbatum* in Cott. contine VII the expression is expanded, however, to "litteratissimus in gramatica, Dialectica, beyongia, et eminens in phisica" (fol. 120b); hence, like Saxo, "Magister" John de Cella "Grammaticus."

subordinates, "more scholarium, rei familiaris ignarus, studium, contemplationem, et orationum continuationem amplectens."¹ He thus had nineteen years of comparative leisure, even after he became abbot, in which to exercise his scholarly attainments.

3. The circumstances of the abbey in his time were such as would naturally suggest to a scholar the production of such a work as *V*. He himself by mismanagement had incurred a heavy debt in attempting to rebuild the west front of the church, and endeavored in every possible way to raise money to complete the undertaking.² What was more natural than that, while he was calling people's attention to the needs of the abbey, he should write out, or cause to be written, to rouse their interest, the wonderful stories that attended its foundation? That the chief purpose of *V* was to show the antiquity and importance of St. Albans cannot be doubted (see p. 12, below).³

4. Luard⁴ notes that at the end of the year 1188, in MS Douce cvii of Wendover (written late in the thirteenth century), occurs the rubric apparently contemporary: "Huc usque in libro Croni-corum Johannis abbatis;" and opposite this, in a later hand: "Usque hoc cronica Johannis Abbatis, et hic finis." A similar rubric, "Huc usque scripsit Cronica dñs Rogerus de Wendoure," occurs at the end of the year 1235; and there seems no reason for doubting that in the first case as in the second the note is an attribution of authorship. It is noteworthy, too, that the corresponding MS of Paris, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. xxvi,⁵ ends at 1188—a fact that in this connection may mean that his original stopped at that point.

5. In the margin of *J* (fol. 14b) is written the famous Kenelm couplet, otherwise first quoted in *CM*.⁶ This is in a different,

¹ Cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217, 218.

² The text reads: "fecitque prædicari per totam terram Sancti Albani et per plurimum Episcoporum Dioceses, transmissis reliquiis, et quodam clerico, nomine Amphibalo (quem Dominus quatruiduanum, meritis Sanctorum Albani et Amphibali, a mortuis suscitaverat, ut miraculis Sanctorum ipsorum testimonium fide perhiberet oculata), non minimam pecuniam coacervavit."—*Gest. Abb.*, I, 219.

³ It cost Abbot John a thousand marks to buy off the claim of King John to a certain jurisdiction over the abbey. This may have influenced the production of a work which insisted so strongly on ancient privileges and immunities. Cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 235, 236, 241-43, and *V*, 29, ll. 38-49; 31, ll. 33-52.

⁴ *CM*, II, ix-xi; VII, x.

⁵ Cf. MADDEN, *Hist. Anglor.*, I, lxxi, lxxii; also liv.

⁶ *CM*, VII, x; I, p. 373.

though contemporary, hand, and is headed by the rubric: "*Versus Abbatis Johannis de Sancto Albano de Sancto Kenelmo martire.*" In connection with the facts that several couplets by Abbot John are quoted in the *Gesta Abbatum*,¹ that he seems to have been especially interested in St. Kenelm,² and that the Kenelm couplet in *CM* is introduced by the modest "*quidam ait*,"³ instead of a poet's name or a laudatory phrase, the probability that Abbot John wrote both couplet and *CM* is increased.

6. John de Cella was born at Stodham (Studham) in Bedfordshire, "*ex mediocri prosapia.*"⁴ Who was more likely than a Bedfordshire man of humble origin to know a legend of the Ouse? The phrase "*omnium fere conprovincialium assercio*" (*V*, 32, l. 11) may include the author among the natives of Bedfordshire; it at least implies a wide acquaintance among them.⁵

The only objection⁶—and this Luard does not consider decisive⁷—to his authorship is the silence of Paris on that point. This can be met by the counter-objection that Paris, who was undoubtedly proud of his own achievement and jealous of his own fame,⁸ was not likely to bring forward the name of the man on whose work his own was founded. A parallel case seems to be his treatment of "Adam the Cellarer," whose "roll" he is said, in a rubric

¹ *Gest. Abb.*, I, 244, 247.

² He prophesied his own death on St. Kenelm's day. Both *J* and *CM* manifest particular interest in this saint (*Gest. Abb.*, I, 249).

³ So Henry of Huntingdon introduces his own verses. Cf. *Hist. Anglor.*, Rolls Series, 1879, pp. 11, 243, 246, 249.

⁴ *Gest. Abb.*, I, 217.

⁵ An additional point in favor of his authorship mentioned by LUARD (*CM*, II, xi) is that *CM* inserts "*apud Wallingford*" into an account taken from Robert de Monte. But this might have been written by almost any monk of St. Albans, of which Wallingford was a cell, Abbot John certainly, as he had been prior there. The connection of both Abbot John de Cella and John de Wallingford, *infirmarius*, with the cell of Wallingford might help to account for the presence of *J* in MS Cott. Jul. D VII.

⁶ A special objection to his authorship of *CM* I is an allusion in the year 1179 to an event that happened in 1215 (the year after the abbot's death); but, as LUARD observes (cf. *CM*, II, 313, and VII, xi), this has all the look of an interpolation.

⁷ Cf. *CM*, II, xi, xii; VII, xi.

⁸ Witness his introductions of his own name into the text (*Gest. Abb.*, I, 19), and the numerous rubrics in which it appears.

not written by himself in Nero D I, to have used in compiling the *Gesta Abbatum*. He, indeed, mentions Adam, but as *illiteratus*, and with no word of his roll. Nor does he make any mention of his indebtedness to Wendover.¹

Various other reasons can be suggested to explain his silence. (1) In an ecclesiastical work, he may have considered his general laudation of John's Latin style sufficient. That this was the case is suggested by the fact that Abbot John's verse fares scarcely better than his prose, except that a few couplets are quoted. (2) In a time when there was small scruple against adopting the work of another without acknowledgment of indebtedness, it may not have occurred to him to mention Abbot John's name; or the abbot himself, a man famous for his humility, may have considered his work as belonging to the community—a common monastic attitude. (3) As Wendover is known to have begun his chronicle at St. Albans within a few years of Abbot John's death, it is very possible that he was appointed to revise and continue the work left unfinished; and that it is because *CM1* was left unfinished and was so greatly worked over and extended by Wendover and Paris in turn, that we find many rubrics attaching the chronicle to their names and but one giving credit to the originator; in other words, by a natural process their greater fame would have obliterated his.

If the foregoing argument has shown that the most reasonable explanation of the relation between *J*, *V*, *CM1*, and the known facts of Abbot John's life lies in the hypothesis that he was the author of these works, then we may proceed to the examination of the text *V*, in the belief that we are dealing with the work of a man of unusual education and ability, a man of humble origin, cosmopolitan by reason of a long stay on the continent, one who had read widely in historical works, but with small power of discrimination, and one who interested himself more or less in folk-lore; and finally, one who was deeply religious and interested in the welfare of his own abbey. These factors must certainly enter into the consideration of the materials that he used and his method of dealing with them.

¹ *Gest. Abb.*, I, xiv-xvi.

II.

Of the two parts of *V*, the second, which is twice as long as the first, is obviously an attempt at a somewhat complete biography, while the first consists merely of two long stories, independent of each other in matter, different in style, and but slightly connected. These two parts are joined by a short paragraph of eighteen lines that relates each directly to the founding of St. Albans. The gist of it is: that as O1 had, through the habits of luxury and avarice that ruled him in his old age, failed to perform his vow to build the abbey,¹ the promise was handed down to each of his descendants until the time of Offa of Mercia,² who at last fulfilled it;³ further, that, because of the neglect of O1 and his descendants, all the lands that he had conquered fell gradually away, so that they had to be won again by his descendant, O2.

From the fact that the two stories in *V1* have a very definite relation to *V2*, the first forming a parallel to similar achievements on the part of O2, the second a contrast greatly to O2's advantage, in that he fulfils the vow which his supposed ancestor made and failed to keep, it is clear that the history of O2 is the most important part of the narrative;⁴ and also that the compiler's aim is to glorify him and through him the abbey.⁵ His method of accomplishing this aim seems to be as follows:

1. He alleviates the sins with which on good historic evidence O2 is charged, in two ways: (1) by attributing these to his wife Cyneðryð, or his ancestor O1; (2) by representing them as atoned for.

2. He compares and contrasts him favorably with O1.

¹ "In eo multum redarguendus quod scenobium notiuo affectu repromissum thesauris parendo non construxit. Post uictorias enim a Domino sibi collatas, amplexibus et ignauia necnon auaricie plus equo indulsit."—*V*, 10, ll. 5-7.

² *V*, 10, ll. 8-15, and 12, ll. 21-24.

³ That the story of the broken vow gives a semblance of a far greater antiquity to the history of the abbey is true; but it is perhaps not possible to show that there was a recognition of this fact in the compiler's mind.

⁴ In bulk it is two-thirds of the text.

⁵ The biography begins with a description of his crippled state, his presentation in the temple, and an allusion to the broken vow of his ancestor; except for a short account of the disaster to his tomb, it ends with the founding of St. Albans. Nearly a third of its content is concerned with abbey matters.

It becomes necessary, then, to consider (1) how the compiler has dealt with his historic material in whitewashing his hero, and (2) to study in detail the parallel and contrast which he introduces into his work.

The two sins with which O2 is charged are avarice and bloodshed. Alcuin, his friend and contemporary, practically accuses him of both in a letter of admonition to his successor Coenulf.¹ In *V*2 there is no word of O2's avarice. On the contrary, his generosity is insisted upon.² But O2's queen is described as *mulier auara*;³ and O1, although he as well as O2 gave up to his men all the spoils of his victory,⁴ by a slight inconsistency or a change of character, is represented as failing to build the monastery *thesauris parcendo*.⁵

The charge of shedding blood in wars of conquest is also emphasized by Alcuin⁶ in writing of the death of Offa's son Ecgferp:

Non enim ill. nobilissimus iuuenis ex suis peccatis, ut reor, mortuus est; sed etiam paterni sanguinis ultio in filium usque redundavit. Nam, sicut scis optime, quam multum sanguinis effudit pater eius, ut filio regnum confirmaret. Sed hoc confirmatio non fuit regni sed destructio. The compiler, admitting this charge, "de peccatis omnibus precipue tamen de preliorum multorum commissione,"⁷ represents his hero as making atonement, not only by the foundation of St. Albans, but also by a penitential pilgrimage to Rome.

As will appear later, in *V* alone is O2 said to have been ignorant of St. Ethelbert's murder, the blame being laid entirely upon his queen.⁸

¹ "Si quid vero avare vel crudeliter gessit, hoc omnino tibi cavere necessarium esse agnosce."—JAFFÉ, *Monumenta Alcuini* (*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, t. 6, Berlin, 1873), 353.

² William of Malmesbury's charge that Offa had robbed his monastery is perhaps meant to be counterbalanced in *V* by the list of his generous donations to St. Albans (*De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1887, I, 86). No doubt to this end is told the story of his magnificence or reckless extravagance in Flanders, by virtue of which he bought up land at the natives' own price to secure fodder for his horses (*V*, 28, ll. 43-57 and 29, ll. 1-3).

³ Cf. *V*, 23, ll. 26, 27.

⁴ "Ne quomodolibet auaricie turpiter redargueretur."—*V*, 4, ll. 11, 12. ⁵ *V*, 10, ll. 5, 6.

⁶ JAFFÉ, 350; cf. also: "Non enim sine causa nobilissimus filius illius tam parvo tempore vixit super patrem. Saepe merita patris vindicantur in filios."—*Ibid.*, 353.

⁷ *V*, 29, ll. 52-54.

⁸ Even his delay in fulfilling the promise made in his name is apologized for: "... de uoto . . . cuius execucionem Regina Quendreda iam defuncta, nequiter retardando impe-

Further, whole sections are given to accounts of his piety, humility, humanity, and generosity,¹ and stress is laid upon a quality not so much as hinted at in any other work, his *supereminentem sanctitatem*.²

Since it is clear that the compiler is disposed to take liberties with history for his own end, it is necessary to examine in detail the parallel which he has drawn between the two kings, with a view to determining whether (1) he has deliberately combined sagas of O1 with legends of O2; or (2) has falsified the history of O2 by incorporating into it matter relating solely to O1; or (3) has found the two figures completely confused, and in his endeavor to disentangle them has hit upon the parallel and contrast; in other words, whether the popular imagination in the twelfth century had already made a composite of the two Offas, *V* representing an attempt to restore each to its place; or distinct stories were told about one or both, while *V* represents an attempt to combine them for a special purpose.

III.

The first step in the investigation is to examine the parallels, which consist of phrases as well as situations and events.³

*V*1

Warmund's fame and connection with Warwick (1, 1-6).

Qui usque ad annos seniles absque liberis extitit, preter unicum filium, quem, ut estimabat, regni sui heredem et successorem puerilis debilitatis incomodo laborantem constituere non ualebat. Licet enim idem unicus filius eius, Offa uel

*V*2

Natus est igitur memorato Tuinfred et qui de stemati regum fuit filius, uidelicet Pineredus, usque ad annos adolescentie inutilis, poplitibus contractis, qui nec oculorum uel aurium plene officio naturali fungeretur. Unde patri suo Tuin-

diuerat."—*V*, 26, ll. 17, 18. Again O2 says in a prayer: "a coniugis mee laqueis miser. corditer ac potenter liberasti.—*V*, 26, l. 21. SHARON TURNER noted how the adventures of Cyndryð were introduced in order to lay the blame of the murder upon her (*Hist. of England*, London, 1839, I, 410).

¹ *V*, 19, ll. 19-52; 31, ll. 13-18.

² *V*, 21, l. 47.

³ Since the account in *V*1 is the fuller, it has been made the basis, and is printed nearly entire to the end of the battle, except the parts where the narratives diverge, which are summed up in English. When *V*1 gives details of a parallel situation not found in *V*2, the text is continued across the page, being useful for future reference. The accounts in *V*2 have been in some cases taken out of their proper context, in order to bring the parallels together.

V1

Offanus nomine, statura fuisset procerus, corpore integer, et elegantissime forme iuuenis existeret, permansit tamen a natiuitate uisu priuatus usque ad annum septimum. Mutus autem et uerba humana non proferens usque ad annum etatis sue tricesimum. Huius debilitatis incomodum non solum rex sed etiam regni proceres supra quam dici potest moleste sustinuerunt (1, 6-16).

Riganus plots to be appointed heir, but, repulsed by Warmund, raises an army. Warmund refuses to fight and calls a council (1, 16-27 and 2, 1-8).

Dum igitur tractarent in commune per aliquot dies, secum deliberantes instantissime necescitatis articulum, affuit inter sermocinantes natus et unigenitus regis, eo usque elinguis et absque sermone, sed aure purgata singulorum uerba discernens. Cum autem patris senium et se ipsum ad regni negocia quasi inutilem et minus efficacem despici et reprobari ab omnibus perpenderet, contritus est et humiliatus in semetipso, usque in lacrimarum ad uberem profusionem; et exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi eius, et estuabat dolore cordis intrinsecus amarissimo. Et quia uerbis non poterat, Deo affectu intrinseco precordialiter suggerebat ingemiscens reponensque lacrimabilem quere-

V2

fredo et matri sue Marcelline oneri fuit non honori, confusio et non exultacioni. Et licet unicus eis fuisset mallent prole caruisse quam talem habuisse (10, 23-27).

Tuinfred and Marcella renew the vow that O 1 had made to found an abbey, in the name of their son, if he should be healed. The tyrant Beormred, fearing the nobility of royal descent in his kingdom, endeavors to be rid of them; but Tuinfred and his family escape (10, 27-48).

Puerum autem Pinefredum spreuit nec ipsum querere ad perdendum dignabatur, reputans eum inutilem et uoletudinarium. Fugientes igitur memoratus *Tuinfredus* et uxor eius et familia a facie persequentis, sese in locis tucioribus receperunt ne generali calumpnie inuoluerentur. Quod comperiens Pinefredus adolescens quasi a graui sompno expergefactus, erexit se; et compagibus neruorum laxatis et miraculose protensis, sese de longa desidia redarguens, fecit alices, brachia crura pedes extendendo (10, 48-54).

V1

lam coram ipso orabat ut a Spiritu sancto reciperet consolationem a patre luminum fortitudinem et a filio patris unigenito sapientie salutaris donatium, in breui igitur contriti cordis uota prospiciens, is cui nuda et aperta sunt omnia, resoluuit os adolescentis in uerba discreta et manifeste articulata. Sicque de regni principatu tumide et minaciter contra se et patrem suum perstreptentes subito et ex insperato alloquitur (2, 8-21).

O makes a long speech claiming the throne. Warmund girds him with a sword, and he distinguishes himself in many exercises. Preparations are made on both sides for the battle (2, 21-57 and 3, 1-5).

ore facundo

sermone rethorico
uultu sereno (2, 29).

V2

O excels all others in courage and is called by the Mercians the second Offa, instead of Pinefred; and, because like O 1 he is favored of God, is chosen to lead them against Beormred, who now repents having spared him (10, 57 and 11, 1-9).

Et aliquociens oscitans, cum loqui conaretur, solutum est uinculum lingue eius, et loquebatur recte uerba proferens ore facundo promptius articulata. Quid plura? De contracto, muto et ceco fit elegans corpore, eloquens sermone, acie perspicax oculorum (10, 54-57).

V1

Congregato itaque utrobique copiosissimo et formidabili nimis exercitu, parati ad congressum (3, 6, 7).

V2

Congregato igitur utrobique exercitu copiosissimo, pugnam cruentissimam inierunt: hinc rex Beormredus cum suis complicitibus, inde Offa adolescens strenuissimis cum suis Merciiis sibi indissolubiliter adherentibus (11, 11-13),

V2

Conuocatis igitur uniuersis officium militare sibi debentibus, regem Cantuariensem uel Kentensem hostiliter aggreditur. Cui accurrunt alii reges memorati regi Offe rebelles in eorum adiutorium (15, 35-37).

V1.

fixerunt tentoria e regione, nichilque intererat nisi fluuius torrens in medio, qui utrumque exercitum sequestrabat. Et aliquandiu hinc inde meticulosi et consternati rapidi fluminis alueum interpositum, qui uix erat homini uel equo transmeabilis, transire distulerunt. Tela tamen sola cum crebris comminationibus et conuiciis transuolarunt. Tandem indignatus Offa et egre ferens probrose more dispendia, electis de exercitu suo robustioribus et bello magis strenuis, quos etiam credebatur fideiores, subitus et improvisus flumen raptim pertransiens, facto impetu ueheementi et repentino, hostes ei obuiam occurrentes preoccupatos tamen circa ripam fluminis, plurimos de aduersariorum exercitu contriuit et in ore gladii trucidauit. Primosque omnes tribunos et primicerios potenter dissipauit. Cum tamen sui commilitones forte uolentes prescire in Offa preuio Martis fortunam, segniter amnem transmearent, qui latus suum tenebantur suffulcire et potius circumuallando roborare, (et) resumpto spiritu uiuidiore, reliquos omnes hinc inde ad modum nauis uelificantis et equora uelociter sulcantis, impetuosisime diuisit, ense terribiliter fulminante et hostium cruore sepius inebriato, donec sue omnes acies ad ipsum illese et indempnes transmearent. Quo cum peruenirent sui commilitones, congregati circa ipsum dominum suum exercitum magnum et fortem conflauerunt (3, 7-22).

Duces autem contrarii exercitus, sese densis agminibus et consertis aciebus uiolenter opponunt aduentantibus, et congressu inito pugnam cruentissimam acclamatum est utrobique et exhortatum (3, 23-25).

pugnam cruentissimam inierunt (11, —).

suos exhortabatur dicens (11, 17).

—oppositum exercitum potenter et audacter * * * * * inuadit et dissipatis obstantibus uniuersis bellum inchoat cruentissimum (15, 37-39).

V1

ut res agatur pro capite et certamen pro sua et uxorum suarum et lib-

V2

O nobiles commilitones non alienigene sed indigene, non amore pecunie sed libertatis, uobis debite michi coniuncti, qui me super uos elegistis; et non ego ad hunc apicem me ingessi. Expergiscimini. Res uest-

V2

O consortes, amici et commilitones mei, confusionis uel glorie mee consortes, quid hucusque pueriliter hostibus publicis allusistis? Numquid hic simulas latitat? Ubinam Merciorum probitas fre-

V1

erorum suorum et possessionum liberacione (3, 25, 26).

V2

tra agitur. Quid pigritantes fatigamini? Sequimini me preuium. Ecce prelii negotium finem expectat adoptatum. Sol iam uergit in occasum. Nunquid in tenebris quas desiderant manus nostras euadent hostes nostri? Hucusque prosperatum est opus Martium feliciter ex parte nostra. Incepta uiriliter prosequimini (11, 18-23),

V2

quenter experta? Sequimini me preuium et Kentensem proditorem in spiritu furoris nostri et impetu repentino adeamus uniuersi, et eius miseram animam nichil aliud pro meritis expectantem in Tartara detrudamus (15, 44-49).

ineant iustissimum, auxilio diuino protegente (3, 26, 27).

in causa sua iustissima protegente (11, 42).

Perstrepunt igitur tube cum lituis, clamor exhortantium, equorum hinnitus, morientium et uulneratorum gemitus, fragor lancearum, gladiatorum tinnitus, ictuum tumultus aera perturbare uidebantur (3, 27-29).

Sese igitur ad inuicem clamor exhortantium ascendit ad sidera, puluis aera perturbat, fragor hastarum tinnitus gladiatorum, gemitus uulneratorum, tubarum et lituorum clangor, ictuum strepitus repetitorum corda potuit exterruisse magnanimorum (11, 26-29).

Unde equorum et armorum et armatorum tubarum et lituorum strepitus horribilis aciesque sese glomeratim comprimunt ad nubes ascendere uidebatur. Et timor qui super constantissimos cadere poterat corda concutit intuentium (15, 39-42).

Aduersarii tandem Offe legiones deiciunt et in fugam dissipatas conuertunt. Quod cum videret Offa strenuissimus et ex hostium cede cruentus, hausto spiritu alacriori, in hostes more leonis et leone sublatis catulis, irrui-

. . . . et ipso preuio et densam aciem hostium ad instar tellurem sulcantis hinc inde dissipat aduersarios et obstantes prosternendo (11, 24, 25).

. . . . nec eum acies interposite quin turmas densissimas dissiparet et uias latas aperiret retardare potuerunt. Uibrata igitur

V1

truculenter, gladium suum cruore hostili inebriando. Quod cum uiderent trucidandi, fugitiui et meticulosi, pudore confusi reuersi sunt super hostes; et ut famam redimerent ferociore in obstantes fulminant et debacantur (3, 29-34).

V2

Quem Merciorum prestanciores a tergo et e uestigio subsequentes uiam aperiunt laciores (11, 25, 26).

V2

hasta cruentata (15, 51-53).

. . . . ecce acies Merciorum inuictissima ad instar torrentis saxa rotantis irruit in obstantes (16, 13, 14).

Multoque tempore truculenter nimis decertatum est et utrobique suspensa est uictoria; tandem post multorum ruinam, hostes fatigati pedem retulerunt ut respirarent et pausarent post conflictum (3, 35-37).

Decertantibusque utrimque uiriliter partibus ex aduerso ceciderunt quamplures exanimati. Multi quoque letaliter uulnerati lapsi sunt, qui cito postea miserabiliter expirant. Tandem suspensa diu uictoria (11, 13-15).

Congressum utrobique grauius et

suspensa est uictoria (15, 42, 43).

V1

Similiter etiam et exercitus Offani. Quod tamen moleste nimis tulit Offanus cuius sanguis in ulcionem estuabat; et indefessus propugnator cessare erubescerat. Hic casu Offe obuian duo filii diuitis illius qui regnum patris eius sibi attemptauit usurpare, nomen primogenito Brutus et iuniori Sueno. Hii probra et uerba turpia in Offam irreuerenter ingerunt, et iuueni pudorato in conspectu exercituum non minus sermonibus quam armis molesti extiterunt. Offa igitur magis lacessitus, et calore audacie scintillans, et iracundia usque ad fremitum succensus, in impetu spiritus sui in eosdem audacter irruit. Et eorum alterum, uidelicet Brutum, unico gladii ictu percussit, amputatoque galee cono craneum usque ad cerebri medullam perforauit, et in morte singultantem sub equinis pedibus¹ potenter precipitauit. Alterum uero, qui hoc uiso fugam iniit, repentinus insequens uulnere letali sauciatum contempsit et prostratum. Post hec deseuiens in ceteros contrarii exercitus duces, gladius Offe quicquid obuiam habuit prosternendo deuorauit, exercitu ipsius tali exemplo recencius in hostes insurgente et iam gloriosius triumphante. Pater uero predictorum iuuenum, perterritus et dolore intrinseco saucia-

¹ Cf. "animas cum sanguine sub equinis pedibus miserabiliter eructantes" (V, 11, 30, 31); also, "extremum spiritum sub equinis pedibus exalauit" (V, 16, 1, 2).

tus, subterfugiens amnem oppositum nitebatur pertransire; *sed* interfectorum sanguine torrens fluuius, eum loricatum et armorum pondere grauatum et multipliciter fatigatum, cum multis de suo exercitu simili incomodo prepeditis, ad ima submersit; et sine uulneribus miseras animas exalarunt proditores toti posteritati sue probra relinquentes. Amnis autem a Rigano ibi submerso sorciebatur uocabulum et Riganburne vt facti uiuat perpetuo memoria nuncupatur.

Reliqui autem omnes de exercitu Rigani, qui sub ducatu Mitunni regebantur, in abissum desperacionis demersi, et timore effeminati, cum eorum duce in quo magis Riganus confidebat, in noctis crepusculo trucidati cum uictoria gloriosa campum Offe strenuissimo in nulla parte corporis sui deformiter mutilato nec *eciam* uel letaliter uel periculose uulnerato, licet ea die multis se letiferis opposuisset periculis, reliquerunt. Sicque Offe circa iuuentutis sue primicias a Domino data est uictoria in bello nimis ancepiti ac cruentissimo et inter alienigenas, uirtutis et industrie sue nomen celebre ipsius uentilatum, et odor longe lateque bonitatis ac ciuilitatis, nec non et strenuitatis eius circumfusus, nomen eius ad sidera subleuauit. Porro in crastinum post uictoriam, hostium spolia interfectorum et fugitiuorum magnifice contempnens, nec sibi uolens aliquatenus usurpare ne quomodolibet auaricie turpiter redargueretur, militibus suis stipendiariis et naturalibus suis hominibus, precipue hiis quos nouerat indigere, liberaliter dereliquit. Solos tamen magnates quos ipsemet in prelio ceperat, sibi retinuit incarcerationis, redimendos, uel iudicialiter puniendos. Iussitque ut interfectorum duces et principes quorum fama titulos magnificauit, et precipue eorum qui in prelio magnifice ac fideliter se habuerant, licet ei aduersarentur, seorsum honorifice intumulerentur, factis eis obsequiis cum lamentacionibus. Exercitus autem popularis cadauera in arduo et eminenti loco ad posteritatis memoriam tradi iussit sepulture ignobiliori. Vnde locus ille hoc nomine Anglico Qualmhul, a strage uidelicet, et sepultura interfectorum merito meruit intitulari. Multorum *eciam* et magnorum lapidum super eos struem exercitus Offe uoce preconia iussus congregissit eminentem. Totaque circumiacens planes (*sic*) ab ipso cruentissimo certamine et notabili sepultura nomen et titulum indelebilem est sortita; et Blodiweld a sanguine interfectorum denominabatur (3, 38-57, and 4, 1-24).

V1

Pater uero Warmundus qui sese receperat in locis tucioribus rei euentum expectans *sed* iam fausto nuncio certificatus comperiensque et securus de carissimi filii sui uictoria cum ingenti leticia ei procedit obuius. Et in amplexus eius diu-

V2

Patri igitur aduentanti occurrit Offa triumphator magnificus et in mutuos

V1

tissime commoratus conceptum interius de filii sui palma gaudium tegere non uolens set nec ualens huius cum lacrimis exultacionis prorupit in vocem. Euge fili dulcissime" (4, 26-30).

Quamobrem in presenti accipe quod tuis meritis exigentibus debetur eciam si filius meus non esses et si mihi iure hereditario non succederes (4, 48, 49).

. . . . Vt a curis et secularibus sollicitudinibus quibus discerpor liberatus precibus uacem et contemplacioni (4, 53, 54).

. . . . fame tue magnitudo per orbem uniuersum dilatabitur et felix suscipiet incrementum (5, 23, 24).

. . . . filius deuotus et mansuetus
. . . . grates rettulit accumulatas
(5, 26-28).

V2

ruentes sese piis lacrimis et letis fletibus irroarunt. Et singulitibus sermonem prorumpentibus ait pater filio: O fili, unice fili, fili genealis

accipe hereditatem tuam comitatum meum.

Quia et si filius meus non esses hec et plura pro meritorum retributione promeruisti

. . . . Ego iam delibor

precibus et contemplacioni cum uxore mea de cetero quiescius incumbam (11, 51-56, and 12, 1-3).

Absit hoc pater mi uenerande ut dum uitales auras hauseris status uestre dignitatis in aliquo me uiuente mutiletur immo potius felix suscipiet incrementum (12, 6-8).

This comparison shows the following results:

1. The miracle in V2 is enhanced by an exaggeration of the previous physical defects; but the time of its operation is left vague. Apparently it occurs some years after the renewal of the vow, and not immediately as in V1.

2. The first situation is distinctly different in each case: in V1 the rightful heir claims and wins his throne, overcoming a would-be usurper; in V2 a boy of royal birth, but not heir to the throne, is elected because of his achievement in driving out the tyrant who oppressed the country.

3. The single combat of O1 with two enemies is not paralleled in V2; although O2 fights alone with the tyrant of Kent, the circumstances and language are different.¹

¹ Only one phrase, and that not noteworthy, is common to the two passages: *sub equinis pedibus*.

4. The scale of the narrative in *V1* is much larger than in *V2*, as five pages to two:

In *V1* 65 lines give the initial situation, O1's first speech and the miracle; 24, the preparations for the battle; 74, the battle itself; 61, the meeting of father and son, and Warmund's speech; and 31, Warmund's death and a summary of the situation before O1's marriage—255 in all.

In *V2* 40 lines give the situation including the presentation in the temple, the miracle, and the likeness to O1; 32, the battle; and 33, the speeches of Tuinfred and O2, and O2's election to the throne—105 in all.

5. The verbal resemblances are confined chiefly to the battle accounts:¹ about 11 lines (out of 32) of the battle with Beormred, and 7 (out of 24) of the battle at Otford, showing close resemblances to the battle in *V1*.

6. A phrase is rarely repeated with exactness, more often with slight changes such as (a) construction: *ut res agatur*=*res vestra agitur*; (b) order: *uulneratorum gemitus*=*gemitus uulneratorum*; (c) use of synonyms: *fragor lancearum*=*fragor hastarum*; (d) context: see pp. 17, 18; (e) combination of these various differences: *miseras animas exalarunt*=*animas cum sanguine . . . miserabiliter eructantes*=*miseram animam eructans*=*extremum spiritum . . . exalauit*.

7. In *V1* the battle is definitely localized and told with distinctive details; in *V2* the battle against Beormred is not localized and shows no peculiar features; Feldhard is quite general; Otford shows only the definite feature mentioned before, the death of the tyrant of Kent; and Bensington is scarcely unlike the others, although it is a siege.

The first point to be determined is the historic evidence for this account of the early life of O2.

1. Of his deformity and subsequent cure there is elsewhere no trace; and it should be noted that it is this very fact, with its biblical presentation in the temple, that is especially connected with the foundation of St. Albans, hence historically untrustworthy.

¹The narratives of Feldhard and Bensington have only a phrase or two in common with *V1*.

That the account in *V1* is the original of that in *V2* is then probable because of the exaggeration of *V2* and its connection with St. Albans, and because O2's resemblance to his ancestor in this respect is insisted upon.¹ The introduction of the miraculous element will be discussed more particularly in connection with the compiler's use of his material.

2. Of the battle with Beormred there is some historic evidence. The *Saxon Chronicle* says: "Beornræd feng to rice & lytle hwile heold & ungefealice,"² while the Northumbrian *Continuation of Bede*³ implies a battle in the statement that Offa: "fugato Beonredo, Merciorum regnum sanguinolento quæsivit gladio."⁴

3. Since the battle of Feldhard is not mentioned elsewhere, and in *V2* no definite details are given, while the assertion that by it O2 conquered the East Anglians does not agree with the later statement that he annexed East Anglia only after the murder of St. Ethelbert, and since the battle against Beormred, which is confirmed by other authority, is nowhere localized, and Feldhard is an English name, it is possible that it may in reality belong to the victory over Beormred. The battles of Otford and Bensington are barely mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle* (*an.* 773, 777); but Henry of Huntingdon adds "clade autem horrenda utrinque peracta" to his mention of the former. It is possible that a few details of this battle may have lingered in the popular memory, or, as Arnold thinks, they may have been preserved in a St. Albans Chronicle since lost;⁵ but there is no trace of a trustworthy historic account of any of these battles.

4. The additional details in *V2*, in regard to Beormred's oppression, the exile of O2's parents, his own election to the throne, are probable enough, but unsupported by evidence.

¹ "Rex igitur Offa secundus, primo similimus, in omnibus agendis, primo studuit conformari" (13, 24, 25); "Ueruntamen memorie reducentes euentum Offe magni, qui in tenera etate penitus erat inutilis, et postea, Deo propicio penitus sibi restitutus, mirabili strenuitate omnes suos edomuit aduersarios" (10, 27-30); "Unde ipsi Mercii, secundum Offam, et non Pinefredum, iam nominantes quia a Deo respectus et electus fuisset, eodem modo quo et Rex Offa filius regis Warmundi ceperant ipsi quasi Domino universaliter adherere" (II, ll. 2-4).

²*An.* 755 (= 757).

³*An.* 757 (STEVENSON, *Ven. Bedae Op.*, London, 1841, II, 258).

⁴Simeon of Durham (*an.* 769) states that one "Earnred tyrannus," whom Hinde inclined to identify as the Beornred of the *Chronicle* (*Sym. Dun. Opera*, Surtees Soc., 1868, p. 123 u.), was killed at the burning of Catterick. In *CM*, *an.* 769, he is called Beornred.

⁵*Hist. Anglor.*, p. 126 n. a.

Tuinfred's announced purpose of retiring into the monastery of St. Albans when it should be founded is more suspicious.

Since there is no historic basis for the account of O2's youth, and almost no details are known of his early wars, and since in *V1* the narrative contains details at once peculiar to itself and characteristic of Old English literature, while in *V2* the description shows a strong likeness in language to *V1* without definite details, we may conclude, I think, that the compiler used in the case of *V1* an episode which he believed to be so clearly attached to O1 that he could not suppose it to belong to O2; hence, knowing several points of likeness between the two careers, he hit upon the expedient of the parallel. That this is the result of deliberate intention is clear from the fact that these close resemblances¹ do not occur in other parts where the situations are similar;² but whether the compiler has drawn upon his own text of *V1* in the case of *V2*, or has returned to his original, I find it impossible to decide. That the slight changes might be due in part to carelessness, in part to some difference in context, is evident; and the few apparent expansions in *V2* may as easily be due to rhetorical instinct as to a return to the original.

The possible source or sources for this part of *V1* are native tradition,³ oral or written, and the Danish versions of Svenö and Saxo. The compiler himself gives little satisfactory evidence on this point. He says in his opening sentence:

Inter Occidentalium Anglorum reges illustrissimos precipua commendacionis laude celebratur Rex Warmundus ab hiis qui Historias Anglorum non solum relatu proferre set eciam scriptis inserere consueuerant.⁴

These words, when taken in connection with the description, "patris sui magnifici Warmundi, cuius mores tractatus exigit speciales,"⁵ seem to imply, however, that he knew somewhat

¹ The fact that the author shows a tendency occasionally to repeat a descriptive phrase in a different context—characteristic also of *J* and *CM*—does not affect this point.

² For example, not in the Welsh wars of O2.

³ TRIVET'S *Constance*, which, as will appear later, is closely akin to the second part of *V1*, claims as source unknown ancient Saxon chronicles (*Orig. and Anal.*, Chaucer Soc., p. 3, ll. 6, 7)—*lez Aunciene Cronikes de sessounz*. He also quotes an English sentence of a date not much earlier than his own, p. 19. ll. 7, 8.

⁴ *V*, 1, ll. 1-4.

⁵ *V*, 5, ll. 55, 56. In *Ynglinga-tal* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 250, l. 161) is mentioned *Godræðr inn Geofögláti* (*magnificent*); *magnifici* here may represent an alliterating epithet.

extensive accounts of Warmund's deeds, some of them told orally, and therefore calling for "speciales tractatus," others written down in certain "Historias Anglorum."¹

These statements, together with the undoubted early existence of English versions, and the claims in *J* that many oral traditions were known about Offa of Mercia, create a presumption in favor of the use of English materials, unless unmistakable signs of influence from the Danish accounts appear.

It is necessary then (1) to ascertain what elements in *V1* are found or suggested in the oldest English versions of the saga; (2) to compare *V1* with the accounts of Svenio and Saxo for possible traces of borrowing; (3) to study the text itself for marks of its origin.

The allusions in Old English literature consist of *Widsið*, 35-45, and *Beowulf*, 1931-62.

Widsið reads:

Offa wēold Ongle, Alewih Denum;
se wæs pāra manna mōdgast ealra;
no hwæpre he ofer Offan eorlscipe fremede,
ac Offa geslōg ārest monna
cniht wesende cynerica mǣst;
nænig efeneald him eorlscipe mǣran
on orette; āne sweorde
merce gemærde wið Myrgingum
bi Fīfeldore, hēoldon forð sippa
Engle and Swæfe, swā hit Offa geslōg.

The phrases *cniht wesende*, *geslōg* . . . *cynerica mǣst*, *nænig efeneald*, *āne sweorde* seem to allude unmistakably to the winning of a great kingdom by a young hero in single combat;² and *Fīfeldor* has been identified by Grimm with the Eider.³ There

¹ Although Warmund is but a poor figure in *V*, the allusions to him imply that he was a great hero whose deeds were familiar. The description of his funeral rites, "lamentaciones mensurnas cum magnis eiulatibus lacrimis et specialibus plantibus prout moris tunc erat principibus magnificis lugubriter pro tanto funere continuant" (*V*, 5, ll. 48-50), suggests *Beowulf*, 3148-82; and implies some knowledge of ancient laments, though not necessarily in connection with Warmund.

² Cf. MÜLLENHOFF, *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Altert.*, XI, 284-88, and *Beowulf*, 74; ETTMÜLLER, *Altnord. Sagenschatz* (Leipzig, 1870), p. 133; MÖLLER, *Alteng. Volksepos* (Kiel, 1883), pp. 30, 31.

³ *Deutsche Myth.* (ed. MEYER, Berlin, 1875), I, 198.

is here no trace of a wonderful awakening and nothing to show that the combat was of one against two.

Beowulf, 1931-62, treats chiefly of O1's wife, but ll. 1957-62, must be considered in connection with *Widsið*:

Forðām Offa wæs,
geofum ond gūðum gār-cēne man,
wide geweorðod; wīsdōme hēold
ēðel sinne. Ðonon Æomær wōc
hæleðum tō helpe, Hem[m]inges mæg,
nefa Garmundes, niða cræftig.

In l. 1960, although the reading *Æomær* seems, for the sake of the alliteration, to have been finally adopted instead of the MS *gēomor*, there is still something to be said in favor of the latter.

1. The first half-line has the minimum number of syllables, and it is possible that the alliterative word may have been accidentally omitted. A clear case of this is l. 586: "fāgum sweordum (nō ic pæs [fela] gylpe)." ¹

2. In the MS (fol. 176*a*, Zupitza, 173^r) there is a space for five letters between *hēold* and *ēðel*. Zupitza says merely that a blank is left "on account of the parchment being very thin." ² He does not add that the thinness is due to erasure on the *hēold-ēðel* side; but, although there are no traces of letters, it is clear that the parchment has been scraped or cut. ³ It is possible that a wart or lump has been removed; but the state of the parchment much resembles—except that it is a trifle smoother—that on fol. 132*a* (l. 20) *sceal (. .)uma*, where bits of the lost letters are still visible. On fol. 132*a* and again on fol. 154*a*, where letters are still visible, the instrument used for scraping has produced here and there the transparency which is so marked a feature of the gap on fol. 176*a*; but in l. 1960 there is no trace of writing. We

¹Of other cases: in two (389, 390) two half-lines seem to be omitted; in four (62, 240, 1803, 2792) a single half-line; in seven (149, 1329, 1372, 2488, 3000, 3086, 3101) the line is also too short metrically; in four (586, 954, 1174, 2139) the lines are possible metrically, although 954 and 1174 need the alliterative word to complete the meaning.

²*Beowulf*, E. E. T. S., 1882, p. 90. Kemble (*Beowulf*, I, 136), inserts dots. Grein-Wülker observes merely, "gap or erasure."

³Dr. Furnivall thinks that erasure is certain, but that it is not possible to decide conclusively whether it was the removal of a word or of a defect in the material. In favor of the latter may be urged the greater smoothness in l. 1960 (but it is not perfectly smooth); on the other hand, the size and shape of the bare mark are very similar to the space in l. 20.

may hold (1) that the scribe considered the place too thin to write upon (as Zupitza seems to imply); or (2) that he blundered, erased, and forgot to insert the correct word; or (3) that he wrote the passage correctly and afterwards erased the right word, thinking it to be a blunder.

Against (1) may be urged the fact that he did not hesitate to write on the reverse side of the parchment, the letters being plainly visible through it. It is far more likely that he would have written along continuously on 176*a*, and then, if he found the letters visible on *b*, have omitted to write over them, than that he should have skipped the weak place on *a* and then have written across it on *b*. It is barely possible that he forgot the erasure; but the parchment is obviously quite as frail on *b*. It is not necessary to decide between (2) and (3), as both imply that a word—and from its position, the alliterative word—is missing. But the size and shape of the thin place favor (2) and suggest especially that the word, if begun, ended in a blot. The space between *hēold* and *ēdel* is almost exactly the same as in l. 1110 (fol. 154*a*), where *gearu* (carried over from 1109) is scratched out, but still decipherable; hence, the missing word may have been *gearu* (*o*), *geare*, *gēara*; or perhaps better, when taken in connection with the *circa iuuentutis sue primicias* of *V* (see p. 20, above), and the *cniht wesende* of *Widsið*, *geong*.¹ The passage would then read: "held with wisdom in his youth, his kingdom whence he arose to the help of men," etc.

3. The word *gēomor* answers perfectly to Saxo's description of Uffo's youth:

Siquidem ab ineunte etate numquam lusus aut ioci consuetudinem prebuit, adeoque humane delectacionis uacuus fuit, ut laborum continenciam iugi silencio premeret et seueritatem oris a ridendi prorsus officio temperaret.²

It also describes *V1*: "Cum autem patris senium et se ipsum . . .

¹KEMBLE had the gap in mind when he suggested the reading *geard-ēdel* (*Beowulf*, II, Appendix, l. 3915); BACHLECHNER obviously not, when he emended to *ēdel-geard*; but neither word is given in BOSWORTH-TOLLER. I had thought of *geong* as suiting the context before I observed the gap in the MS, which it exactly fits. In l. 20 (fol. 132*a*) the gap is wider by exactly one letter, and the accepted emendation is [*geong g*]uma. But the shape of the thin place in l. 1960 shows that the word, if begun, was never written to the end.

²*Historia Danica* (ed. HOLDER, Strassburg, 1886), 106, 34-37 = Müller-Velschow, I, 162.

quasi inutilem *et* minus efficacem despici *et* reprobari ab omnibus perpenderet, contritus est *et* humiliatus in semetipso, usque in lacrimarum ad uberem profusionem . . . et estuabat dolore cordis intrinsecus amarissimo¹ (see p. 15, above).

4. The word *woc* may refer only to origin; but it suggests the phrase "quasi a graui sompno expergefactus, erexit se" in *V*2 (see p. 15, above). It is not necessary, however, to insist upon this point.²

5. The phrase *hæledum tō helpe* may be purely general, but, as great heroes usually arose in times of great need, it may, like the similar *folce tō frōfre* used of the first Beowulf, apply to a time of special emergency.³ Cf. "instantissime necescitatis articulum" (p. 15, above).

6. *Hem[n]inges⁴ mæg*, in connection with the reading *gēomor*, thus refers, as in l. 1944, consistently to Offa, to whom the other epithets used apply, while the conjectural *Ēomǣr* disappears.

7. The emendation *Ēomǣr* does not help to reconcile *nefa Gārmundes* with the Mercian genealogy (Wærmund, Offa, Angelpeow, Eomær). The stress laid in *V* and in the Danish accounts upon the great difference in age between father and son, in connection with the word *nefa*, may mean that originally Offa was the king's grandson. However, it is not uncommon to find relationships varying in different versions of a saga.⁵

¹ KEMBLE (*Beowulf*, II, 79) translates *gēomor* as "sad-hearted warrior," but in his introduction (I, xiv) he takes the word to allude to Oñl's dulness as told in the Danish version. GRUNDTVIG translates "med Hjerte-Sorge;" Ettmüller, "der Strengte" (PFEIFFER, *Germ.*, I, 297, 298).

² *Onwacan* is given in BOSWORTH-TOLLER as the usual word meaning *to wake*, but *wacan* is sometimes used in that sense. If it be so taken, *ponon* does not fit so well. The temporal meaning *from the time that would make good sense*; but the nearest that I have found to it is *not until that time* (quoted in BOSWORTH-TOLLER).

³ B., 11-16.

⁴ GREIN (*Bibl.*, Göttingen, 1857-64, I, 307) seemed to relate the name to *Hama*; BACH-LECHNER (*Pf. Germ.*, I, 455-60), to *Hamlac* = *Amleth*; and SUCHIER (*P. und B.*, *Beitr.* IV, 512) suggests the possibility of a relationship to the Norse guardian spirits *hamingjor*, through the valkyrie *Þryðo* (cf. ELTON, *Dan. Hist. of Saxo Gram.*, 162 n. 1; MEYER, *Germ. Myth.*, Berlin, 1891, 67-69). The name *Heming* is found in the *Lay of Helgi and Swava* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, Oxford, 1883, I, 143, l. 1); but there is nothing to connect him with Offa. He was foster-father to Helgi who like Offa was dull and silent in his youth and was loved by a valkyrie. There were at least two historic Hemings—Danes—in the early part of the ninth century (see LANG., I, 268, and PERTZ, *Mon. Germ. Script.*, Hannover, 1829, II, 604); but there is no evidence to show that they were ever connected with O2, and transferred to his ancestor.

⁵ The hypothesis that in the Mercian list (*Chron.*, 628, 755) Angelpeow has become misplaced and should stand between Offa and Wærmund, reconciles the *Chronicle* with *Beowulf*

8. The reading *gēomor* gives unity to ll. 1944–62, which thus become a tribute to Offa and his queen, introduced by way of contrast to ll. 1931–43. It is not without significance, perhaps, that the second hand in the MS begins in l. 1939. As this is the only case in *Beowulf* of two versions of the same story, it may be that the second scribe had heard the tale “with a difference,” and so felt bound to correct.

Judging from the date of *Widsið*, *Beowulf*, and their MSS, we may say that from the time of the coming of the Angles until the eleventh century the story of Ol’s combat was familiar in Old English poetry,¹ while the allusion to his *edwenden*² and two versions of his marriage became incorporated into the *Beowulf* some time between the eighth and tenth centuries.

The large number of obscure allusions in the *Beowulf* seems to show that the *Þryðo* story at least was treated in some detail; while the fact that two conflicting versions existed, alone is evidence that it was well known. The comparatively large space

on this point, but not with the Danish lists. These agree with the *Chronicle* as it stands, for Wiglek (Wihltæg), Wermund (Wærmund), and Ufo (Offa); and at that point diverge widely. Most of them follow Saxo in identifying Ufo (*Ufo Starke*) with the Icelandic *Ólafr Litilláti* (*hin Spaga, Olafus Mansuetus*), apparently in the belief that his name was changed with his change of character, and represent Dan (*Mikilláti, hin Stórlátene*) as his son; but *Chron. Eric. Reg.* (LANG., I, 153) makes three generations of them. Torfæus, moreover, tells of some writers who, because of the confusion between Olaf and Danp and Dan, represent him as a woman, *Olufa Mansueta* (as applied to Olaf, the epithet means *good-for-nothing*, but here, as in *V1*, *gentle*), Danp’s wife and Dan’s mother. In the English list Offa’s son is Angelpeow, whose name suggests the Swedish Ongenpeow (mentioned in *Beowulf*, l. 1968, only six lines beyond the end of the Offa passage); Icel, whom Thorpe believed to be Hygelac the Great, whose name corresponds to the Danish Hagleikr, brother or son of Dan; and the unknown Eomær. The meaning of the agreement between the English and Danish lists for the three names, and the subsequent confusion, is probably that attempts were made to adopt Angle heroes into the Danish genealogy, after Schleswig had become absorbed in Denmark; but the names that follow in the Mercian lists, if also Angle, are unknown elsewhere. It is barely possible that Wærmund and Offa, as familiar heroes, may have been originally characterized by epithets as in the Danish lists (Wermund was *Varmundr Vitri, Vermundus Sapiens, Wermund Blinde, Wermundus Prudens*) and that in course of time these were mistaken for distinct names: *Angelpeow* might have arisen from *Angelpeoden* or *Angelpeod-cyning* under the influence of *Ongenpeow* familiar from *Beowulf*; and *Eomær* from *gēomor*. The name *Eomer*, however, occurs in the *Chronicle* (LAUD, 626). Cf. HUITFELDT, *Danmarckis Rigis Krønnicke*, I, 12–13; TORFÆUS, *Hist. Rer. Norveg.*, 1711, I, 413–15; LANG., I, 5, 19, 21, 27, 31, 32, 152, 153; and for a discussion of the genealogies, OLBRIK, *Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.*, 1892 (Copenhagen, 1893), II, Række, 7 Bind, 1–2 Hefte, 92, 114–17.

¹ Even if *Widsið* was not written until the seventh century, the allusion to Ol’s combat must have been old enough to be referred to the Eider district; in *V, Fífeldor* has been replaced by *Riganburne*, identified by the thirteenth-century rubricator as the Avon. Nero D I, fol. 4a.

² Cf. *B.*, 2183–89.

given to O1's combat in *Widsið* (which barely mentions many heroes) is a reason for holding that this too was related at some length,¹ while the fact that *B.*, 1957-62 is of the nature of a summary, apparently introduced only to make an ending for the second version of the *Þryðo* story, itself introduced to correct the first version, and this again brought in only to illustrate Hygd's character by contrasting it with *Þryðo*'s, explains the slightness of the allusion in *gēomor*, and shows that this is no sufficient reason for holding that the awakening was not early included in the account of the battle. The vagueness of the reference and absence of explanation in the context are, on the contrary, reasons for supposing that this feature of the tale was familiar to audiences between the eighth and eleventh centuries.

If several important features of this saga are alluded to in MSS written at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, it is highly probable that the stories themselves would have been handed down in some form until the end of the twelfth century (and perhaps much longer, although I have not been able to trace them in any independent texts of later date than *V*); and therefore may have been included among the fictitious or "apocryphal" oral legends mentioned in *J*, which the author intended to verify before he related them of Offa of Mercia.

Now, while it is probable that the compiler of *V* might have derived the main facts of his narrative from English traditions, it is also true that the Danish account is detailed in regard to the awakening and battle; and that St. Albans had considerable intercourse with Denmark during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.² From these facts arise the questions of the relationship (1) of the Danish popular saga to the English; (2) of the liter-

¹The phrase *geongum cempan* (*B.*, 1948) may allude to the combat. The word *campio* is used in *Sv* of Offa's chief adversary (*LANG.*, I, 45, relates this to the Danish *kæmpe*, Germ. *kämpfer*, OE. *cempa*), while the proper Latin equivalents *athleta*, *pugil* appear in *Sx*, and the *Hist. . . . de Omn. Goth.*, etc., of JOANNES MAGNUS, pp. 95, 98. It is possible that the phrase *in campestri bello* used in connection with O2 in *J* (see p. 3, above) may have arisen from an indistinct memory of the combat and of the fact that O2 killed St. Ethelbert. DU CANGE quotes *campestrati* from JOHN OF SALISBURY (*Polyerat.*, VIII, 12), as meaning *succinctoria habentes*; and DU FRESNE-HENSCHEL under *Bellum Campale* gives the meaning *proelium publicum, folgefecht*. But can *campestri* possibly be related to *campio*?

²*Gest. Abb.*, I, 12-19, 84-87.

ary versions of Saxo (*Sx*) and Sveno (*Sv*) to the English literary version *V*.

The first point, after a long course of argument, has been practically settled. Gramm in his notes on Meursius¹ was first to suggest that English priests in Canute's time had carried the saga from England to Denmark. This view was opposed by Langebek,² while Dahlmann³ advanced the theory, upheld in the Müller-Velschow edition of *Sx*,⁴ that, arising like the Amleth saga, from a Jutish source, the Offa saga spread thence over Denmark, was carried into England, and continued to develop independently in the two countries. Müllenhoff⁵ went back to the theory of a double wandering, first to England, then back to Denmark; but his arguments were answered finally by Olrik,⁶ who returned to Dahlmann's point of view.

From *Widsið* we get the original localization of the story in Schleswig, the result of the combat being the enlargement of the Angle boundaries on the south toward the Myrgings (a branch of the Suevi). Whether Alewih was Offa's antagonist⁷ or merely his rival in great deeds, certainly in the time of *Widsið* the Danes and the Angles were still distinct peoples, while by the twelfth century Schleswig had long been identified with Denmark;⁸ hence, the tales must almost certainly have been adopted with the people by Denmark and told of Danish heroes, as, on the other hand, they were carried to England, at first, referred to the continental Angles and later to the Angles in England.⁹

The question in regard to the literary version *V* is widely different. That Sveno and Saxo wrote their histories (*Sv* and *Sx*) independently of it is almost certain, since *Sv* surely, and this part of *Sx* in all probability, are earlier; but however strong English traditions of Offa may have been, it is reasonable to suppose that the author had heard from traveling Danes at St.

¹ *Opera*, IX, cols. 35 F, 36 D, E, F, n. c.

² I, 45 n.

³ *Forsch.*, I, 234, 235.

⁴ II, 137-39.

⁵ *Beowulf*, 80-84.

⁶ *Ark. f. nord. Fil.*, Ny Følge, IV. Bind, 4. Hæfte. 373, 374.

⁷ Cf. ETTMÜLLER, *Altnord. Sagensch.*, 133; MÜLLENHOFF, *B.*, 74; *Schles.-Holst. Sagen*, p. 5; and MÖLLER, *Alteng. Volksep.*, 26-30, n. 1.

⁸ In 1208 Holstein was added by Waldemar II, who pushed his southern boundaries from the Eider to the Elbe.

⁹ GRAMM, 9, 38 B; MÜLLER-VELSCHOW, II, 139.

Albans,¹ or perhaps at Paris,² something of the Danish traditions which were so similar to those in which he was interested. Therefore it is necessary to compare *Sv* and *Sx* with *V* for signs of influence from Danish sources.

The groundwork of the story in *V1*, which, as has been shown, is suggested in the Old English poems, *Widsið* and *Beowulf*, is also to be found in *Sv* and *Sx*; but the differences are numerous and important, as appears from the following comparison:

<i>Sv</i> and <i>Sx</i>	<i>V</i>
1. Place—the Eider district.	Place—Warwick- and Gloucestershire.
2. W very old and blind.	W very old; O blind until his seventh year.
3. U seems stupid and dumb (<i>Sv</i> morally degenerate; <i>Sx</i> silent and sorrowful).	O considered a fool, is really dumb.
4. U has feigned dumbness because of shame at the killing of Aðisl; and rouses himself to meet an emergency.	O is cured by a miracle in answer to prayer, to meet an emergency.
5. U is married to Frowin's daughter.	Unmarried.
6. The danger is of invasion by a foreign enemy, who, because of the disabilities of W and U, aims at the throne.	The danger is of usurpation of the throne, for the same reason, by a nobleman of the country.
7. The enemy sends a challenge to single combat which shall decide the rule, as an easy means of attaining his end; U insists upon fight-	Nothing of this, except that O1 claims his right to the throne.

¹ "Duo viri literati," Danes who knew no English, at a visit to St. Albans, told in Latin a legend of King Canute, as is related in the *Gest. Abb.*, I, 88.

² Many Danes went to the University of Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century (DENIFLE, *Die Universitäten des M. A. bis 1400*, Berlin, 1885, 92 n. 169a). *Sx* says that Andrew, archbishop of Lund (1202-23), had searched Gaul, Italy, and Britain to gather knowledge of letters. He, like Abbot John de Cella, was *magister* and may have had a post at the University of Paris (cf. ELTON, *Saxo*, pp. 2, 3 n. 1).

*Sv and Sx**V*

ing two, to balance the shame of his country in the combat of Wig and Keto (his brothers-in-law) fighting together against Aðisl.

8. U breaks all swords that he tries until W unearths Skrep, which he had buried long before in despair of its ever being used worthily.

9. The combat is on an island; the two armies are merely spectators. W is present and ready to kill himself if U is conquered.

10. U eggs on his enemies in turn, in order to dispose of the bravest first, and kills the champion.

12. A brief notice of U's succession to the throne, and a summary of his later deeds.

O1 is girded with a sword by W.

The armies are encamped on opposite sides on an almost impassable river. O1 crosses with a few picked men and defends the ford against great odds, while the bulk of the army follows. W has retired to a safe place.

During a pause in the battle, O1 is insulted by the two sons of the would-be usurper and kills them (the elder first); after which the battle is resumed until the enemy is annihilated.

Here follows much matter not found in *Sv* and *Sx*; the distribution of the spoils, the burial of the dead, names of the battlefield, W's long speech of rejoicing and abdication.

The death and burial of Warmund and Offa's early prosperity.

In summing up the relationship between the two versions, we find that *Sv* and *Sx* describe at length the feud between Frowin and Aðisl ending in the death of both, give details in regard to the challenge and the Skrep episode, and mention a marriage of which *V1* knows nothing; *V1*, on the other hand, is far more detailed in regard to the battle and its immediate consequences.

As to treatment of subject-matter, aside from the difference in localization, there are wide variations in the description of O1's affliction and its cure, and in the circumstances of the combat.¹

Among all these differences it is difficult to see how there can be any question of influence from the Danish accounts upon *V*. Still, as a few points of likeness have been observed, it is necessary to ascertain, if possible, the meaning of these.

1. Suhm² found a certain resemblance between the first speech of U and O1; but a close comparison of the two shows that the substance is different, and the likeness is purely one of twelfth century rhetoric.

2. The unexplained recovery of sight at the age of seven (in *V*) has been compared with the assertion in *Chron. Erics Regis*:³ "a septimo ætatis anno usque ad trigesimum noluit loqui;" but the only point of connection between the two is the indication of a crisis in the seventh year.⁴ Moreover, as this point is not found in *Sv* or *Sx*, and *Chron. Erics* is much later than *V*, the statement in *V* may more easily have come from English popular tradition than from Danish.

3. More significant perhaps is the statement in *V2* that Tuinfred resigned his earldom because of growing blindness, "etenim senui et caligauerunt oculi mei,"⁵ almost the same words being used to describe Wermund in *Sv*: "ut oculi ejus præ senio caligarent."⁶ Notwithstanding the close resemblance in the phrasing I cannot think that this sentence is taken from *Sv*, (1) because the words are common enough to have suggested themselves independently to two writers; (2) if they had been borrowed, they must have been applied to Warmund.⁷ That the com-

¹As to the scale on which the three narratives are constructed: *V1* has about six thousand words in its first part, of which about three thousand (roughly speaking) are given to (a) the awakening and preparations for battle, (b) the battle, (c) W.'s speech and summary; *Sv* for the same events has less than one thousand altogether; and *Sx* has about three thousand, of which more than half is given to the Wig and Keto, and Folco stories, which do not appear in *V1* at all.

²SUHM-GRAETER, I, 117; also LAPPENBERG, 223 n.1 (ed. 1834), but cf. *Sv*, 46 and *V*, 2, 21-35.

³LANG., I, 152.

⁴Brought about by the killing of Aðisl by Wig and Keto? Uffo's dumbness suggests Helgi's when he mutely brooded upon revenge for his father's slaying until the valkyrie Swava showed him how to find the magic sword (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 145).

⁵*V*, 12, 2, 3.

⁶LANG., I, 45.

⁷So quasi a graui sompno expergefactus would have been referred to O1 if derived from *Sv* or *Sx*.

piler did not deliberately transfer the blindness to Offa merely to heighten the miracle is evident from the fact that he does not connect the recovery of sight with that of speech, or make use of it in any way. Therefore I think that *V* represents confused English traditions.

4. The double naming of several characters and some of the names themselves suggest possible Danish influence: (1) Riganus, is also called Aliel (in the rubrics only); Otta and Milio(ne), his sons, during the combat are unexpectedly named Brutus and Sueno, the former being given the cognomen Hildebrand, by the rubricator.¹

Riganus is said to have been so named *a rigore* (*rigiditate et acerbitate mentis*);² and as *Offanus* was made from *Offa*, so *Riganus* may have been derived from *Rig* (or *Rigr*?) But there is no *Rig* in *Sx* or *Sv*, and the *Rig* or *Righ* of *Rigs-pula* is perhaps of western origin (see p. 44, below).

That Hildebrand should be connected with *Rig*³ rather than with *Aliel* appears from the Norse *Hildebrand's Lay*,⁴ in which he says that he is Drott's son, and Ari's *Ynglingasaga*,⁵ in which Drott is the daughter of Danp, son of Rig.

On the other hand, *Aliel* (mentioned by the rubricator only) and *Otta* may possibly be due to Danish influence. Grundtvig and Bugge⁶ have shown that the Norse *Aðils*, son of *Óttarr*, is the Old English *Ēadgils*, son of *Ōththere*. In *V* the relationship is exactly reversed. *Otta* is the son of *Aliel*. But, if there is any relationship, these forms could have been corruptions of the Norse spellings much more easily than of the Old English. However, *Aliel* might as easily have been a misunderstanding of

¹ "Hildebrandus miles strenuus ab ense sic dictus" (Nero D I, fol. 2a, rubric attached to illustration); "Nomen primo Brutus, cognominato Hildebrandus" (fol. 2b, n. in margin).

² "Hic Riganus binomius fuit. Vocabatur enim alio nomine Aliel, Riganus vero a rigore" (*supra*, loc. cit.). Cf. also "*Riganum* in superbia rigentem" (*V*, 4, 40, 41).

³ The name *Mitunnus* (*V*, 4, ll. 40, 41) suggests the *Mithotyn* of *Sx* (ed. HOLDER, 25, l. 35); but it is too doubtfully related to be an indication of Norse influence. However, it should be observed that *Mithotyn* also plays the part of an usurper and is killed for this (cf. MEYER, 219 ff.).

⁴ *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 190, l. 3.

⁵ Chap. 20. Cf. *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 234, 242.

⁶ P. u. B., *Beitr.*, XII, 12, 13.

*Alewih*¹ as of *Adils*, and *Otta* of *Octa* as of *Ottarr*.² Saxo, it is true, mentions *Adisl*, but no sons of his; and it is not easy to see how *Otta* and *Milio* could have been confused in any way with *Wig* and *Keto*, the sons of *Frowin*, by whom *Adisl* was killed.³

I feel bound to conclude that there are no unmistakable signs of influence from *Sv* and *Sx*, and from the Danish saga as it developed in Denmark; that there was a certain amount of influence from the Danish sagas developing in England is both reasonable and will, I think, appear in the consideration of the content of the English saga.

Setting aside for the moment the introduction of the miraculous element,⁴ with the prayer and speech attending it, which may be safely attributed to the compiler, we come to a closer examination of the text of the battle account for further traces of its sources.

1. The description is the longest that I have found in any chronicle of a Saxon battle, being more than three times as long as Henry of Huntingdon's translation of the *Battle of Brunanburh*.⁵

2. It contains several striking details which the compiler could have had no object in inventing, such as (a) the swollen, almost impassable state of the river,⁶ which led to O's defense of the ford and to the drowning of Riganus and many of his army; (b) the burial of the dead beneath the cairns of stones;⁷ (c) the names given to the battlefield.

3. The situation of the battle, while unwarranted by *Sv* and *Sx*, is yet purely Teutonic in its representation of the defense of

¹ The name persisted until the eighth century. Æthelbald's father was *Alweo* (*Sax. Chron.*, an. 716). Cf. HAIGH, *The A. S. Sagas* (London, 1861), p. 52.

² *Octa* and *Eosa*, sons of Hengest; according to *CM*, I, 231, 232, killed in battle against Uther at Verolamium. In *J* (GALE, III, p. 525), *Octa* = *Otta*.

³ The combat of *Wig* and *Keto* against *Adisl*, told in *Sx*, may have been known in England; at least *Wig*, son of *Freawine* (= *Frowin*) appears in the genealogy of Cerdic in the Parker MS of the *Sax. Chron.* But it does not seem possible to connect *Otta* and *Milio* with this; both their names and their relationships to *Aliel* being so different.

⁴ Several miracles happened during John de Cella's abbacy (cf. *Gest. Abb.*, I, 219, 230, 231).

⁵ About 1,000 words; HUNTINGDON's *Brunanburh* contains about 300; there are 140 in the *CM* version of the battle of the Idle, an. 617, and 400 in Huntingdon's account of the battle of Burford, an. 752.

⁶ We have even the detail "qui vix erat homini nel equo transmeabilis" (*V*, 3, 9).

⁷ Cum lamentacionibus" (*V*, 4, 17) suggests "Swa begnornodon (*B.*, 3178), the "giomor gyd" (*B.*, 3150), and "gnornode geomrode giddum" (*B.*, 1117, 1118) of Old English verse, rather than the Christian burial service.

a narrow pass;¹ and is particularly suggestive of the *Battle of Maldon*,² the two armies at first being kept from each other by the swollen state of the river,³ only hurling weapons and shouting threats and insults across.

4. Although the text contains rhetorical padding in the way of generalized descriptions, it shows possible marks of condensation as well: (a) the specific fact that O1 crossed the river so suddenly as to take the enemy by surprise, and on the bank crushed and slew many of them, is so definite in itself as to suggest that more details were originally known;⁴ (b) the *conuicia* and *comminaciones* might easily have been given in detail, as are the speeches in the *Battle of Maldon*; (c) the exhortations of the leaders are referred to in two lines, purely general in character, of indirect discourse, although in *V2* at this point the author takes occasion to give a speech of six lines; (d) the *probra* and *uerba turpia* of the sons of Aliel may well have been originally given, as the taunting speeches of Uffo are recorded in *Sx* and *Sv*.

5. The names given to the battlefield, *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld*,⁵ are English, in their present form not earlier than the twelfth century; but this is to be expected if they were taken down from oral recitation.

6. The language itself seems to show one or two peculiarities, not sufficiently accounted for by mediæval rhetoric. Perhaps the best basis for a comparison is Henry of Huntingdon's literal translation of *Brunanburh*. A reading of this with its original reveals three salient features: (1) various blunders, often absurd,

¹ For other instances, see KER, *Epic and Romance* (London, 1897), pp. 5, 6.

² Cf. "Nichilque intererat nisi fluius torrens in medio, qui utrumque exercitum sequestrabat" (3, 7, 8), and "Ne mihte pær for waetere werod tō pām oðrum; pær cōm flōwende fīd aefter ebban" (*Maldon*, 64, 65). There is nothing in *V*, however, to show that the river was tidal. Two of the Avons are tidal; the third associated with Warwick, empties into the Severn.

³ Cf. "tela tamen sola, cum crebris comminacionibus et conuiciis transuolarunt" and "būton hwā pūrh flānes flyht fyl genāme" (*Maldon*, 71).

⁴ In *Maldon*, where the situation is reversed, the enemy being allowed to cross and land by Byrhtnoð, who was too proud to take any advantage, the episode extends to twenty-seven lines (72-99).

⁵ *V*, 4, 19 and 23. In the margin *Qualm-weld* is suggested by the rubricator, fol. 4a, as an alternative to *Qualm-hul*.

due to a misunderstanding of the words;¹ (2) a successful removal of much distinctively Old English coloring;² (3) the retention of a few phrases unmistakably Old English in idiom.³

Since *Brunanburh* was written after 937 and Henry's version was made before 1150, it is obvious that if *V1* is translated from a book source of that date or earlier, it might be expected to show signs of (1) and (3), while if it is merely a retelling of an old story, whether prose or verse, (2) points to a tendency at that time largely to obliterate marks of its source.

The fact that many of the descriptive phrases in the text of *V1* can be paralleled from other works of approximately the same date⁴ (especially Huntingdon's *Hist. Anglor.* and *CM*, and to a less striking degree *Sx*) means simply that they belonged to the fashionable rhetoric of the time; but, on the other hand, the fact that some of them appear in the translation of *Brunanburh* means that their presence is no argument against an Old English source if traces of this be found.

There is at least one expression several times repeated (in part) which seems to me to deserve careful study in this connection: "Deurauit gladius tuus hostes nostros, fulminans et cruentatus, hostili sanguine magnifice inebriatus."⁵

The construction suggests an order very common in Old English verse, and by no means characteristic of Latin: verb, subject, object, and a series of epithets qualifying subject (or object).⁶

¹ ROLLS ed., pp. 160, 161. "Domesticæ reliquiae defuncti Edwardi" = "hamora lāfum eaforan Eadweardes" (*Br.*, 6, 7); "a genibus cognationum" = "fram cnēomāgum" (8); "pecunias et xenia" = "hord and hāmas" (10).

² "Mēca gemānan" (*Br.*, 40) = "de Martis congressu"; "sweordum āswefede" (*Br.*, 30) = "gladiis percussi"; "wērig wiges saed" (*Br.*, 20) = "bello fatigati"; "gārmittinge" (*Br.*, 50) = "wāæpen gewrixles" (*Br.*, 51) = "ictuum immanitate, telorum transforatione"; "ēoredeystum" (*Br.*, 21) = "prius electi."

³ "Heardes handplegan" (*Br.*, 25) = "duro manus ludo"; "corvus niger, ore cornutus et buffo livenis, aquila cum milvo, canis lupusque mixtus colore his sunt deliciis diu recreati"

= "Lēton

. ðone sweartan hraefn,
hyrnednebban," etc.

—*Br.*, 60-65.

⁴ For example, all those quoted in n. 2 from the translation of *Brunanburh* find equivalents in *V*, in other parts of *Hist. Anglor.*, in *CM*, and some of them in *Sx*.

⁵ *V*, 4, 42, 43; cf. *V*, 3, ll. 20, 49, 50; 5, l. 12. The lines are an approach to a rude couplet; but this is perhaps accidental.

⁶ Cf. *B.*, 325, 326, 728-30, 1020-22, 1035-37, 1125-27, 1443, 1444, 1543-47, 2190-92, 2337-39, 2367, 2368, 2542-46, 3110-14, etc.

Deuorauit gladius is a figure used in the *Vulgate*, but it also suggests the Old English "*billes bite*."¹ *Gladius* . . . *fulminans*, though the verb seems to be used in classical Latin of the gleam of armor, suggests the Old English *swyrd-lēoma*.² *Cruentatus*, though good Latin, also translates the Old English *blōdig* or *blōd-fāg*. More significant is the combination "*deuorauit gladius* . . . *fulminans*," when read in connection with the Old English: "*sē beado-lēoma bītan nolde*;"³ and most important of all is the use of the word *inebriatus*, which does not seem to be quoted in any Latin dictionary in the context in which it stands in this sentence. The word means literally "intoxicated;" in a rare figurative sense, "soaked," as material in dye. The literal meaning seems to me suggestive of the Old English mode of thought. *Beowulf*, 2358, 2359, reads:

Hrēðles eafora, hioro-dryncum swealt
bille gebēaten:

The sense is evidently that Hygelac, struck down by the sword, died a bloody death. The literal meaning of *hioro-dryncum* is *sword-drink*;⁴ i. e., he died because a sword drank his blood; as he might have died of *snake-bite*, the chief difference between the two being that the idea in the former has advanced beyond the literal *sword-cut* into a figurative conception of the weapon personified⁵ as drinking the blood. While the sword in *Beowulf* is often personified, it is several times represented as biting,⁶ but never as drinking the blood;⁷ still the passage quoted furnishes grounds for holding that *inebriatus* may have been represented by an Old English phrase such as *drēore druncen*.⁸

¹ B., 2060; cf. 2259.

² *Finnsb.*, 35.

³ B., 1523; cf. also B., 1454, 2259.

⁴ BOSWORTH-TOLLER: *heoru-drync* = the sword's drink, blood flowing from a wound.

⁵ Cf. 1522-23, 2584-85.

⁶ *Lād-bite* = "wound," B., 1122.

⁷ A personified sword might have been conceived as acting after the manner of Grendel: "*bāt bān-locan, blōd ēdrum dranc*" (B., 742).

⁸ Little stress should perhaps be laid on the fact that the sentence lends itself readily to translation into Old English verse:

"Bāt beado-lēoma { blōdig
 { blōd-fāg (fūre) lāðas,
Secga swāte swīðe bestȳmed,
Drēore druncen [dryhtlic iren]."

Cf. *Andreas*, 1002, 1003:

"Hæðene swāfon
Drēore druncene dēaðwang rūdon."

The cumulative effect of these various possibilities of referring the Latin to an English original,¹ and the numerous allusions in a similar strain to Offa's sword, may be added to the previously mentioned reasons for believing in a definite account in English of the battle.²

In summing up the probabilities, it is useful to compare the notice of the *Battle of Maldon* by Henry of Huntingdon and Florence of Worcester with the account in the Parker MS of the Saxon Chronicle.³ That the scribe of this last had the poem in mind seems possible from the fact that he scratched out the dates marked for seven years in advance (his next year is 1001) to make room for the entry, which is much longer than in the other MSS. But Florence has the additional phrases: "strenuus dux . . . utrinque infinita multitudine caesa . . .," which in so careful a writer must mean further reference to the source of information; while Henry is still more definite: "gladiis caesus occubuit et phalanges ejus in perniciem redactae sunt." The plural *gladiis* shows that this addition is not mere rhetoric, but an allusion to the somewhat unusual circumstances under which Byrhtnoð was killed. After he had lost the use of his sword-arm, "Ðā hine hēowon hāðene scealcas."⁴ Further, according to the poem, his troop was actually annihilated—a fact not stated or even implied in the Parker MS. Therefore it seems to me almost certain that Florence and Henry drew upon the poem itself for their additional details. Hence, *Maldon* as well as *Brunanburh* was still known in the twelfth century; and if these, probably others.

If, then, we find, as in *V*, a battle account⁵ two-thirds as long

¹ The phrase *campum Offe . . . reliquerunt* (*Y.*, 4, 4-6) is more suggestive of the Old English *forlēt on wælstōwe* (*Br.*, 42, 43) than is Henry's *loco secessit*, which is, however, a translation of it. It suggests also the "āhton wælstōwe gewald," so common in the account of Alfred's wars in the *Saxon Chronicle*.

² In both Danish and English versions there seems to be allusion to a particularly terrible blow; cf. the "unico gladii ictu percussit, amputatoque galee cono craneum usque ad cerebri medullam perforavit" (*V*, 3, 46, 47) with the "primo ferri ictu medium dissecat" of *Sz* (116, 24).

³ *An.* 937.

⁴ *Maldon*, 162-84, especially 181.

⁵ It does not seem to me in any way possible that this can be a mere reflection or imitation of *Maldon*, for not only are the situations exactly reversed, but also, the Offa in *Maldon* plays a subordinate and entirely different part, being merely one of Byrhtnoð's thegns killed in avenging him.

as the *Battle of Maldon* would have been, if this had been translated by Huntingdon, showing possibilities of having been condensed, and if this contains details characteristically Teutonic, resembling passages in Old English verse, with one or two expressions suggestive of Old English idiom, it seems fairly certain that the source of this was an English poem.¹

The question as to the probable content of this part of the saga in the twelfth century, its approximate date, its relation to other cycles, and the manner in which the compiler used it, must be largely a matter of conjecture; but there are various peculiarities in the text that point toward a solution.

I. THE CONTENT.

As the first part of *V1* lacks the characteristic Old English features noticeable in the battle text, and contains much rhetorical padding in connection with the miracle, the question arises whether the two parts of the text are based upon sources originally distinct. There are obviously two discrepancies:

1. Riganus is repeatedly stated to have been a nobleman of Warmund's country; while after the battle the war is described as "*inter alienigenas*."²

2. The sons of Aliel are called Otta and Milio before the battle, and Brutus and Sueno during the combat,³ while the thirteenth-century rubricator suggests Hildebrandus as a cognomen for Brutus: "*miles strenuus ab ense sic dictus*."⁴ There is in the text no attempt to reconcile these names.⁵

These facts seem to show that the compiler was working from at least two sources and was not over-careful in combining them.

The only distinctively epic feature in the first part is the allusion to *O1* as "*inutili ac vano murione*"⁶—a phrase suggestive of

¹ SUHM says that without doubt the names *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld* are taken from some old poet (SUHM-GRÄTER, I, 120).

² Cf. *V*, 2, ll. 25-27; and 4, l. 7.

³ *V*, 3, l. 41, and 3, l. 2.

⁴ Fol. 2a. *Sive Hildebrandus* (fol. 3b).

⁵ In a marginal note on fol. 2b the rubricator attempts, but does not finish, a solution. He says that Aliel had three sons: "*Unus miles strenuus, alius adolescens superbus, tercius infans. Nomen primo Brutus, cognominato Hildebrandus*;" but he does not say whether the second and third were Otta and Milio, or whether Sueno was one of them.

⁶ *V*, 2, ll. 40, 41. *Murio* represents the classical *morio*, which, while it regularly means "fool," is found in MARTIAL'S *Epigrammata* (6, 39, 17) as "monster," "deformed person."

the Danish Uffo, and often characteristic of the youth of the epic hero. Cf. *Beowulf*, 2183-89:

Hēan wæs lange.
 swā hyne Gēata bearn gōdne ne tealdon.
 no hyne on medo-bence micles wyrðne
 drihten wereda gedōn wolde;
 swyðe [wēn]don, þæt hē slēac wære;
 æðeling unfrom. Edwenden¹ cwōm
 tīr-ēadigum menn torna gehwylces.

Considering the marked mediæval character of this part of *V1*, the abundance of rhetoric and the obscurity of the allusions to O1's blindness and to the sword,² we are perhaps justified in deciding against the probability of any one definite, detailed source for this episode.

As to Warmund's speech of fifty-one lines, following close upon the end of the battle, while it is true that mediæval chroniclers are given to introducing fictitious orations into their histories, the following points are worth noting: (1) the tone or tenor of the thought shows considerable resemblance to that of Hroðgar's speeches to Beowulf after the latter's two combats, especially the second;³ (2) it contains the longest lyric passage about the sword (*V*, 4, 42, 43); (3) several phrases are borrowed from it in the corresponding speech of Tuinfred,⁴ and one at least transferred to O2's reply;⁵ while in *V1*, O1's reply is summed up in the words *grates retulit accumulatas*.⁶ This last fact, while it speaks against the existence of an independent source for the parallel situation in *V2*, does not necessarily imply a definite source for the speech in *V1*. It may mean only that the compiler repeated his own phrasing to strengthen the parallel.

Against the supposition that the speech belonged to the battle account may be mentioned two facts: (a) that the narrative seems to come to a fitting conclusion in the naming of the field;

¹ KRANTZ, *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarum* (Strassburg(?), 1562), uses the Latin equivalent in speaking of Uffo: "insignis facta est rerum, morumque conuersio" (p. 24).

² THORPE (LAPFENBERG, *Hist. of Eng. under the A. S. Kings*, London, 1845, I, 228 n. 1) mentioned this allusion as an indication that the compiler knew the story of Skrep; but it may as easily have been due to his acquaintance with the customs of chivalry. The text says only: "cum sollempni et regia pompa, gladio filium suum accinxit" (*V*, 2, 50).

³ *B.*, 928-56 and 1700-1784.

⁴ *V*, 11, ll. 53-56 and 12, ll. 1-5.

⁵ *V*, 12, ll. 6-9.

⁶ *V*, 5, l. 28.

(b) that the war, in the speech, as in the awakening, is alluded to as between natives of the same country (cf. *V*, 4, ll. 35–38, and 1, ll. 17–22).

The content of the materials used for this part of the text may be summed up as having included probably: (1) a detailed account, probably in popular verse, handed down in modified form from Saxon times, of the battle and combat; (2) vague and confused traditions in regard to the awakening, and to Warmund's achievements, abdication, and death.¹

II. THE APPROXIMATE DATE.

While *Widsið* and *Beowulf* know nothing of England, *V1* in its opening sentences states that Warmund was a famous king of the West Angles, from whom Warwick was named.² *Occidentaliū Anglorum* is not a blunder for *Orientalium anglorum*, as Wats thought, but a synonym for *Merciorum*.³ A charter of doubtful authenticity, signed, "Ego Offa nondum regno Merciorum a domino accepto puer indolis in provincia Huicciorum,"⁴ implies a belief current in the twelfth century that O2 was born in the Gloucester-Warwick district; and this belief is in a measure supported by the numerous charters signed or confirmed by him,

¹ I have passed over the narrative of the combat in defense of Wermund's kingdom, as given in the *Historia . . . de Omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque Regibus* of JOANNES MAGNUS (Rome, 1554, *JM*) because this does not seem to me to be in any way related to *V*. However, it shows at least one curious coincidence, for which an explanation must be suggested. The account in *JM* is the only one in which, as in *V1*, the single combat is merely a feature of a general battle; but it is not possible to base upon this fact the conclusion that *JM* represents a Swedish tradition agreeing with *V* as against *Sv* and *Sx*, for two reasons: (1) that his narrative (pp. 97, 98) is pieced together out of two passages in *Sx* (ed. HOLDER, pp. 83, 30–33 and 85, 27–29, and 107, 27–30), which deal with different events and are inconsistent with each other; and (2) the hero of the combat is Frowin, not Uffo. While it is not easy to see why these materials are so manipulated, the result attained is: a composite battle account in which the description in *Sx* of a single combat between one Ubbo (whom *JM* himself mentions briefly, pp. 95, 96, "athleta Ubbo, Danicus sine (vt alii scribunt) Frisius," as having been mortally wounded in the time of Roderick Slingabond, Attilus's father) and a Vandal is introduced with slight changes, and applied to Frowin and Attilus; and notwithstanding the previous agreement, the combat is followed by renewed fighting between the armies until the Danes are annihilated. A Swedish history such as *JM* would not need to concern itself with Uffo; and as the Ubbo combat, known but obscurely to *JM*, is related at length in *Sx* and has nothing in common with Uffo or Offa, it is clear that the resemblance between *JM* and *V* is merely superficial.

² He is said to have been buried at Gloucester, *V*, 5, 53.

³ GREEN, *Making of England* (London, 1897), I, 95, 96. The West Angles were so called because they lived near the marches of Wales.

⁴ BIRCH, *Cartularium Saxonicum* (London, 1885–99), I, no. 183, c. an. 757.

attesting early benefactions to the church of Worcester.¹ It is probable, then, that the localization of Warmund and O1 in England did not begin until after the fame of O2 was established.²

Hence, ancient tales antedating the coming of the Angles to England were reinforced and modified by the historic career of an eighth-century king; and after about three centuries of confusion, reached the compiler in twelfth-century forms.

III. THE CYCLE TO WHICH THE STORY BELONGED.

There seem to me to be unmistakable indications that the material used in *V* 7 is part of an extensive saga of Angle or Anglo-Norse origin in which Offa, Wade, and Hildebrand figured prominently, and perhaps Weyland,³ Theodoric, and other heroes mentioned in *Widsið*.

In *V* 1, we find Offa fighting against Hildebrand and Sueno, the sons of Riganus (*Rig*). In the Norse *Hildebrand's Lay*, the hero calls himself a Dane, the son of *Rig's* granddaughter. Torfæus uses *Rig* (= *rex*) as a title given to Wermund.⁴ The importance of this confusion lies in the fact that he identifies the word with the Celtic *righ*; and, notwithstanding his blunder in bringing the two names together, shows that some association existed in his mind between *Rig*, Wermund, and Offa. Further, the *Rig* mentioned in *Ynglingatal*, and *Rigspula* belongs, according to Vigfusson and Powell, to the West; hence there is a probability that Offa, *Rig*, Wermund and Hildebrand (Sueno?) were associated in a Western cycle.⁵

¹ Cf. BIRCH, I, 183, 187, 216, 234, 235, 236, 239, 240, 241.

² Warmund and O1 are mentioned also in connection with Penda, 626, in WHELOC's edition of Otho B xi of the *Saxon Chronicle* (EARLE-PLUMMER, p. xiii); hence, this localization of Angle heroes in England may have begun in connection with Penda, who was also a popular hero; but the evidence of *Widsið* goes to show that it was not before the eighth century.

³ BUGGE (*Home of Ed. Poems*, tr. SCHOFIELD, Grimm's Library, XL, 374) believes in a western origin for the *Lay of Weyland*.

⁴ *Hist. Rer. Norveg.*, 1241, I, 1711, 414.

⁵ On what grounds *Riganburne* was identified with the Avon I do not know; but this localization strengthens the belief that *Rig* was familiar in England. Various names compounded with *Rig* are given in *Domesday Book*, as *Rigbi*, *Rigge*, *Righeborg*, *Rigesbi*, *Righesbi*, *Righeshalam*, *Rigneseta*. Most of them situated in Warwick-, Lincoln-, and Yorkshire; but I have not been able to find *Riganburne*. For the identification of *Rig-Heimdal* with *Scef* see RYDBERG, *Undersök. i Germ. Myth.* (Stockholm, 1886, 1889), 1: a häftet, pp. 102-107; or *Teut. Myth.*, tr. ANDERSON (London, 1889), 90-95.

Hildebrand appears again in the recently discovered Wade fragment:¹

Summe sende ylues
and summe sende nadderer
summe sende nikerer
the biden patez (bi den watere?) wunien
Nister man nenne
bute ildebrand onne.

Here the situation bears a resemblance to that alluded to in *Waldhere*, 72–76, in which Widia, Wade's grandson, and Hildebrand rescue Theodoric from a den of monsters:

Ic wāt, þæt hit ðōhte Ðēodric Widian
selfum onsendon and ēac sinc micel
māðma mid ði mēce, monig ðōres mid him
golde gegirwan, iulean genām,
þæs ðe hine of nearwum Niðhādes mæg,
Welandes bearn, Widia ūt forlēt:
ðurh fifela gefeald forð onette.

—GREIN-WÜLCKER, B, 4–10.

But Wade and Sueno (Suanus) appear in Map's twelfth-century story of Gado,² and here both are connected with Offa, who, from allusions to wars with the Welsh and the dyke, is clearly O2. Suanus here is not his enemy, but his nephew, who assists him to defend a town against the Roman emperor, probably Charlemagne. Gado, however, the son of the king of the Vandals, the *virum maximum* of wonderful powers, who had traveled widely about the world, is evidently the *Wada* who ruled *Hælsingum*,³ the *Vadus Gigas* of the *Wilinga saga*.⁴

And, last of all, Theodoric, who in *Waldhere* is related to Wade through Widia and Hildebrand, comes into contact with the *Volsunga saga*, being mentioned in the *Ordeal of Gudrun*⁵ as Gudrun's lover; while to complete the circle, Ordrun in her

¹ Cf. *Academy*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1241; *Athenæum*, No. 3564, 1896.

² *De Nug. Cur.*, ed. WRIGHT, Camden Soc., 1850, Distinc. II, xvii. The name is said to be *Grado* in the first two instances in the MS, but afterwards *Gado*.

³ *Widsið*, l. 22.

⁴ MICHEL, *Wade* (Paris, Londres, 1837), pp. 12, 13 ff.

⁵ *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, p. 322, 7, 17.

*Lament*¹ tells how she was away at Geirmund's when her lover Gunnar (= OE. *Guthere*) was cast into the pit of serpents.

Of these persons Wada, Theodoric, Attila, Guthere, Widia (= Wudga), and Offa are mentioned in *Widsið*,² Weland and Theodoric in *Deor's Lament*.³

From these facts we must conclude, I think, in favor of a strong probability that the "apocryphal" legends, which the author of J had collected and questioned in regard to Offa of Mercia, were very old tales in which some or all of the above-mentioned heroes figured. No doubt the lost poem of Wade,⁴ which Map's poem may partly have summarized, partly adapted, would have contained matter relating to O1, and the cycle of which he was a part,⁵ but in a measure transferred to O2.

On the other hand, the character and localization of the war, and nature of the *Qualmweld* and *Blodiweld*—implying, as they do, a historic battle with indiscriminate slaughter (*folc-gefeht*) rather than the epic man-to-man combat⁶—indicate that the tradition was modified after the time of O2, so much so that for the compiler the older stratum was inextricably confused with the newer, and the parallel was his only way out of the difficulty.

IV. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE COMPILER USED HIS MATERIALS.

Though the modifications made in the original saga after the time of O2 might have led the compiler to see the parallel between the early military careers of the two kings, they do not explain what justification he found for altering the awakening into the miracle. A possible solution of this lies in the use of the name *Pinefredus*.⁷ This, although not found elsewhere, is stated

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 313, l. 108; cf. p. 559, n. on ll. 104-110.

² *W.*, 22, 24, 115, 35 f., 66, 122, 130.

³ *Deor.*, 1-20.

⁴ Of the various historic Wades, only one (*dux*) was contemporary with Offa, a Northumbrian who was prominent in an insurrection (*Sim. Durh. Hist. Reg.*, Rolls Series, 1885, *CM* and *Chron. Mailros.*, GALE, I, 1684, p. 140, *an.* 798).

⁵ The fragmentary *chanson de geste*, *Gormon et Isembart*, has nothing to do with the early Garmund (= Warmund, Wærmund, Wermund), but legends of the ninth-century Gormond may have helped to keep alive and confuse earlier tales.

⁶ Cf. the Danish names: *Kunengikamp* (LANG., I, 152); *Konungskamp* (*ibid.*, I, 84); *Konincksfeldia* (MEYER, *Opera*, IX, 38B); *Koninghesslap*, *Herm. Corn. Chron.* (ECCARDUS, *Corp. Hist. Med. Æv.*, Leipzig, 1723, II, col. 478).

⁷ *V.*, 10, ll. 12, 24, 52; 11, l. 8.

in *V2* to have been the king's real name, *Offa* having been bestowed upon him by the Mercians in recognition of his likeness to *O1*.¹ The name *Pinefred* is evidently a blunder for *Winefred*,² and as *Winfred*³ is found in several chronicles instead of *Dincgferþ*, we are justified in inferring a double blunder by virtue of which *Dincgferþ* has been converted into *Tuinfred* and *Pinefred*, the confusion of OE. *þ* and *p* being as common as *þ* and *ρ* (*w*). It is easy to see how, upon the differentiation of this name on some genealogical list, it might have been taken to refer to father and son.⁴ Having decided that *Pinefred* was the true name, the compiler might naturally look upon *Offa* as a cognomen given by reason of some quality.⁵ If a Latinist conceived that *Riganus* was so called from his *rigor*, *Hildebrand* from his sword, and that *Drida* became *Cynedryð* when she was queen,⁶ he might have supposed that *Offa* was so named from the fact that he was an *offa*, i. e., an abortion or monstrosity.⁷ This explanation tallies with his description of the child as not only blind, deaf, and dumb, but also as lacking developed arms and legs until the miracle occurred.⁸ Since *O2*'s likeness to *O1* is stated on the basis of the miracle rather than the battle (*quia a Deo respectus et electus fuisset, eodem modo quo et Rex Offa filius regis War-mundi*),⁹ the intrusion of the miraculous element into *V1* may be explained as an attempt to combine the idea in the word *offa* with

¹ *V*, 11, ll. 2-4.

² Cf. *Pybba* = *Wippa*; *Eawa* = *Eapa*, *Epa* (HUNT., *Hist. Anglor. an.* 755; COTTON, *Hist. Anglicana*, Rolls Series, 1859; BROMTON, *Chronicon* in TWYSDEN, *an.* 755, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, London, 1652, col. 776, ll. 7, 8.

³ *Wingferd* (Hunt.); *Winfred* (Cott.).

⁴ Another suggestion, that instead of *Offa Dincgferþing*, *Dincgferþ Aanwulfing*, the relationship might have been represented as "*Offa, bearn Dincgferþes*" and misinterpreted to mean *born Dincgferþ* (*Pinefred*), receives a certain support from Gaimar's "*Fiz Brand, fiz Beldeg (Lestorie des Engles, Rolls Series, 1888, ll. 839-41), Fiz Beldeg nez Winhing: Beldeg fu del linage Wodnez,*" etc., which makes a very similar blunder, reading "*son of Beldeg born Winhing*" for "*son of Beldeg, son of Woden.*" Does not *nez* here represent *bearn*, interpreted *born*?

⁵ *V*, 11, ll. 2, 3, 8.

⁶ *V*, 23, l. 25.

⁷ The word means "morsel," "shapeless lump," hence "abortion." Is it possible that the form *Offanus* may have some bearing in this connection? The ending *-anus* means "belonging to" or "derived from" (KÜHNER, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache*, Hannover, 1877, I, 672, 673); hence, *rig(or)* gives *Riganus*, *offa*, *Offanus*.

⁸ "*Fecit alices, brachia, crura, pedes, extendendo*" (*V*, 10, 54).

⁹ *V*, 11, ll. 3, 4.

the common idea of *morio* in the old tale. There is, moreover, a certain justification for this compromise in the fact that tales of *Ungeborne* were as common as those of sluggish, unpromising heroes;¹ hence muteness might be attributed to physical defect as easily as to sulkiness,² and the miracle would explain everything and complete the parallel.

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¹ Cf. Volsungr, Sigurðr, Sceaf (?), Uni, Ulfrun, Halfrun, Halfdan, Helgi, Starkaðr, Dietleib (GRIMM, *Deutsche Myth.*, ed. MEYER, 1875, I, 322, 323).

² Once established in the case of O2, the identity of name alone is sufficient to carry the miracle back into V1.

LOS MORISCOS DE HORNACHOS.

II.

JORNADA SEGUNDA.

NA 1] (*Sale FRANCISCO MERINO con vara de alguazil; LUIS BARÇO, y dos moros en abito de cristianos, el vno de Africa, el otro de Valencia y hable FRANCISCO MERINO.*)

6, r. a *Francisco Merino.* Las cartas que
aueis traydo,

710 moros y amigos amados,
hazen que seais estimados
y por ffee sean oy tenidos.

Gracias a Mahoma santo,
y gracias a su Alcoran,
715 pues escriuen que haran
por el essos moros tanto.

Bien es que tengam coraje
contra *aquestes enemigos.
Sean los tiempos castigos
720 como acaba su linage.

¡Mueran *aquestes christianos,
muera tan maldita gente!
mas ¡la fortuna su frente
mostrara grata a ynumanos?

725 *Si con de Hornachos tengo
poder, y mando tuuiera
del mundo, lo destruuiera.
¿Que hago que me detengo?

Oy acabara en el suelo
730 la seta de los christianos,
y ensangrentara mis manos
a pesar de tierra, cielo.

Pero el tiempo va llegando,
y va llegando la pena:
735 quel jueves sera de Çena,
y della saldra llorando.

6, r. b Pero dezime, Africanos,
¿quien os dio aquessos vestidos
para no ser conosidos?

740 *Africano.* Senor, son de dos chris-
tianos,
que como alla ay con ellos
algunos ya renegados,
para venir disfracados

nos aprouechamos dellos.

Luis Barco. Y ¿adonde desembar- 745
caron?

¿Donde es otros doze fueron?

¿Hazia adonde se partieron?

¿La cuesta donde la degaron?

Que paresçe ques encanto
salir *catoze africanos 750

a meterse entre christianos,

y poderse encubrir tanto.

¿Nadie les a dicho nada?

¿Tan desçuidado esta todo?

Africano. Todo esta *queito de modo 755
que no hazen quenta de nada.

¡Pluguiere Ala que se alsara
oy toda la gente mora!

questa cannalla traydora
muy facil se despachara. 760

No tienen *çuidad alguno;

los puertos vi desçuidados,

pobres y pocos soldados

dados al ocio ymportuno.

Valençiano. Pues *los *puertas de 765
Valençia,

son *puertas para su daño,

pues yo se adonde a vna *nuestro

que con poca resistencia

entrara qualquiera naçion;

que ni soldado ni pieza

tenia la fortaleza,

ni ninguna munición.

Ya sabeis ques tratado

que para el jueves primero

de la Çena del Cordero 775

sea aqueste reyno asolado.

Ya sabeis como Merino

es rey de toda esta tierra;

sabe lo que ay para guerra
 780 en el reyno granadino,
 en Valencia y su comarca,
 en Aragon y Pamploña;
 lo sabe qualquier persona,
 y lo que este reyno abarca.
 785 No ay moro en *todo Castilla
 a quien no *sea auizado;
 qualquiera es muy gran soldado.
Francisco Merino. Aquesso me ma-
 rauilla;

Valencia es tan bien armada,
 790 tiene muchas municiones.
Valençiano. Oyeme en breues razones
 y sabras lo que te agrada:
 tiene *treinte mill soldados
 dispuestos para la guerra,
 795 todos hijos de leones,
 y exercitados en ella;
 todos mançebos *rebustos
 moros como los de Meca,
 la flor del reyno, escojidos,
 800 de cazas y de sangre buenas,
 muy parientes de Mahoma,
 y enemigos de *otro seta;
 tienen de poluora minas
 para gastar en las guerras,
 805 balas, cuerda, hierro y plomo,
 chuchas, dardos y rodellas,
 bonbas, granadas de fuego,
 muchas cuerda y escopettas;
 y solo se aguarda el dia
 810 de aquella noche tan buena.

Francisco Merino. ¡Mahoma nos
 oyga, amigos,
 como todos se lo *rueguen!
 Y ¡vos otros teneis gente,
 para que al *secorro venga?

815 *Africano.* Mucha gente y muy lucida.
 ¡Mueran los christianos, mueran!

Barco. Contad nos vuestro viaje,
 que paresse cosa nueva
 auer venido los dos,
 820 de tan *leungos a esta tierra.

Africano. *Catoze fuemos nombra-
 dos,
 que con ossadia ynmensa,

¹ Read que esa.

nos atreuimos sauer
 de *los espanolas fronteras;
 saber su disinio y orden, 825
 y reconosser sus fuersças.
 Partimos; desembarcamos
 entre Malaga y Maruella
 en vna escondida *calla,
 —ques a ¹ vela gente nuestra,— 830
 donde jamas el çristiano
 piso el margen ni la arena
 de aquella frondosa playa,
 aun ques en su tierra misma.
 Alli degamos la fusta, 835
 que por ser algo *pequeno
 *puedo estar entre los ramos
 muy segura y encubierta.
 De alli partimos nos todos
 tomando siete veredas, 840
 y den dos en dos uenimos,
 como *vez, desta manera
 todos lleuan los recaudos
 que os dimos. *Yua² en Valencia
 se sabe como aqui mismo 845
 por relacion *verdadero.
 Queremos saber en suma,
 Fol. 7.
 quanta gente abra de guerra,
 y que puedan *pellar,
 en Castilla nueva y *veija, 850
 Andalusia, Estremadura,
 en Granada y en la Vera,
 y en dos pueblos que ay de moros:
 Benquerenua y Magaçela;
 y ansi en aqueste lugar, 855
 que sea hecha cabeçera
 de todo lo que e nombrado.
 Quiero que me dais la quenta,
 porque es tiempo de partir,
 que abra ya algunos de buelta
 860 en la parte que e contado
 que nuestra *fuesta se queda.
 No nos detengais ya mas;
 entrad ay en *vuestro audiencia,
 y dadme lo por letra y suma, 865
 lo que pido.

Francisco Merino. Nora buena.
 Uamos, que Hernando Merino
 mi tio, tiene por quenta

² Read Ya.

870 todos los moros soldados
que estan para la *refreiga.
*Y ; que *llega Ala, venga el dia
quando la vuestra y mi tierra
de guerra quede sin tiranos,
asta que todos perescan !

Valenciano. ¿Y a mi tambien me 875
dareis
despachos?
Barco. En el audiençia
a todos daran recaudo.
Vamos porque se preuengan.

[NA II] (Vanse y salen JUAN DE CHAUES, el LICENCIADO MOLINA, ALONSO MATIAS y el letrado con los papeles.)

Licenciado Molina. Pierdan de
aquesto cuidado,
880 que ya se sabe otra cossa
que nos a escandalizado,
y le es al rey muy odiosa
essa jente.

Chaues. A se tratado
en el consejo de embiar
885 vn juez que sea *regurosa
que no tenga en nada el dar,
a este pueblo caudilloso
quel ve lo¹ quiere asolar.

Molina. Oy se a de entrar en
consejo,
890 y pues ay *buena parejo,²
*propondre alli las querellas;
aun que mas apellan dellas,
me an de *excuchar, pues me quejo.
Y tambien nos viene a quenta
895 la muger que a querellado
del juez de la pimienta.

Alonso Matias. Muera este pueblo
maluado,
y vayase por mi quenta.
¿Que a Gil Ximenez mataron?
900 ¿ay mayores tiranias?
¿en que estos perros fundaron
su maldad?

Molina. En bouerias.
Chaues. Como aqessos enteraron
;biue Dios! que se que an
muerto
905 mientras y[o] estoy en Ornachos
mas de çiento.

Molina. Aqueso es cierto;
ay le diran los despachos
por letras al desçubierto.
Ello viene bien prouado,
que se hizo con çuidado, 910
y esse es el original
de todo su bien ó mal.

Molina. Ello se *ponnera a recaudo;
no se *pierdera ni vn punto
de lo que me aueis contado, 915
que yo lo propondre *gunto.

Alonso Matias. Senor, con *mucha
çuidado;
no permitais que enemigos
ocupen tan noble tierra.
Pueblese el lugar de amigos, 920
arda en fuego aquella sierra.

Molina. Los tiempos seran testigos; Fol. 7, v. a
y porque *audençia an llamado,
os podeis los dos quedar.

Chaues. Senor, lo que os e rogado,— 925

Molina. Bien se puede desçuidar,
que oy quedera despachado. (Vase)
[Alonso Matias.] Chaues amigo, no
quiero

mientras el pleyto se trate,
que otro ninguno relate 930
si no vos.

Chaues. Hazer lo espero;
Yo quiero ser el relator,
que aunque sepa condenarsse, Fol. 7, v. b
tambien suele aqui reuocarsse,
ques el dinero traydor. 935

Ni a de auer baldo ujason,³

¹ Perhaps que el suelo (suggested by Dr. F. DeHaan).

² Read buen aparejo.

³ Probably Baldo u Jason, i. e., law books. Baldus de Ubaldis, born at Perusio, died 1400, was a writer of works on jurisprudence. Cf. MICHAUD, *Biographie Universelle*, Vol. II, p. 668.

Jason de Mayno, born at Pesaro, 1435, died 1519, was a famous exponent of Roman law. Cf. MICHAUD, Vol. XXVI, p. 145. (Suggested by Dr. F. DeHaan.)

porque a vn punto cohechado,
sin estar nada dañado,
le suelen dar vn boton.

Nosotros lo seguiremos,

940
Fol. 7, v.
[ESCENA III]

(*Vanse, y salen DON PEDRO MANSSO, LICENCIADO BOHORQUES, DON DIEGO LOPES DE AYALA y DON FRANCISCO DE CONTRERAS, todos oydores, y MOLINA, fiscal; y pongan los asientos en vn estrado como en tales usos se ponen, y el del presidente mas alto.*)

Don Pedro Mansso. Yo e tenido *los
cosas de Hornachos

945 por ningunas, a fee de cauallero;
pero ya van cantando los mucha-
chos

sus males y su vida, considero
despachese alla vn juez, lleue des-
pachos

con que castigue aquesse *pueblo
fiero,

950 porque es justa razon sacar d'
España

dentre la fiel semilla, esta *cicaña;
que se prueua que son façinero-
sos

y enemigos de todos los christianos,
bandoleros crueles, reboltosos,
955 omicidas traydores y ynhumanos,
al çielo y a la tierra muy odiosos,
y que no aya quien mete aqui *los
manos.

Justiça *sa a de hazer, consejo pido
contra este *pueblo barbaro, atre-
uido.

960 ¡Paresçeos que se embie vna
persona

de pecho y de valor contra esta
jente?

Bohorques. Escucheme, señor. Aun-
que no abona

mi pecho aquesse pueblo ynperti-
nente,

agora no se *vea que a la Corona
le ayan hecho trayiçion.

965 *Molina.* Vuesencia intente
que luego se despache, no ay du-
dallo,

porque *seruiet a Dios el assolallo.

Fol. 8, r. como ay en este pueblo, es caso
çierto

que para dar peticiones
y algunas buenas razones,
*entiendimiento tenemos.

ques lo mejor que acaben con las 970
vidas

la pena de sus *locos *concierto.

Contreras. *No es tan sus culpas
destos sabida,

y para que este caso no sea ynçierto,
es bien mirallo no solo vna vez.

Molina. Mirad si pido con razon el 975
juez.

Mirad estos papeles, que testi-
gos

seran de confession que no la an
hecho,

y aqui vereis si aquestos enemigos
tienen ynfame y barbaro pecho.

De Mahoma son intimos amigos, 980
y el Alcoran les sirue de derecho
para todos sus males *cuidades.

Mirad si es bien que sean *çasti-
gades.

Aqui el cura del pueblo querella,
y delante del rey lo a relatado.

Bohorques. Ya los pobrettes tienen 985
esa estrella;

quiça no sera tanto su pecado.

Molina. Sin duda vos, señor, no
estais en ella;

es posible que nos estais *ymfor-
maddo;

pues escuchad sus males y traçiones, 990
en muy breues y façiles razones:

(*Abre los papelles y lee les MOLINA.*)

Cuenca, cura de Hornachos,
digo que yo e confessado

*muchos, y a ningunos no e hallado
pecados, y no muchachos. 995

Tambien dizen mas testigos,

— todos los ynquisidores,—

que los dan por mal hechores,
declarados enemigos;

que oyen missa por fuerça, 1000

- y con muy poco respeto;
que son moros en efeto,
y no ay quien de aqui los tuerça.
¿Que? ¿ves que auido entrellos?
- 1005 Dize que son allebosos
y ladrones muy famosos;
aqui no ay que defendellos.
Esto es quanto a lo del cura.
Pues Chaues tiene aqui escritos
- 1010 muchos mayores delitos,
y la *venganca procura.
Dize que no cren en Dios,
y que son tan desalmados
que a los santos consagrados
- 1015 queman. Y otros dos
dizen *que la caza pia
de la Virgen del Remedio,
por afrenta y vituperio
ganado se recogia.
- 1020 Y otros delitos atroces
que yre, señor, relatando.
Pero ¿quien viene alli dando
tan apassionadas boces?
- 8, v. a (Sale vna muger con manto, llorando.)
Muger. Dexen llegar a vna triste
- 1025 muger, y desconsolada,
antes biuda que casada,
en quien el dolor assiste.
¿Justiça, señor, justiça!
pues ymitais la del çielo,
- 1030 tenelda agora en el suelo;
castigad tan gran maliciã.
Don Pedro Mansso. Lleuantad os,
muger onrada,
dezi me vuestra querella:
- ¿sois biuda o sois donçella?
- 1035 *Muger.* De aquessas dos no soy nada.
Don Pedro. Pues dezime lo que
aueis,
y quien os trae dessa suerte.
Muger. Vna lastimosa suerte
que si me escuchais sabreis.
- Señor, yo soy la muger
de Ximenez de Aragon,
alguazil de la pimienta
que otro juez vuestro nombro,
desgraciada en todo estremo,
pues el dichoso murio
- 1045 entre los moros de Ornachos
con martirio de dolor.
Aura diez meses que falta,
y andandole a buscar yo
por los pueblos donde fue
- 1050 con su triste commission,
me *dixeren que en Ornachos
entro vn dia, y no salio;
y de vn muchacho christiano
tuue çierta relacion,
- 1055 como le hizieron pedassos.
¿*Justiça, noble señor!
que no es bien que aya en Espana,
*ni viua, tan mala naçion.
Don Pedro. ¿Que os paresçe deste
- 1060 caso
y vna maldad tan atroz?
Fol. 8, v. b
¿estos son grandes delitos!
Vaya vn juez, *partese oy;
dese luego al secretario
que escriua la commission,
- 1065 y *remitese a Madera,
ques persona de valor.
Bohorques. Digo que es justo hazello.
Contreras. Es justiça y razon.
Don Pedro. Yd en paz, muger onrada,
- 1070 que antes que se ponga el sol
saldra vn rayo para Ornachos.
Muger. Vuestra vida aumente Dios,
y canten *vuestro *alabanca
*en los lugares alto.
- 1075 *Don Pedro.* Vamos a hablar al rey.
Ayala. Juntos yremos los dos;
¿es ya ora?
Bohorques. Señor si,
ya dio las onze el relox.
- (Vanse y salen HERNANDO MERINO y YZQUIERDO solos.)
- 1080 *Hernando.* Para lo que os e llamado
y lo que dezir os quiero,
mi amigo y *compainero,
nos a de causar çuidado.
- *Pues que solos estamos
como ermanos y amigos,
y solo an de ser testigos
de aqueste caso los ramos,
- 1085

sabed que dos labradores
vezinos de la Pedrossa,
1090 oy con muerte rigurosa
se acabaran sus dolores;
estos son dos obligados
de carne alla, de su tierra,
y vienen en aquesta sierra
1095 con ynfinitos ducados.
An me comprado el ganado,
y vengose lo a entregar;
y ansi me aueis de ayudar
a que lo pierdan doblado.
1100 Seis mill ducados me dieron;
sin quitar vn *marauadi,
todos yuntos los meti
en el arca y se encerraron.
No an de lleuar el ganado,
1105 ni el dinero an de lleuar,
porque *lo he de matar,
que ya esta ansi sentençado.
A los moços del ganado
se lo dixe esta mañana,
1110 y dizen que de buena gana.
Yzquierdo. Pues que ay si perder
cuidado:¹
si los moços an de *hazerllo
y tu tienes sentençado,
yo te ayudare de grado;
1115 ¿que ay mas sino obedecello?
que luego a de ser su fin.
¿Donde an de ser enterrados?
Hernando. Hecheran estos malua-
dos
a la puente de San Martin.
1120 Pero paresçe que vienen
por aquella çuesta abajo.
Yzquierdo. Ellos trayen harto tra-
bajo;
paresçe que se detienen.
(*Salen PEDRO DE LA CRUZ y JUAN DE
BUENOS con capas *pardo como marchan*²).
Pedro de la +. Juan de Buenos ¿no
es aquesta
1125 la huerta do esta Merino?
Juan de Buenos. Si no se a herrado
el camino,

paresçeme a mi ques esta.
Aqui otra vez le pagamos
los mill y treinta chibatos.
Pedro de la +. ¿Quales fueron los 1130
baratos?
Hernando. ¿Que ay, buena gente?
aca estamos;
¿vendreis por vuestro ganado?
Juan de Buenos. Senor, si.
Hernando. ¿Ola, criados!
(*Salen dos o tres pastores, o mas.*)
Pastor 1°. ¿Que mandas? di tus çui- Fol. 9,
dados. 1135
Hernando. Haze lo que os e man-
dado:
daldes el ganado luego;
ydos luego a despachar.
Pastor 1°. Mejor diras a pagar
de tus desseos el fuego.
(*Sacan todos cuchillos y matenlos.*)
Juan de Buenos. Jesus, Madre del 1140
Cordero,
a vos offresço mi alma.
Pastor 1°. ¿No leuareis vos tal palma,
ni chibato, ni carnero!
¿Con las ansias de la muerte
yua el cordero llamando! .
Hernando. Nombralo que anda tra- 1145
tando.
Pastor 1°. Pues ya *fenessio su suerte,
¿que quieres que hagamos de-
llos?
Pastor 2°. ¿*queires que sean enter-
rados?
Hernando. En Matachel sean echa- 1150
dos
donde nadie pueda vellos;
con vnas pesgas atados
los echareis en el rio,
y que *los hareis bien, confio.
Pastor 1°. Aquietense tus cuidados; 1155
ea, vamos a desnudallos,
que no es malo este vestido.
Hernando. Hazed luego lo que os
pido.
Pastor 2°. Luego partimos a echallos.

¹ Read Pues ay de perder cuidado:² Read marchantes (?).

NA V] (*Vanse, y salen BARCO, ÇAPATA, y vna muger con vn nino en brazos, que vienen de lauar, y los que pueden con ellos, y ALVARO GONSALES, el viejo y el moco.*)

1160 *Barco.* Muy bien sea desbauti-
zado.

Capata. Agale muy buen prouecho.

Barco. Lleuo muy grande çuidado.

Alvaro Gonsales, el moco. ¿De que?

Barco. No sosiega el pecho
asta auerlo retajado.

1165 Cunplamos con el preceto
que Mahoma nos a dado,
questoy confuso, prometo,
en ver que tanto a tardado
*esta alto tan prefeto.

1170 Vamos adonde se haga,
ques bien que se satisfaga
a vn profeta tan onrado.

Alvaro Gonsales, viejo. ¡Alto! ¡a
salir de cuidado!

ques justo se *satisfaga.

(*Salen HERNANDO MERINO y YZQUIERDO.*)

1175 Pero alli viene Merino,
y Yzquierdo viene a su lado.

Alvaro Gonsales, moço. Salgamos
al camino.

Vos seais muy bien llegado.

¿Como, suegro, uenis mohino?

1180 Decid me que a suçedido:

¿como uenis tan callado?

¿que desgracia aueis tenido?

Hernando. ¿Como estais tan desqui-
dado?

pues vn alcalde a venido,

1185 abrir los ojos conuiene.

Oy nuestro daño preuiene;

en estos actos forcosos

se muestran los animosos,

*y quien mas valor tiene;

1190 que *sý no uiera salido

a vn caso que aqui a sabido

Yzquierdo, que fue prouecho,

ya yo supiera de su pecho

y que es a lo que a venido.

1195 ¿No fuera bien questuiera
vno o dos atalayando

para quando este veniera,
y no andar desbautisando
muchachos desta manera?

Vamos todos a hablalle,

1200

procuramos contentalle,
hagamosle mill presentes,
questo allana *ynconuinentes:
el rogalle y el untalle.

(*Sale TAMIME.*)

*Tamime.*¹ ¡O que talle tien el pote Fol. 9, v. b
de ser amego de mel! 1206

Ques hombre de pecho en goto.

¡Alto! ¡colmenas en el!

Comencar a dar treboto,

no ay sino a el lleuen pressente; 1210

ea, coda toda la gente

con passa e hego pasado,

e datels ensaçonado,

e agua *claro de la fuente.

No lleuar veno e toçino 1215

que Mahoma lo auedado,

quando aquel moro mesquino

en el mesquita sagrado

logo meto.

Alvaro Gonsales. ¿Quando vino?

Tamime. Veniera aquesta manana 1220

con gran zambra y gran ruido

toda jente muy ofana.

Barco. ¡Que ninguno no lo vido!

Çapata. No se esperaua con gana.

¡Alto! vamos a hablalle.

1225

Tamime. ¿Se poder que no veo talle?

Que se² hazer frayle luego;

saber mucho.

Hernando. ¡A, de mal fuego

arda el conuento!

Tamime. Asçuchalle;

nos³ oyga algun christianillo,

1230

que andan por aqui çinquenta,

y vaya luego a dezillo.

Tener con el ablar quenta.

Hernando. No ay quien ya pueda
sufrillo.

¹ Read through *Tamime's speech*: puto, amigo, miel, enjuto, tributo; ea, acuda, higo; vino, lujo.

² Que se for quiere se(?).

³ nos = no os.

1235 Vamos a ver si podemos
hablar con este hombre onrado,
veremos lo que tenemos.
Barco. Vamos primero al letrado,
y del nos ynformaremos.

Fol. 10, r.
[ESCENA VI]

(*Vanse. Sale el LICENCIADO MOLINA solo. Ade auer vn altar, y en el vn *crusefizo; y se hinca de *rodillos y ay *musico y dize MADERA.*)

1245 *Madera.* Padre y Senor diuino,
fabricador de todo lo criado,
declarad me el camino
por donde este negocio sea guiado,
pues vos lo sabeis todo,
1250 que yo soy peccador y hecho delodo.

Letrado *siempiterno,
sumo saber, y sciençia no aprendida,
hazedor del ynfierno,
y del cielo donde ay vida complida,
1255 aclarad mi sentido,
no le *pongo en las aguas del oluido.

Virgen de los Remedios
por quien e de boluer en esta yn-
presa,

ymbiad me vos los medios,
1260 soberana prinçessa;
y vos, Françisco amado,
sed en mis cossas siempre mi abo-
gado.

En *vostra cassa quiero,
Padre, tener posada y no en Orna-
chos;

1265 en vos, *Franssisco, espero.
Guidad me, seraphin, en mis des-
pachos,
que con tal sostituto,
no dudo de quen todo vuestra² buen
fruto.

Grandes son los peccados
1270 que este pueblo, mi Dios, a cometido;
viuen desenfrenados,
sin alma, sin conçiencia ni sentido,
y pues juez me an hecho,
quiero que me alenteis aqueste
pecho.

1275 Conosco que soy hombre,

Tamime. Escocha: auer letrado, 1240
el viuir con gran cuidado,
e guardar de los ganotes,¹
los cordelles y garotes
que trae el reçien llegado.

y por vos e de ser tambien *jugado;
y ansi es bien que me asombre
aun que estoy en este oficio leuan-
tado;
que si *jugso en el suelo,
vos sois el juez, mi Dios, de tierra 1280
y cielo.

Quiero llamar mi jente,
que no es tiempo destar tan des- Fol. 1
cuidados;
agaselo presente,
despachar quiero luego mill re-
caudos.

(*Toca vna campanilla, y sale RONC-
QUILLO, alguasil.*)

¡Ola, gente!

Ronquillo. Senor,—

Madera. El seçretario. 1285

Ronquillo. Aqui esta.

Mader. Venga ques neçesario;
Llamaldo que se tarda.

¿No sabe que sin el no hago cosa?
Venga ya ¿a que aguarda?

Ronquillo. Haziendo alguna cosa 1290
estara, que no *estan desquidado.

(*Vase.*)

Madera. Dezid que venga aqui y
traiga recaudo.

(*Sale JUAN DE PINA, secretario, con
oficiales y VINCENTE, alguazil.*)

Ronquillo. El seçretario, senor, viene, Col. 1
y con el tres oficiales
que en seruirtle *puntialles 1295
seran en lo que conuienne.

Pina, sec. Sea usarced³ bien leuan-
tado.

¿Como esta noche le a ydo?

¹ For gañotes.

³ The MS has V^{md}.

² In the MS this word is represented by its usual abbreviation: v^{ra}; the proper reading is perhaps vea.

- Madera.* Muy bien, muy bien e dormido,
 1300 y esto ya muy descansado.
 Descansado no a de estar
 el que viene a lo que vengo,
 y ansi lo que me detengo
 es para mas me cansar.
 1305 Embiad a Juan de Lerena,
 a Ribera, a los alcaldes;
 de my parte auizaldes
 tengan vna carçel buena,
 porque alli quiero que esten
 1310 los mas prinçipales presos,
 que son los moros trauiessos,
 y en Ornachos no estan bien.
Pina, sec. Esta muy bien acordado
 *echar los ricos fuera,
 1315 porque de aquesta manera
 va el negocio mas callado.
Madera. Yo jure solenemente
 a Dios y al rey my senor,
 de satisfacer su onnor
 1320 muy fiel, y muy diligente;
 y assi quiero agora aqui
 para estar satisfecho
 de *leallaltad de mi pecho,
 me lo prometais a mÿ.
 1325 *Pina, sec.* Pues yo jurare primero,
 senor, porque este seguro:
 a este pecho abierto, juro,
 y a este ynocente Cordero,
 de ser en mi oficio fiel,
 1330 diligente, mudo y çiego;
 que ni dadiuas ni ruego
 no boraran mi papel;
 que no dare firma en blanco,
 ni reçibere *cochechos.
 1335 ¿Basta, senor, lo que *hecho?
Madera. Si, basta, que ese es el blanco.
- Vincente.* Juro por Dios consagrado,
 y por su madre bendita
 cuya ayuda solçita
 mi pecho en fuego abrasado, 1340
 de no reçibir por mi
 ni por persona terçera,
 en letra ó de otra manera,
 joya, prenda, ni vn *çiti.
Ronquillo. Sea con rigor castigado, Fol. 11, r. a
 senor piadoso y clemente, 1346
 si yo fuera deste jente
 con dadiuas *cochechado;
 yo prendere a qualquiera
 que se me mande prender, 1350
 aun que auenture a perder
 mi vida, ó de otra manera.
Madera. Mucho me aueis obligado;
 yo quedo muy satisfecho
 deste juramento hecho, 1355
 que cada qual a jurado.
Ronquillo. Alonso Matias a llegado.
Madera. Y Chaues con el.
Ronquillo. ¿Tambien Chaues?
Madera. Los dos an de ser *los Fol. 11, r. b
 llaues
 desto que se a comencado, 1360
 quen las cosas de la tierra
 tienen los dos gran notiçia;
 y inporta a nuestra justiçia,
 pues saben tambien la sierra.
 Esçruiud los *mandamintos, 1365
 que ya veis ques tiempo y ora
 de que *este canalla mora
 *cabe, y sus pensamientos.
 Vamos, que e de dar *audençia
 por oy en todo el dia; 1370
 a de cessar la porfia
 de la morisca inprudençia.
 (Fin.)

JORNADA TERÇERA.

r. a
 A I] (Salen HERNANDO MERINO, ALVARO GONSALES, viejo y moço y LUIS CORDOUES.)

- Hernando.* Que no h[e] podido hablar
 al juez despues que a llegado,
 1375 que contino esta ençerrado.
Alvaro Gonsales, moço. Vn santo
 es, no ay que dudar.
 Yo y Barco y Çapata entramos,
 y le dixo el guardian:
 senor, tres hombres estan
 esperando,—y no le ablamos. 1380
 Dixo nuestras calidades,
 y que eramos jente onrada;
 y ; sin reparar en nada

de dinero o dinidades!

1385 Salimos sin le hablar.
Su recato es de manera
que pienso aun que el rey fuera,
fuera ynposible el entrar.

Aluaro, viejo. Es vn alcalde del
ynfierno;

1390 todo lo tray arruynnado,
*per todo ombre esta amedrentado;
Fol. 11 r. b como no ay otro gouierno,
lo que el hiziere esta hecho.

A, Mahoma soberano,
1395 acaba, da nos la mano.
Aga tu Alcoran prouecho;
con el regimos nos todos,

todas sus oras rezamos,
por momentos lo pasamos
1400 desde el tiempo de los godos.

Buelue y pon aqui tu mano,
*sagrada profeta mio,
en cuya bondad confio
como en su Dios el christiano.

1405 Si nuestra sangre es la tuya,
¿porque estas tan remontado?
¿porque, di nos, as abajado?
¿porque a miedo no se arguya?

Però si *estais enojado,
1410 dinos lo que aqui te aremos:
Fol. 11, v. a ¿de oro puro que adoremos
vn tu retrato sagrado?

No quedera por peresça
para tu seruicio cossa,
1415 y asta el fenis *milagrossa
se offresçiera a tu grandessa.

Merino ¿vos no teneis
a Mahoma en vuestra caza?

Hernando. Si, con voluntad no es-
cassa

1420 le siruo, como sabeis.
Vamos con *mucho olores
de peuetes y pastillas
y odoriferas pomillas
de diferentes colores

1425 a *perfimar la mesquita
y arroçar el altar
para poder aplacar
el mal que nos soliçita.

¹ This is an isolated line.

(*Salen RONQUILLO y VINCENTE, alguaziles.*)

Ronquillo. Con su cordura pretende
lleuar sus cossas Madera. 1430

Vincente. Es buen juez y considera
las cossas, el sentiente.

O senores,—

Hernando. Bien venidos.
Ronquillo. Y ellos sean bien hallados,
rato a que an sido buscados. 1435

Aluaro, viejo. Manden, que seran
seruidos.

Ronquillo. Mandamos solo que ven-
gan¹
presos.

Hernando. ¿Porque ocasion?
Vincente. Porque lo *mande el alcalde,
y no venimos de balde 1440
a hazer esta prision.

Aluaro, moço. ¿Tambien nos otros?
¿Reniego . . . !

Vincente. ¿De quien?
Aluaro, moço. De algun traydor

que por embidia y rencor
a leuantado este fuego, 1445
que son del mundo carcoma,
y algo nos an lleuantado.

Ronquillo. Pense que era el negar todo
de su querido Mahoma. Fol. 11

Vengan, que ya nos tardamos,
que luego an de yr a Ribera. 1450

Hernando. Hablemos de *otro ma-
nera,
que aca mejor los tratamos.

Este se quedo Mahoma,
que aqui no lo conocemos. 1455

Ronquillo. Nos otros, si.

Hernando. No sabemos.
Vincente. ¿O mala rauia los coma!

Vengan, que esta ya aguardando
quien los tiene de lleuar.

Dexensse de tanto hablar 1460
¿por Dios! que no es burlando.

Ronquillo. Oluidense de çuidados,
y no sean habladores.

Aluaro, viejo. Vamos, *ymfames,
traydores,
*yo pienso veros todos quemados. 1465

ENA II]

(Vanse todos y salen MADERA, JUAN DE CHAUES, y ALONSO MATIAS.)

Madera. Señor Chaues, con cuidado
se despache ese reçado,
y auisad a los testigos
destos pueblos.

Chaues. Doze amigos,
1470 señor, se an examinado,
y por Tamariz an ydo
a la villa de *Erena;
no se como no a venido,
y fue la cosa mas buena
1475 de quanto aqui se a aduertido.

Madera. Tambien fueron por Panete
que esta preso en Portugal.
Esse vido diez y siete
muertos en vn mes.

Madera. ¿Ay tal?
1480 ; Triste fin se les promete!
Y vos, Alonso Matias,
pues sois hombre de caudal,
seguid todas estas vias,
pues sois ya mi fiscal,
1485 accusa estas tiranias.

12, r. a No os quede por negligencia
lo que encargo de conciencia,
lo que vn fiscal esta obligado.

Alonso Matias. Señor, perde esse
guidado,

1490 que vereis mi diligencia;
en la *audencia que se hiziere,
se *hechera de ver mi celo.
Vuestra merced considere
que aqueste es onor del cielo,
1495 *y pague lo el que lo deuiera.

Yo defendo la justicia,
ellos nieguen su malicia;
que yo no quiero letrado,
que yo *sera el abogado.

1500 **Madera.** Eso si, tener codicia,—
pero aqui viene Ronquillo
sudando y apresurado.

(Sale RONQUILLO solo.)

Ronquillo. Quisiera que en el cas-
tillo

1505 fueran sus presiones *dado,
ques neçedad el pedillo;
mejor estara alla fuera
presa *aqueste jente fiera.

Madera. ¿Que ay tan apresurado?

Ronquillo. Dezirte que an lleuado
estos presos a Ribera. 1510

Sali asta medio camino,
y algo fatigado vengo.

Madera. Aqueste fue desatino.
¿Fuistes a pie?

Ronquillo. Y no tengo
pie que no venga mohino. 1515

Madera. Prended luego el regimiento.

Ronquillo. Señor, ya yo tengo pres-
sos
todos los mas.

Madera. Gran contento
reçibo, ¿quantos son esos?

Ronquillo. Yo los tengo por assiento. 1520

Madera. ¿Trais ay el memorial?

Ronquillo. Si, señor.

Madera. Dasele luego
a Alonso Matias, fiscal,
porque aqueste pueblo çiego
1525 los accuse de su mal.

Leed la memoria, que quiero
saber los hombres que ay presos;
dezid sus nombres primero,
assi *sabrá por esos
quien falta.

Alonso Matias. Leo.

Madera. Ya espero. 1530

Alonso Matias. Pressos: Hernando
Merino,

Aluaro Gonsales, viejo y moço,
Luis Barco, el estimado,
Hernando Tello,
Hernando Tello, el gastado, 1535
Aluaro Cordoues,
Aluaro de Soria,
Lope Merino, el viejo,
Hernando Cabrera,
Francisco Merino, 1540

sus hijos;
Luis Cordoues, el viejo,
Aluaro Cordoues Plumaje
y Luis Cordoues, sus hijos;
Aluaro de Soria, el viejo, 1545
y Aluaro de Soria, su hijo;
estos son los mas ricos y regidores,

y estan en otra carçel.
 Lope de Çayas, esgriano,
 1550 Aluaro de Perales, rico,
 Diego Garçia, trinchilla,
 Grabiël Garçia,
 Grabiël Palombo, el moço,
 Alonso Maiçan, ollerero,
 1555 Alonso Maiçan, su hijo;
 Francisco, carpintero,
 Rodrigo, *espieçero,
 Francisco, *mancano,
 Diego Perez, *tresso,
 1560 Diego Françes,
 Hernando Blanco, escriuano,
 Luis, barrillero,
 Fol. 12, v. a Diego de Contreras,
 Diego Ortiz,
 1565 Alonso Gomes Chauesquina,
 Diego de Bendiehaque,
 Grauiel Palombo, el viejo,
 Garçia Ruuio, el viejo,
 Alonso Yzquierdo,
 1570 Juan Marçues, esgriano.
 Estos son los questan pressos,
 y otros que estan condenados.
Madera. Aora bastan aquessos,
 que es otros seran cansados.
 1575 Aganse luego proçessos.
 A cada vno su cabeça
 de proçesso se le aga,
 y porque vaya mas llanesça,
 ques bien que se satisfaga
 a cada qual.
 1580 *Chaues.* Gran nobleca,
 justo juez, recto y sabio,
 sin embustos ni codiçia.
Alonso Matias. No hara a ninguno
 agrauiio
 sin rason, ni sin justiçia.
 (*Salen JUAN DE PINA, secretario, VIN-
 CENTE y TAMARIZ.*)
 1585 *Juan de Pina.* No meneis vos el labio;
 hasta que seais preguntado
 no hableis.
Tamariz. *Pierda çuidado
 que yo hable alguna cossa
 que a nadie le sea odiossa.

¹ Read *essediere* for *excediere*.

Vincente. O senor,—
Madera. Seais bien llegado. 1590
 Dezid ¿es aqueste el testigo?
Vincente. Si, senor.
Madera. ¿Sois vos, amigo,
 el porque yo tengo embiado?
Tamariz. Si, senor.
Madera. Yo me e holgado.
 Secretario, oyd que os digo: 1595
 solamente este el fiscal
 junto con vos, no otro alguno,
 que para su bien o mal
 no es menester a ninguno.
Chaues. Grande ynjenio, gran caudal. 1600
 Salgamonos todos fuera;
 Fol. 1 muy bien esta lo acordado:
 solo este el *desaminado.
 Viuas mill años, *Madera*,
 de tan gran sçiençia dotado. 1605
 (*Vanse, y quedan MADERA, ALONSO
 MATIAS, PINA, secretario, y TAMARIZ.*)
Pina. *Tamariz*, la cruz, ermano,
 haze para el juramento.
Tamariz. Ve la aqui *hecho al mo-
 mento
 como la haze el christiano.
Pina. ¿Que jurais a Dios y a ella 1610
 de dezir verdad en suma?
 [*Tamariz.*] Si, juro, y que me con-
 suma
 Dios, si yo esse *diere¹ della.
 [*Pina.*] ¿Que jurais como christiano
 de no negar la verdad? 1615
 No escriuais nada; aguardad,
 llegaos açia aqui, hermano,
 pone sobre aquesta cruz
 la mano, questoy contento;
 que basta por juramento 1620
 de vuestra palabra la luz.
 Salga aqui lo que sabeis
 del bien ó mal desta jente.
Tamariz. Yo lo dire diligente;
 escuchad me y lo sabreis: 1625
 En esta desdichada, ynfeliz
 Fol. 1 tierra,
 col. —que aqueste nombre con rason
 le viene,

- pues tanta falsedad y mal encierra
que Argel y Tetuan mas piedad
tiene,—
- 1630 mirad que a descubierto hazen su
guerra,
y destos la maldad no ay quien
*frene,
pues con color de que estos son
amigos,
no tiene España mayores enemigos.
Buen como en Argel, y adoran
todos
- 1635 el nombre vil del falso y mal pro-
feta,
y le hazen sacrificio de mill modos,
guardando en todo el orden de su
seta.
¿Que Diocleçianos fueron, ni que
*Commodos
de crueldad mas dura ni perfeta,
questos crueles, ympios, y tiranos
1640 lo son con los catolicos christianos?
Doze anos aura que fui a
*Lerena
a entregarme yo mismo al Santo
Offiçio,
por ver que aquella vida no era
buena.
- 1645 Penitencia me dieron, y en seruicio
del *serafica padre, el alma llena
quedo de gozo por *esta beneficio;
y como quien conosçe a estos mal-
uados
en bino fuego auian de estar que-
mados.
- 1650 Son ladrones, y tienen de con-
sejo
nombrados tres ó quatro matadores
que a qualquiera christiano moço ó
viejo,
- lo matan y lo entierran los traydores.
Ellos tienen su rey, y su consejo,
y como pueden, *temen¹ los me- 1655
nores,
y el Alcoran les leen *en publica-
mente,
y muere el que no lo oye tristemente.
Desbautisan los niños bautisa-
dos,
y a todos los retajan sin que quede
*ningunos que no sean retajados 1660
a su Mahoma; no ay quien se lo
uede.
- Labran moneda, y viuen conjurados
que *sean de alçar; si es razon que
quede
tanta maldad sin el deuido pago,
al mismo çielo juez del caso hago. 1665
Madera. Secretario ¿que os paresçe Fol. 13, v. a
del dicho deste buen ombre?
¿quien aura que no asombre
tal maldad? mi furia cresçe
que esto tuuiesse callado. 1670
¿Por vida del rey, que tengo
de hazer,— pues a ello vengo,—
castigo que sea sonado!
Fiscal ¿auéis entendido
y puesto en vuestra memoria 1675
cosa tan clara y notoria?
Alonso Matias. Yo estoy muy bien
aduertido.
Panete vendra mannana,
que tambien es buen testigo.
Tamariz. Esse a sido gran mi amigo 1680
y dira de buena gana.
Madera. Esçriua-se con çuidado
el dicho deste.
Pina. Senor,
con çuidado y con primor
luego sera despachado. 1685
- (*Vanse todos y salen CAMARA, MARIA y TAMINE.*)
- [*Camara.*] ¿Gran lastima y descon-
suelo
es el que nos a venido!
¿que esta preso tu marido?
[*Maria.*] Y el tuyo; ¡gran descon-suelo!
- Tamine.* ¿Que aga temblar vn *pa- 1690
lillo
que dieron a este pobrette!
¿que con tal rigor sojete
al mas soberuio morillo!

¹ For toman?

[Camara.¹] ¿Adonde vamos, *Marea?

1695 *Maria.* A ver aquestos çuitados
en la carcel ençerrados.

Tamine. ¿E poder ertan *dedea?²

De quando aca salir fuera,
guardas del diablo, ermanas,
1700 que aun que venir tan galanas
no querer mucho Madera.

Camara. No sera tan ynhumano
que a de ser con dos mugeres
Fol. 13, v. b riguroso.

Tamine. Ea pos, sino quieres
1705 tomar ambas de la mano.

(Sale RONQUILLO y VINCENTE.)

Ronquillo. *Dos mugeres tappadas
¿adonde yran a estas oras?

Vincente. ¿No veremos a estas
moras?

¿Donde van tan rebocadas?

1710 *¿Destappese! ¿Donde van?

¿Que buscan? ¿Y tu, que quieres?

Tamine. Venir con estas mogerres,
que pena da donde yran :

por ay querer entrar,
1715 ¿pos no comer de la fruta?
O he de pota, o he de pota,
esta es por madorar.

[*Maria.*] Senores, se os *seruidos,
dexad a las dos passar ;

que vamos a visitar
a nuestros pobres maridos.

Vincente. No son malas estas dos
para pretender, Ronquillo,
sino

Ronquillo. ¿Que?

Vincente. ¿E de dezillo?

¿Que no! ¿ojo! ¿viue Dios!

Que si el alcalde lo sabe
emos de tener desgusto;
y no es bien que por vn gusto
*se disguste vn ombre tan graue.

Vayanse, daldes al diablo,
que en yr tan *arrebaldadas
gubiertas y mesuradas,
son como enfundar retablo.

Camara. Adios, senores, adios.

Ronquillo. *Vayen en buen ora, er-
manas.

Tamine. A he de pota, que ganas
tener los dos de las dos. (*Vanse.*)

Vincente. Madera y Panete an ydo
a vnas cubas a buscar
vnos huessos, y desenterrar
muchos cuerpos que an sabido
que en el campo an enterrado
esta ynfame jente perra.
Vamos, que el consejo yerra
sino quedare *assolada.

[ESCENA IV]

*Vanse, y salen MADERA, PANETE, CHAUES y JUAN DE PINA, secritario, y vn par de
ombres para cauar.)*

Madera. Panete ¿auemos llegado?

Panete. Aqui estan las sepulturas;
*senor, lo que procuras,
lo veras presto.

Madera. Con quidado.

1750 *Chaues.* Panete ¿estan en las minas,
de Pinos ò destas *brenas?

Panete. Muchos ay entre estas peñas,
y alla, los que tu ymaginas
caben en *aqueste parte.

1755 Aqui esta vn ombre enterrado
de Toledo.

Madera. ¿A desdichado!

¿Porque murio?

Panete. No se parte,
que solo se quel esta aqui;
y esto, senor, es sin duda.

Madera. ¿A tierra, que seas tan
muda

que aquesto tengas en ti!

Ombre 1º. Aqui esta la calauera
con los huessos descarnada.

Madera. Echalde fuera. ¿Ay,
çuitada!

¹In the MS, everything as far as Maria's speech: A ver aquestos, etc., is attributed to Tamine. The correct language of the greater part of the passage makes this attribution improbable.

²¿Se puede ir tan de dia?

- | | | | |
|----------|--|--|---------------------------|
| 1765 | ¿quien bina ó muerte te espera?
Alguien te estara aguardando,
y tu en Ornachos assistes.
Los que viuos a este vistes,
dezidme ¿no estais temblando? | Alli estan desparramados
huessos que no se cree tal;
no ay carneros de hospital
que estan como estos poblados;
ay echadas en las minas
cabeças, piernas y manos,
de valerosos christianos
mas que tu ymaginas. | 1800 |
| 1770 | ¿Ay en el mundo testigos
mas leales y abonados
que estos huessos descarnados,
contra aquestos enemigos? | Yo todo el estrago e visto
questa jente ynfame a hecho,
por solo vengar su pecho,
y offender a Jesu Christo,
Y dizen que desta suerte
el gran patron Santiago
aze en sus moros estrago,
y por esso *las dan muerte. | 1805 |
| 1775 | Aqui esta otro de Seuilla
que les vino a comprar mill
*chibatos, pero ellos le dieron *çiel.
<i>Ombre 2°.</i> Aquesta
<i>Pina.</i> ¿Ay tal mançilla? | <i>Madera.</i> Vamos, llevad esos hues-
sos,
que no an de ser enterrados
asta que ya *estan vengados
de aquestos moros ossiosos. | 1810 |
| 14, r. b | Huessos van de aqui sacando
como si fuera carnero. | <i>Pina, *esc.</i> Vamos, ¿y abra mas
prouança? | |
| 1780 | <i>Panete.</i> Aqui *esto otro cauallero
muerto, que andaua caçando;
aqueste mato Merino
a traicion por ospedallo,
y por tomalle vn cauallo,
y lo ençerro en su molino. | <i>Madera.</i> ¿Que mas prouança querreis
que esos huessos que teneis
*questa pidiendo vengança?
¿no *bastan ver estas cossas
y con loque esta prouado
para que sea assolado
este pueblo? | Fol. 14, v. a |
| 1785 | Tambien *esta coronado
de Merida natural,
porque publico su mal.
<i>Alonso Matias.</i> Yo conoci a este
çuitado: | <i>Pina.</i> ¡Perniçiosas!
Ya no lo *atagar el çielo;
pienso segun *sucucitar
que alli an de *destruyr
la mayor parte del suelo.
(<i>Vanse todos y llevan los huessos.</i>) | |
| 1790 | era vn ombre muy valiente,
ligero y determinado,
y enemigo declarado
de *todas *este ynfame jente. | | |
| 1795 | <i>Madera.</i> Panete ¿sabeis de mas
queestan por aquesta tierra
*muerto? | | |
| | <i>Panete.</i> Vamos a esta sierra
senor, y te espantarás. | | |
| ENA VJ | (<i>Salen HERNANDO MERINO y ALVARO GONSALES el viejo con prisiones.</i>) | | |
| 1830 | <i>Hernando Merino.</i> El tiempo nos a
puesto en apretura,
las cossas van muy mal, suegro on-
rado;
ya fortuna nos dexa, y la ventura
nos da de mano, todo va borrado.
Testigos buscan, y los an traydo
de muchas partes con muy gran
guidado. [tido,
*A Ala le ruego que miente mi sen- | questa muy temerosso y acabado,
y a la muerte siento en el oyd[o].
<i>Alvaro Gonsales.</i> Dexaos deste temor
y esse çuidado;
¿adonde esta aquel pecho duro y
fuerte
que en nuestras cossas siempre
aueis mostrado?
Si no es que ya Mahoma echo la
suerte,— | Fol. 14 v.,
col. única |
| 1835 | | | |

que si el, como hazedor, lo detter-
mina,
ninguno esta seguro aun que sea
fuerte.

1845 Sin duda el cielo a nuestro mal se
ynclina;
y si es de *aquesse suerte, aquesta
mia
al transito final ya se avezina.

1850 ¡Que nos persigan con tan granporfia
estos ymfames barbaros cristianos!
¡Mal aya el hombre quen vos otros
fia!

Hernando Merino. Mahoma metera
aqui sus manos,
y nos emos de ver en la noblesça
que nos vimos, si pesa a estos vil-
lanos.

1855 *Alvaro Gonsales.* No me pienso yo
ver en tanta altesa
como me *vio, jamas, aun que sa-
liera
tan libre como estaua.

Merino. Essa es flacquessa.
(*Salen ALVARO GONSALES el moço y LUIS
CORDOUES a la *rega.*)

Alvaro Gonsales, moço. Cordoues,
nuestros males considera,
que dizen que los muertos an ha-
llado.

Luis Cordoues. Mucho temo, cuñado,
a este Madera.

Fol. 15, r.,
col. única
1861 *Alvaro Gonsales, moço.* ¿Ques padre
y suegro, lo que aueis tratado?
¿no sabeis lo que *auido en nuestra
tierra?

Los muertos que matamos an ha-
llado,
los del llano y las minas y la sierra.

Hernando Merino. Pues ¿quien lo
descubrio que ya no *son
*muerto?

1865 *Alvaro Gonsales, moço.* Panete que
quedo para dar guerra
a todo el mundo.

Hernando. Pues, si *aquesse es
gierto,

seremos todos gierto sentençados
no menos que cada vno a *muerto.
¡A perro, que entre muchos mal
logrados

no te dieran la muerte, porque agora
no supiera este juez nuestros pec-
cados!

Luis Cordoues. ¡A mal aya la ym-
fame y vil mora

que dio leche a este perro renegado!
Alvaro Gonsales, moço. A cunado,

y ¡quien lo asiera agora
ansi como aqui estoy encarçelado!

1875 *que yo le diera al perro
la paga de acusar con este yerro.

(*Sale RONQUILLO, alquazil y jente de
guarda.*)

Ronquillo. Señores, bajen luego,
que *ayan¹ de ser lleuados a Horna-
chos.

1880 *Hernando Merino.* Deste juez re-
niego;

amigos, ya son giertos los despachos.
Salgamos de Ribera,
que en Hornachos algun bien se
nos espera;

allí como en mi tierra
mentendere con estos enemigos.
Que traygan dos letrados
que sigan nuestros pleytos.

1885 *Ronquillo.* ¡A çuitados!
A bagen ya que es ora.

*Lleuan las bestias por *aquesse
puerta;

bage *esse jente mora,
pues van donde tendran la muerte
gierta.

Hernando Merino. ¡A como es agena
razon semejante en jente buena!

Si vamos a la muerte
¿que podemos hazer? tener pacien-
cia,

*pues es de la mano fuerte.
que todo lo puede, es la sentençia.
Mirad si sois disçretos,
*que estan los hombres a mucho
mal sujetos.

Fol. 15,
col. única

¹ For oy an(?).

- 1900 Yo me vide temido,
y *commando con poder, y respec-
tado;
y agora e conocido
que quanto el mundo da, lo da
prestado;
mas no ay de que me asombre
- si naçen los trabajos para el hombre; 1905
solo suplico y ruego
que sean las palabras comedidas,
pues son manchas de fuego
que dexan las señales esculpidas,
y en vn onrado, cabra 1910
y verase muy mal vna palabra.
- A VI] (Lleuanlos, y salen MADERA, el fiscal, y el secretario JUAN DE PINA.)
- 5, v. a Madera. *Ya que por los escritos
*y los testigos tan verificados
*estan los reos condenados
1915 a que paguen sus delitos,
dexense las peticiones;
no allegue mas el letrado;
juntese lo proçessado,
y abreuiesse de razones.
1920 *En viendo los questan
en Ribera, pues ya an ydo
a traerlos, proueydo
esse auto, y[a] otros seran.
Juntan los siete proçessos,
1925 que oy an de ser sentençiadados
los que estubieren culpados
en robos, muertes, y esçessos.
(Sale RONQUILLO, de camino.)
Ronquillo. Ya, señor, traygo la jente
y estan en la carsel, y todos
1930 por muchos y varios modos
dizen ques jente ynocente.
Madera. Para ellos es mejor;
que si tanta es su ynocençia
reçiberan esta sentençia,
y en su descargo el Señor.
5, v. b Vaya Juan de Pina luego
1936 y leealles la sentençia;
*y con gran deligençia
sin vn punto de sosiego
1940 llamad a los oficiales
que hagan la horca presto.
No tengais desquido en esto,
sino andad muy liberales.
Alonso Matias. Esto va bien orden-
ado.
1945 Mañana seran siete menos
de los mas ricos y buenos;
que an de pagar su pecado.
Virgen, oyd mis clamores
- acudid con vuestros medios,
pues sois Virgen de Remedios, 1950
y bien de los pecadores.
Allentad, Virgen, mi pecho
contra aquestos enemigos,
y a mi que halle testigos
vtiles y de prouecho. 1955
A vos os an offendido
pues donde el retrato estaua
*vuestro, su gannado se encerraua
con vn respeto yndiuino. Fol. 16, r. a
(Mientras an hablado *ay firmado MA-
DERA las sentençias y el se vaya con el fiscal
y quede PINA y RONQUILL[O].)
Ronquillo. ¡A de la çarcel!
Dentro. ¿Quien llama? 1960
Ronquillo. *Llegan los pressos aqui,
oygan por amor de mi
a la trompa de la fama. (Salen.)
Luis Barço. Aqui estanse, o secre-
tario;
que nos mande en que servir. 1965
Pina. Que solo quieran oyr
este edito temerario.
¿Esta ay Hernando Merino?
Hernando Merino. Aqui esta; diga
el recado.
Pina. Estais muy apassionado, 1970
[Hernando Merino.] Que nada sera,
ymagino.
[Pina.] Oygan si estan todos juntos
los que aqui traygo nombrados.
Barço. *Aya estan todos los recados,
no de *repare en puntos. 1975
Sec. Pina. En el nombre de Dios,
amen. El licenciado Gregorio
Lopes de Madera, alcalde de caza
y corte, juez nombrado por el rey,
nuestro senor, para *auerificaçion

de los delitos que los vezinos de la villa de Hornachos an cometidos, etc. Visto los proessos—hallo que deuo condenar y condeno a Hernando Merino y Alvaro Gonsales, el viejo, que sean ahorcados y *su cabescas puestas en la picota por quanto se les prouoqueras juezes del gouierno secreto y se carteauan con los moros de Africa, Valencia y *Arragon y otros; a Diego de Contreras, a que sea ahorcado y hecho quartos por muchas muertes, y salteamientos; e otrossi condeno que ansi mismo sea *hahorcado Diego Ortiz, porque trayendo vna muger, tendera de Castilla, la mato en el puerto de la olleria; ansi mismo condeno Alonso Gomez Chauesquina por muertes y salteamientos; a Diego de Vendiehaque porque saliendo el y otros al Andalusia, dixerón que no auian de boluer sin matar cristianos, y junto Antequera *mararon a vno y le saquaron la lengua por detras y la trugeron a Hornachos; a Grauiel Palombo, el viejo, por vno de los matadores del gouierno y ladron publico; que todos sean ahorcados y hechos quartos y puestas sus cabeças y quartos por los caminos, por esta mi sentençia difnitua assi lo pronunçio y mando &

Gregorio Lopez Madera.

Por su mandado, Juan de Pina, secretario, assi se lo notifiçó.

Col. a

No caygan en ynorancia, y pues que son tan christianos, alto, a confessarse, ermanos, que les sera de ynportancia.

(Vanse PINA y RONQUILLO, y quedan los presos.)

1980 *Hernando Merino.* ¿Que ay del mundo que fiar?
pues siendo *las mas onrados,
oy estamos sentençados,

que nos an de ahorçar. Col. b

Alvaro Gonsales, el viejo. No ay si
no ofreger lo a Dios,

y pasar por tantos males, 1985
que para trabajos tales
nacido auemos los dos;

nuestros pecados an sido.

¿Quien, Merino, tal pensara 1990
que *aqueste punto llegara
el valor que esta perdido? Fol. 18

¡Nos otros dos ahorcados
sin poder aprouechar,
tener valor, ni mandar, 1995
ni offreger muchos ducados!

Hernando Merino. Los bienes y las
*riqueessa

oy se quedan a vna parte.
Veen si quieren confessarte
con fray Juan.

Alvaro Gonsales. ¿Que buena pieça!
Aunque sea por *complier 2000
con el mundo quiero hazello;
ya me dettermino a ello,
aun que estoy para morir.

(Ay dentro ruydo y sale LUIS BARCO
asido del alcaide, y RONQUILLO quitandole
vn cuchillo, y sin grillos.)

Barço. ¿Como? Si yo e de quedar
biuo, estando sentenciados 2005
a muerte los mas onrados,
yo mismo me e de matar.

Alcaide. Barço, dexa esse çuidado,
que el que vio vuestro proçesso, 2010
vio que era lo justo esso.

Barço. En todo es apassionado.
¡*Súltadme que e de mataros!

¡dexadme salir, traydor!
Alcaide. Tengale bien, mi señor. 2015

¿Como querais escaparos?
Ronquillo. Entre, que a fee tendra
su recado con dozientos . . .

Barço. ¿Acotes? ¡que son quentos!
Ronquillo. Calle, que alla lo vera.

(Metenle a repujones, y todos los presos,
y sale el LICENCIADO MADERA.)

Madera. Graçias a Dios que ya e visto 2020
lo que tanto desseaua.

¿Es posible que ya acaua
*esse jente, Santo Christo?

Vayan fuera estos maluados,
queden quien solo os adora;
y esta ynfame jente mora
paguen, mi Dios, sus pecados.

(Sale RONQUILLO solo.)

Ronquillo. Pensaua escaparse el
perro,
mas no le valio su ardid.

2080 Madera. Pues ¿ques aquesso? De-
zid.

¿A suscedido algun yerro?

Ronquillo. Barço, vn moro questa
preso,

viendo questan sentençados
a muerte aquellos quitados,
2085 con furia y terrible esçesso
de la carsel se salia
con vn cuchillo en la mano,
diziendo ques vn tirano
de voluntad fiera e ympia
2090 el que la sentençia dio;

y que era juez apassionado
y de *interesses cargado,
y esto en el se paresçio.

Madera. Pues al punto, luego, Ron-
quillo,

2095 vn jumento preuenid,
y a este Barço en el subid,
y *lleua al cuello el cuchillo;
denle dozientos acotes
por aquesse atreuemiento,
2050 y por el quebrantamiento.

(Sale VINCENTE solo de la carcel.)

¿Que ay?

Vincente. No te alborotes,
senor, ya se a executado
la sentençia, y el llanto
de las moras causa espanto
2055 de ver su rey ahorcado.

Madera. ¿Ya estan en la horca?

Vincente. Si.

Madera. ¿Como murieron?

Vincente. Cristianos,

y—

Madera. Loque sucedio dezi.¹

Vincente. Sacamos esta mannana
senor, conforme tu orden
de la carcel a los siete
sentenciados por ladrones
todos vestidos de azul,
y el pregon en altas boces
delante, manifestando
sus delitos tan atroces.

2060

Fol. 17, r. a

Yua delante Merino

y vn frayle de los Menores

que le ayudaua, mas el

no hazia caso de sermones.

2070

Luego el viejo Aluaro Gonsales

con otros dos confesores,

mas contento que si fuera

*algun sarao en vn coche,

y viendo que de las cazas

2075

se oya el llanto y las boces

de aquellos que por sus muertes

hazian mill esclamaciones,

con vn animo yncreible

estas palabras propone:

2080

dexad el prolijo llanto,

vezinos de Hornachos nobles,

que ya el llanto es sin prouecho;

las armas son las mejores.

Vengad estas canas mias

2085

que oy por vos otros se ponen

en vn afrentoso palo,

con falsas ynformaciones.

Esto *digo, dando al burro

gran priessa con los tacones,

2090

siguio a Merino; y tras el

Ortiz, Palombo y consortes,

todos contentos y allegres,

sin genero de passiones.

No hazian caso de los frayles.

2095

Madera. ¿Valgame Dios!

Vincente. Senor, oye:

al llegar a la placa,

a todos siete los ponnen

en la horca, y luego al punto

Fol. 17, r. b

tu mandato pregonosse

3000

que nadie se ose quitar

de alli aquellos mal hechores

hasta el otro dia siguiente

a la ora de las doze.

¹ The redondilla lacks a line in -anos.

3005 *Madera.* Pues, agora el presidente
me a embiado *nueue orden
en que manda que *expulson
sin genero de esçesçiones
todos los moros de España.

3010 *Ronquillo.* ¡Bien aya quien tal dis-
pone!

¡Y estos de Hornachos, señor,
quederanse entre renglones?

Madera. Luego se ha de hechar vn
vando

3015 en que grandes y menores,
so pena de la vida, *venga
a se registrar y entonces
con gente de guarniçion
los lleuaran.

Vincente. Y ¿adonde?

3020 *Madera.* A Seuilla, y entregallos
al de San German, ques ombre

que sabra cumplir muy bien
de su magestad la orden.

*Abreuimos, porque tengo
muy presto de yr a Madrid;
las mulas me preuenid.

3025

Ronquillo. Mulas suffiçientes tengo
para partir quando quiera.

Madera. En haziendo los despa-
chos,

ya esta villa de Hornachos
llamen desde oy de Madera.

3030

Quiero que quede del todo
limpia del *dano passado
y asta el nombre sea quitado;
no quede por *nangun modo,
*o desta canalla memoria,

3035

de quien tanto mal se sabe.

Acabense estos, y acabe
aqui de Hornachos la historia.

Fol. 17.

Fin de la COMEDIA DE LOS MORISÇOS DE HORNACHOS, 1649.

THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH FARCE UPON THE PLAYS OF JOHN HEYWOOD.

A CRITICISM OF WILHELM SWOBODA.¹

FOR some time writers have observed that John Heywood's plays, especially *Johan Johan the husbande*, *Tyb his wyfe*, and *syr Jhān the preest and Pardoner and Frere*, occupy a unique place in English dramatic literature. Collier writes that

These productions form an epoch in the history of our drama, as they are neither Miracle plays nor Morals, but entirely different from both; several of them come properly within the definition of "interludes," pieces played in the intervals of entertainments, and having frequently both clever humor and strong character to recommend them. They were, as far as we can now judge, *an entire novelty*, and gained the author an extraordinary reputation.²

Ten Brink gives our author great credit by saying: "Heywood did not actually create English comedy, but certainly many of its essential elements."³

Thomas Warton, to his amusing statement that Heywood's plays "are destitute of plot, humor, or character," adds the following interesting criticism:

He is called our first writer of comedies. But those who say this speak without determinate ideas, and confound comedies with moralities and interludes. We will allow that he is among the earliest of our dramatists who drove the Bible from the stage, and introduced representations of familiar life and popular manners.⁴

This last sentence unconsciously shows admirable insight into the exact nature of Heywood's work in the two plays already mentioned; for, free from biblical or didactic purpose, they do repre-

¹ WILHELM SWOBODA, *John Heywood als Dramatiker: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des englischen Dramas* ("Wiener Beiträge zur deutschen und englischen Philologie," No. III; Vienna, 1888).

² J. P. COLLIER, *English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage* (London, 1879), Vol. I, p. 114.

³ B. TEN BRINK, *History of English Literature*, translated by L. D. SCHMITZ (London, 1896), Vol. II, Part 2, p. 140.

⁴ T. WARTON, *History of English Poetry*, ed. W. C. HAZLITT (London, 1874), Vol. IV, p. 81.

sent "familiar life and popular manners" in a realistic, fun-loving, and, as we may hope to show, French-farce manner.

By far the most exhaustive and important study of John Heywood is that of Wilhelm Swoboda. In speaking of the dramatic advance of Heywood's plays upon previous English morality and miracle-plays, this writer says:

Der erste englische Dramatiker, der diesen Weg betrat, und so der Moses, wenn auch nicht der Josua des regulären Dramas wurde, ist John Heywood. . . . Auf diesem Fortschritt die ganze folgende Entwicklung des englischen Lustspieles beruht.¹

In spite of this agreement concerning Heywood's importance in the founding of English comedy, his relations to preceding English and continental literature have received no exhaustive study. A study of Heywood's relations to preceding and contemporary English drama is a most important feature of Swoboda's monograph, since his is the only attempt made as yet to provide a genealogy for the most striking examples of early English comedy. In a special chapter on the relations of Heywood's plays to literary predecessors,² Swoboda states his main thesis as follows:

Die komischen Interludes³ John Heywoods sind legitime Nachkommen der Moralitäten und werden mit Recht als das Bindeglied zwischen diesen allegorisch-didaktischen Spielen und dem regulären englischen Lustspiel angesehen. Es muss daher zwischen den beiden ersteren eine starke Familienähnlichkeit herrschen.⁴

Leaving for the present Swoboda's development of this thesis, I venture to propose an entirely different genealogy for at least three of these plays, basing my thesis especially upon a study of *Johan Johan the husbande*, *Tyb his wyfe*, and *syr Jhān the preest, Pardoner and Frere*, and *Dialogue on Wit and Folly*.

¹ SWOBODA, p. 8.

² SWOBODA, pp. 55-67, "Das Verhältniss des komischen Interludes zu literarischen Vorgängern."

³ For the reason that "Der blosse name Interlude . . . lässt keinen Schluss auf den dramatischen Charakter derselben zu," SWOBODA (p. 5) distinguishes "zwischen dem komischen und dem moralischen Interlude." For the same reason I shall sometimes refer to HEYWOOD's *Johan Johan the husbande* and *Pardoner and Frere* as *farces*, hoping to justify my usage by the conclusions of this article.

⁴ SWOBODA, p. 55.

I shall try to show that *John*¹ and *Pardoner* are unqualified examples of French farce, that *Wit and Folly* belongs to the *débat* type of French farce, and that each of the three plays has an exact and more or less contemporary analogue extant in French.

Since I am trying to supplant English morality-play by French farce as the parent of several of Heywood's plays, we must at the outset define the alien genre. Without discussing the etymology of the word "farce,"² we may notice that the modern technical dramatic meaning of the word was attached to it at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is associated with that body of short comic dramas with which we are especially concerned. For a definition of "farce" as we are to use it we may first consult an early writer on French poetic forms. Thomas Sibilet says:

La Farce retient peu ou rien de la comédie Latine, aussi a vray dire ne serviroient de rien les actes et scenes; et en seroit la prolixité ennuyeuse; car le vray subject de la farce ou sottye françoise sont badineries, nigauderies, et toutes sorties esmouvantes a ris et plaisir.³

From this definition we can easily extract a satisfactory conception of farce. In the first place, its sole purpose is to amuse, with no attempt whatever to edify or instruct. This characteristic separates it at once from the morality and from most English interludes, since all moralities and most interludes have allegory and a didactic tendency. We notice also that a farce

¹ Henceforth I shall refer to HEYWOOD's six plays by the following abbreviations: *John* = *Johan Johan the husbände, Tyb his Wyfe, and syr Jhān the preest*; *Pardoner* = *Pardoner and Frere*; *Wit and Folly* = *Dialogue on Wit and Folly*; *Weather* = *Play of the Weather*; *Love* = *Play of Love*; *Four PP* = *Four PP*. I have used the following texts:

John: A. BRANDL, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker* (Strassburg, 1898), Vol. LXXX, pp. 259-80.

Pardoner: F. J. CHILD, *Four Old Plays* (Cambridge, 1848), pp. 89-128.

Wit and Folly: F. W. FAIRHOLT, *Percy Society Publications*, Vol. XX.

Love: A. BRANDL, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. LXXX, pp. 159-209.

Weather: *Ibid.*, pp. 211-57.

Four PP: J. M. MANLY, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama* (Boston, 1897), Vol. I, pp. 483-522.

² Fr. *farce* < Lat. *facire*. Fr. *farce* originally meant "a thing that fills or stuffs." In cooking, *farce* meant a hash or minced material used for filling roasted fowls or pie-crusts. In liturgies *farce* was an interpolation or paraphrase, as may be seen from a direction in an old ceremonial, "Le Kyrie Eleison se chantera aux jours de fête avec *farce*." Cf. L. PETIT DE CERLEVILLE, *La comédie et les mœurs en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1886), p. 52.

³ THOMAS SIBILET, *Art poétique* (Paris, 1555), Livre II, chap. viii, p. 60.

must be brief, free from *la prolixité ennuyeuse*; it has no acts and scenes, little complication, and ordinarily treats only one comic incident. The one incident is taken from bourgeois life, and is treated with all possible comic and, generally, indecent realism. Again, we are not to expect in farce the well-known types of Latin comedy. We may define "farce," then, as a dramatic treatment of a single comic incident from bourgeois life, presented realistically, and free from moral or didactic tendency and from Latin imitation.

As a type following the definition worked out above, farce did not exist in England. A few sporadic cases can be cited, but on the basis of these no one has tried to establish a living native farce type in England.¹ The only early English plays that conform to the definition are *Secunda Pastorum*² of the Towneley Miracle Plays, Heywood's *John, Pardoner*, and to some extent *Four PP.*³ *Gammer Gurton's Needle* would perhaps conform to the type but for the pronounced Vice characteristics of Diccon. *Jack Juggler* and *Thersites* are obviously under direct Latin influence. Early English plays are, of course, full of farcical action and farcical situations, but in most cases the farcical element is only fragmentary and is overshadowed by allegory, didacticism, or religious purpose.⁴

¹ PROFESSOR C. M. GAYLEY's *Representative English Comedies* (New York, 1903) had not been published when this article was written. PROFESSOR GAYLEY says (*Representative English Comedies*, p. lxvi): "I am inclined therefore to look upon the dramatized anecdotes assigned to Heywood as lucky survivals of a form which, since it had long been cultivated both in England and France, may have attained to a degree of excellence before he took it up." Professor Gayley advances no evidence for an independent farce type in England, and leaves the discussion of French relations to Mr. A. W. Pollard (cf. *Representative English Comedies*, pp. 3-17). For HEYWOOD's *Pardoner and Frere* and *Johan Johan the husbände* Mr. Pollard finds French parallels in the *Farce nouvelle d'un pardonneur, d'un triacleur et d'une tavernière* and the *Farce nouvelle de Pernet qui va au vin*. He mentions two passages parallel between HEYWOOD's *Johan Johan* and the *Farce nouvelle de Pernet*, points out the general similarity of *Pardoner and Frere* and *Farce nouvelle d'un pardonneur*, but withholds conclusions as to Heywood's borrowing. Neither Professor Gayley nor Mr. Pollard mentions the parallel to *Dialogue on Wit and Folly* in the French *Dylogue du fol et du sage*.

² An attempt has been made to establish the French *Farce de Patelin* as the source of *Secunda Pastorum*. Cf. K. SCHAUMBURG, *La farce de Patelin et ses imitations*, traduit par L. E. CHEVALDIN (Paris, 1889), pp. 158-76.

³ Perhaps the fragment *Interludium de clerico et puella* (T. WRIGHT, *Reliquiae Antiquae* [London, 1845], Vol. I, pp. 145-47) might be included in this list. The extant fragment seems to suggest an interlocutory version of a *fabliau*.

⁴ Cf. *Noah's Flood* of the Chester Miracle Plays, and the action of Ismael and Dalila in *Nice Wanton*.

From the standpoint of previous biblical and moral plays, and of subsequent Latinized plays, Heywood's *John* is impossible to classify.¹ Its realistic and unprejudiced treatment of a bit of bourgeois scandal seems to have no direct developmental relation to preceding and surrounding English drama. To one coming, however, from a study of the body of French farces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *John* causes no surprise, but appears merely as one more example of a well-known type. When we seek a parallel for *John* in this French material, we seem to be directly rewarded in the French farce *De Pernet qui va au vin*.² For purposes of clearness, let us outline the action of the two farces under consideration.³

John runs as follows:

In the absence of his wife, Tyb, John complains aloud of her gadding, suspects that she is with the priest, Sir John, and plans to beat her when she returns. Tyb enters in time to hear his threat and boldly dares him to execute it. In the presence of his wife John is entirely humbled, but as she expatiates upon the goodness of the priest, Sir John, he reiterates in interrupted undertones his suspicion of the priest. Tyb brings with her a pie in the making of which Sir John has collaborated, and suggests that her husband fetch the priest to join them in eating it. Reluctantly the husband sets off on the hated errand. After some hypocritical remonstrance, Sir John consents to come, and as they return together John tries to extract from the priest damaging evidence of his relations with Tyb. When the two men arrive, John notices a suspicious familiarity between his wife and the priest, but Tyb hushes him up and sets him to preparing the dinner. That she may flirt with Sir John, Tyb sends her husband for water, and when he returns in haste and suspicion, he brings an empty pail due to a leak purposely made by Tyb herself. Tyb and Sir John now devise the admirable scheme of setting the henpecked husband to chafing wax at the fire in order to stop the leak. While John

¹ This impossibility, so far as morality-plays are concerned, will appear below when we discuss Swoboda's thesis in detail.

² E. VIOLLET LE DUC, *Ancien théâtre français* (Paris, 1854-57), Tome I, pp. 195-211.

³ Ward (A. W. WARD, *History of English Dramatic Literature* [London, 1899], Vol. I, p. 244, footnote) mentions a resemblance between *Pernet* and *John*. Dr. Lester (J. A. LESTER, *Connections between the Drama of France and Great Britain, Particularly in the Elizabethan Period* [Unpublished Dissertation (H. U., 90, 456), Harvard University, 1900], Vol. I, pp. 13-15) to some extent investigates Ward's suggestion. In addition to quoting two parallel passages, he points out merely that the disturber of domestic peace in *Pernet* is L'Amoureux, and not a priest as in Heywood's play, and that the latter play shows superior motivation. As to dates, manuscripts, technical detail, further verbal parallels, and literary relations, Dr. Lester makes no suggestions.

reluctantly toils at the fire, Sir John and Tyb eat up the pie, flirt, and tell ribald stories. When John's patience is exhausted, a scuffle ensues, and the lovers leave the stage followed by the angry husband.

Pernet runs thus:

A Lover meets *Pernet's* wife and makes love to her. She invites him to visit her. *Pernet* enters in time to see the departing Lover, who has the wit to take affectionate leave of the Wife by calling her "Cousine." *Pernet* suspiciously inquires concerning this unknown kinsman, and is finally more or less convinced of Cousin's genuineness. When Cousin calls to see the Wife, *Pernet* pretends to receive him as a kinsman, but strongly suspects his familiarity. Since Cousin suggests wine, the Wife urges *Pernet* to fetch it. After much fuss as to the particular alehouse from which to get it, *Pernet* sets off reluctantly and full of suspicion. Cousin informs *Pernet* of a chicken pie that he may share, if he will only go for the wine. In the husband's absence, Cousin actively demonstrates his affection for the Wife, and the lovers are all but caught by *Pernet* who suspiciously returns for some forgotten trifle. When the wine arrives, the lovers begin their meal. To get *Pernet* out of the way, they set him to chafing wax at the fire, telling him that by so doing he will accomplish a "subtil ouvrage" which will bring him protection and riches.

At this point the play breaks off abruptly. Indeed, the latter part of the play is so bald and abrupt in construction that one easily accepts the suggestion that "le texte est mutilé."¹

With the two plays before us, we may, in the first place, notice certain differences.

1. The lover in *Pernet* is Cousin, alias Amoureux; in *John* he is Sir John, the priest.

2. In *Pernet* the husband is sent for wine; in *John* he goes for water.

3. In *Pernet* Amoureux is imposed upon the husband as being a kinsman; in *John* Tyb calls the priest merely her "good friend."

¹ L. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Repertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1886), p. 213. The last eight lines of the play suggest such mutilation:

PERNET: "C'est ung très povre passetemps
De chauffer la cire quant on digne
Regardez; elle est plus molle que laine
En la chauffant rien n'aqueste.

COUSIN: "Conclus et conqueste;
Avec la femme je banqueste
Combien que je ne sois le sire,
Et son mary chauffe la cire."

—*Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 211.

The abruptness of transition between these two concluding speeches seems palpably to suggest a loss of part of the text.

4. In *Pernet* the chafing of the wax is motivated only by the absurd idea of "subtil ouvrage;" in the English play the husband chafes wax in order to mend the leaky pail.

5. The English play ends with a scuffle; the French play seems to end with a submission of the husband. The real ending of the French play is probably lost.

It will probably be admitted by all that these differences are not of great consequence. At any rate, they are too slight to effect a difference between the plays in action, in the relations of characters to one another, or in the general types of the characters themselves.

On the other hand, similarities between the plays are striking:

1. Each play is a perfect example of what in France was called *farce*.

2. The plays treat the same well-established type of farce, namely, that in which occur the wife, the lover, and the hen-pecked, cuckolded husband.

3. Both plays are conventional in the husband's suspicious inquiring concerning the third person.

4. The husband in both plays is made to go reluctantly to get beverage for his hated guest.

5. In both plays the lovers eat a pie and give no share of it to the husband.

6. The lovers in the two plays show the same suspicious familiarity.

7. Most striking of all, in both plays the device for diverting the husband's attention is the very unusual one of chafing wax at the fire.

Since, then, the farce spirit, the action, the setting, the characters, the character relations, and the particular devices are so strikingly similar in two plays, we are justified in looking for still more definite relations.

When we approach the text itself, we notice that Heywood's play is more than twice as long as *Pernet*. Moreover, we must bear in mind that the text of the French farce is probably mutilated, and that portions of Heywood's play no longer paralleled in *Pernet* may have existed in the original French version. For

example, it is noteworthy that the French text breaks off abruptly just after the husband has been put to chafing wax, whereas Heywood makes a third of his play from what follows this situation. Since this situation of the lovers dining convivially while the husband ludicrously toils at the fire is quite ideal for farce treatment, we may easily believe that the writer of *Pernet* must have developed the situation along somewhat the lines of the last third of Heywood's play.

Waiving such probabilities for the moment, and comparing the two texts as we have them, we may note the following parallel passages:

*John.**Pernet.*

Ia. "Mary I chafe the waxe here
And I ymagyn to make you
good chere
That a vengauce take you
both as ye sit
For I know well I shall not
ete a byt
But yet in feyth yf I might
ete one morsell
I wolde thynk the matter went
very well."¹

"Me faut-il donc chauffer le cire
Tandisque vous banqueterez
Corbieu, j'en suis marry:
Je crois ce pasté est bon."²

b. "I chafe the wax
And I chafe it so hard that
my fyngers brakkes
. . . .
And yet I dare not say one word
And they sit laughyng yender
at the bord."³

IIa. "Cokkes soule what have we here
As far as I sawe he drewe very
nere
Unto my wyfe."⁴

"Que l'ennemy d'enfer l'emporte
De me femme il est trop pri-
vé."⁶

b. "Cokkes soule loke howe he ap-
procheth nere
Unto my wyfe, this abateth my
my chere."⁵

¹ *John*, ll. 498-98.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 509 ff.

³ *Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 210.

⁴ *John*, ll. 441-43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 431, 432.

⁶ *Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 204.

- IIIa. "Truely Johan Johan we made a pye
I and my gossyp Margery.
The preest payde for the stuffe
and the makying
And Margery she payde for
bakying."¹
- b. "The pye that was made I have
it nowe here
And therewith I trust we shall
make good chere."²
- IV. "Set up the table and that by
and by
Nowe go thy waye, I go short-
ly."⁴
- V. "But howe say you Syr John
Was it good your pie."⁶
- VI. "By the good lorde, this is a
pyteous warke
.
And I am Johan Johan which
must stande by pe fyre
Chafyng the wax and dare none
other wyse do."⁸
- "J'ay faiet mettre ung chappon
en pasté
Dea cousin, mais n'arrestez
point.
C'est assez pour venir au point
Puisqu'on paye le banqueter.
Je n'ay plus garde d'arres-
ter."³
- "Faictes bouter la nappe
Je reviendray tantost du vin."⁵
- "Beuvez-en, il est bon et frais
Est-il bon, cousin."⁷
- "C'est ung tres povre passe-
temps
De chauffer (la) cire quant on
digne."⁹

As mere verbal parallels by themselves, these passages seem to me of slight importance. Several passages plainly show identity of particulars in the two plays, but it is needless to say that such parallels alone could not prove interdependence. Supported by the striking similarities of incident already noticed, these parallels do seem to contribute a small amount of evidence.

As to the date of *Pernet* we know only the statement of the colophon, "Imprimé nouvellement, 1548."¹⁰ Of earlier editions

¹ *John*, II. 157-62.

² *Ibid.*, II. 185, 186.

³ *Ancien théâtre français*, Tome I, p. 209.

⁴ *John*, II. 262, 263.

⁵ *An. th. fr.*, I, p. 209.

⁶ *John*, I. 593.

⁷ *An. th. fr.*, I, p. 210.

⁸ *John*, II. 595, 606-8.

⁹ *An. th. fr.*, I, p. 211.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

we know nothing. This date, however, raises no difficulty in the way of direct borrowing by the English play from the French, for there is nothing to disprove an edition of *Pernet* earlier than 1520-30,¹ and the word *nouvellement* of the colophon, and the fact that most French farces were written in the fifteenth century, seem to point to such an early edition.

From the following considerations: (1) similarity in type, incident, characterization, and details of device and action; (2) verbal parallels, suggesting that certain English passages are reminiscences of the French; (3) the probable dates of the two plays; (4) the abundant opportunities for transference to England of French dramatic ideas;² (5) the isolation of the two or three farces known in English; (6) the absence of any positive objection to Heywood's borrowing from French—from these considerations I conclude that Heywood knew the French farce *Pernet* in some form, and borrowed from it at least the plot, type, characters, and main incidents of *John*. That Heywood treated his model (in the form in which we know it) with freedom and improved upon it in motivation, delicacy of characterization, and niceness of sequence, does not at all invalidate the original obligation.

In connection with Heywood's *Pardoner* we are especially struck at the outset by his generous verbal borrowings from Chaucer. An exhaustive enumeration of passages has been made elsewhere,³ and for our present purpose one illustrative passage will suffice:

¹ The probable date of *John*; cf. SWOBODA, pp. 28-34.

² I refer to such circumstances as:

a) Political negotiations.

b) Diplomatic entertainments. Cf. J. PARDOE, *Court and Reign of Francis I.*, 2 vols. (London, 1849), Vol. I, pp. 290-94; R. HOLINSHED, *Chronicle*, 6 vols. (London, 1808), Vol. III, pp. 634 ff.; P. PARIS, *Études sur François I^{er}*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1885), Vol. I, p. 51; MICHAUD ET POUJOLAT, *Mémoires à l'histoire de France*, Première Série (Paris, 1838), Vol. V, pp. 69-71; E. HALL, *Chronicle* (London, 1809), pp. 723, 724; G. CAVENDISH, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (London, 1877), p. 201.

c) French players in England in the period 1485-1530. Cf. J. P. COLLIER, *English Dramatic Poetry* (London, 1879), Vol. I, pp. 48 ff.; B. TEN BRINK, *History of English Literature* (London, 1896), Vol. II, Part 2, p. 123.

d) Literary visits. Cf. *Revue contemporaine*, Première Série, Vol. XXI, pp. 42 ff.; A. MAURY, *Journal des savants*, September, 1887, p. 528.

³ W. SWOBODA, *Wiener Beiträge*, Vol. III, pp. 63 ff.

CHAUCER: *Pardoner's Prologue.*

"First I pronounce whennes that
 I come
 And than my bulles shewe I, alle
 and somme
 Our lige lordes seel on my
 patente
 That shewe I first, my body to
 warente
 That no man be so bold, ne
 preest ne clerk
 Me to destourbe of Cristes
 holy werk."¹

Pardoner.

"But first ye shall know well, yt I
 com fro Rome
 To here my bulles, all and some
 Our lyege lorde seale here on my
 patent
 I bere with me, my body to
 warant;
 That no man be so bolde, be he,
 preest or clarke,
 Me to dysturbe of Chrystes
 holy werke."²

This parallel and those given by Swoboda are, of course, quite conclusive as to Heywood's direct indebtedness to Chaucer for the *Pardoner's* introductory speech in the play. It is noteworthy, however, that the dialogue and construction of the play itself could not come from Chaucer. Noteworthy also is the fact that this play conforms entirely to our definition of "farce" as treating realistically and without moral or didactic purpose a single comic incident from bourgeois life. The spirit of the play is entirely that of French farce, and the character types are thoroughly common in the French genre. Again we are justified, then, in searching in the rich collection of French farces for possible parallel's to Heywood's *Pardoner*.

Our search is rewarded in the farce *D'un pardonneur, d'un triacleur, et d'une taverniere*.³

The action of the French farce may be outlined as follows:

The Pardonneur, laden with relics, begins his bombastic appeals in a public place. The Triacleur (traveling apothecary) enters with his simples and starts an opposition of talking and selling. The two fakirs carry on their talk in alternate short speeches, mixing into the advertisement of their wares curses and ridicule for each other. At the end they decide to become temporarily reconciled in order to visit the tavern together. They leave a precious relic as payment to the barmaid.

The action of Heywood's *Pardoner and Friar* runs somewhat parallel, as follows:

¹ W. W. SKEAT, *Student's Chaucer* (London, 1900), p. 556.

² F. J. CHILD, *Four Old Plays* (Cambridge, 1848), p. 94.

³ E. VIOLLET LE DUC, *Ancien théâtre Français* (Paris, 1854-57), Tome II, pp. 50 ff.

The Friar, in or before the church, begins a pious speech to the congregation. While he is praying, the Pardoner enters to declare himself and his relics. The two then try to carry on sermons simultaneously, the result being much interruption and cursing of each other. At the end they fall to blows, and are separated by the curate and neighbor Pratt.

Direct and literal borrowing on Heywood's part from the French farce is entirely out of the question, since both the characters and action in the two plays are far different. Verbal parallels are utterly lacking.

Although Heywood is not indebted to this particular play for his *dramatic material*, we are still allowed to contend that this French farce, or a similar farce now lost, provided the *type* for *Pardoner*. That the plays are identical in type cannot be denied. Each is a pure farce, treating the meeting and ludicrous opposition of two well-known characters of late mediæval satire. Each play is absolutely free from any purpose or material foreign to the farce genre. No play similar to *Pardoner* exists in England, either in text or by title. The Pardoner's passage at the beginning of the play and the general conceptions of the Pardoner and the Friar, all from Chaucer, do not account for the whole play. Swoboda seems to have the same notion in saying: "Die Charaktere des Friars und der beiden Pardoner sind zwar Chaucer entlehnt, aber die Idee, die zwei in den Canterbury Tales getrennten Personen dramatisch zusammengebracht zu haben, ist Heywoods."¹

In estimating how far this idea "ist Heywoods," one must bear in mind two considerations. In the first place, those who have discussed the relations of this play to Chaucer² seem to me to overlook the dramatic action in Chaucer's own text. The Friar and Sompnour in the *Canterbury Tales* have exactly the attitude toward each other that we find between the Friar and Pardoner in Heywood's play. Moreover, not only does each tell a tale aimed against the other, but each interrupts the other in an entirely dramatic manner.³ Therefore already in Chaucer we

¹ W. SWOBODA, p. 75.

² W. SWOBODA, *Wiener Beiträge*, Vol. III; A. BRANDL, *Quellen und Forschungen*, Vol. LXXX; F. J. CHILDS, *Four Old Plays* (Cambridge, 1848).

³ Cf. the opening part of the *Friar's Tale* and of the *Sompnour's Tale*, and the Prologue of each.

have two characters "dramatisch zusammengebracht." The substitution on Heywood's part of the Pardoner for the Sompnour is perhaps easily explained by the fact that the former with his relics provides better "stage business" and more farcical fun, and by the fact that he must have been a character much better known in actual life and literature. In the second place, Heywood must have known French farce as a genre, and not improbably the particular French farce before us.¹

Therefore, since already in Chaucer were prepared, not only the dramatic material, but also a few suggestions for action, and since a French farce existed providing not only action following precisely the general lines of the English play, but also the precise type, therefore Heywood's originality in this play is slight.

I conclude that Heywood took much of his dramatic material from Chaucer, and probably found his dramatic model in the French *Farce d'un pardonneur*, or in a similar farce now lost.

Concerning Heywood's *Dialogue on Wit and Folly* Collier says that the author

may also, perhaps, deserve credit as the inventor of this species of dramatic entertainment—though dramatic chiefly in the circumstances that it was conducted in dialogue, and it was merely a discussion in verse between two or more characters on some particular topic or opinion.² In how far Heywood may be called an "inventor of this species" will appear more clearly as we proceed.

As to the sources of Heywood's *Dialogue*, no suggestion has been made except by Brandl, who notices that the general theme of *Wit and Folly* is that of Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae*, namely, "Better be a fool than wise."³ That Heywood knew Erasmus's work is certain, for it is said to have been written in the house of Thomas More⁴ and is dedicated to him, and More was almost surely the patron of John Heywood.⁵

¹ Cf. p. 11 above, footnote 3, and cf. p. 23 below.

² COLLIER, Vol. II, p. 307.

³ A. BRANDL, *loc. cit.*, p. xlix: "Er (Heywood) verhielt sich ungefähr wie Erasmus, dessen 'Adagia' (1500) ihn wohl zu den Proverbs anregten und dessen 'Encomium Moriae' (1509) deutlich anklingt wenn Heywood in seinem 'Dialogue' die These erörtert, der Narr sei besser daran als der Gescheidte." Brandl does not pursue his suggestion farther.

⁴ T. E. BRIDGETT, *Life of Sir Thomas More* (London, 1891), p. 456.

⁵ BRANDL, *loc. cit.*

Before making concrete comparisons between Heywood's *Wit and Folly* and Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae*, let us examine the general outline of the former.

James insists to John that it is better to be foolish than wise, since, while the fool is provided for, the wise man must toil for his living. But, says John, a fool is bullied about and "lugged by the eares" and is subject to painful emotions from trivial causes. Yes, says James, but consider the pain suffered by the wise man who earns his living and must endure also the mental agony of thought and study. From mental and bodily pain the fool is free. But, says John, as the wise man's pain is greater, so also is his pleasure greater. No, says James, since a fool is certain of the greatest of all pleasures, namely salvation, whereas the wise man may gain this pleasure only by painful and correct living. Having convinced John of the superiority of foolishness, James leaves his part in the discussion to Jerome, who reinstates wisdom by showing that, since a wise man is better than a beast, and since a fool is a beast, therefore a wise man is better than a fool.

When we turn to *Encomium Moriae*, we find many of the ideas used by Heywood in *Wit and Folly*.

Concerning the pleasure of foolishness we find in Erasmus such pertinent passages as the following:

Principio quis nescit primam hominis aetatem multo laetissimam, multoque omnibus gratissimam esse?¹ An vero aliud est puerum esse quam delirare, quam desipere? An non hoc vel maxime in ea delectat aetate, quod nihil sapit?²

Sed dicant mihi per Jovem, quae tandem vitae pars est, non tristis, non infestiva, non invenusta, non insipida, non molesta, nisi voluptatem, id est, stultitiae condimentum adjunxeris? Cujus rei cum satis idoneus testis esse possit, ille nunquam satis laudatus Sophocles, cujus extat pulcherrimum illud de nobis elogium, ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδίστος βίος.³

Concerning the mental pain Heywood writes:

And further, meane labor in most comon wyse,
Ys most parte handsome, and holsome excercise,
That purgythe hewmors to mans lyfe and quyeckness,
Whyche study bredythe to mans dethe or sycknes,
Also, most kynds of labor most comenly
Strene most grose owtewarde parts of the body;
Wher study, sparyng sholders, fyngers, and tose,
To the hedd and hart dyrectly study gose.

¹ DES. ERASMI, *Stultitiae Laus*, ed. GUIL. GOTTL. BECKERI (Basileae, 1780), p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.

Pervert ys your jugment yf ye judge not playne,
 That less ys the parell, and les ys the payne
 The knockyng of knockylls whyche fyngers dothe strayne,
 Then dyggyng yn the hart, or drying of the brayne.¹

On the same topic Erasmus has the following:

An non videtis tetricos istos et vel philosophiae studiis, vel seriis et arduis addictos negotiis plerumque priusquam plane juvenes sint, jam consensuisse, videlicet curis, et assidua acrique cogitationum agitatione sensim spiritus et succum illum vitalem exauriente? Cum contra Moriones mei pinguiculi sint, et nitidi, et bene curata cute.²

As to the treatment a fool receives, John says:

Who cometh by the sott who cometh he by
 That vexythe hymn not some way usewally
 Some beat hym, some bob hym
 Some joll him, some job hym,
 Some tugg hym by the hers,
 Some lugg hym by the eares, etc.³

Erasmus apparently implies the same sort of treatment, when he says:

Si saxum in caput incidat, id vere malum fit. Caeterum pudor, infamia, probrum maledicta, tantum adferunt noxae, quantum sentiuntur. Si sensus absit, ne mala quidem sunt. Quid laedit, si totus populus in te sibilet, modo tute tibi plaudas.⁴

As to disquietude of mind James says:

Tak yt how ye lyst, ye can mak yt no les,
 But wytty have suche payne as my words wyttnes
 For thowgh wytt for tyme sometye may payne prevent
 Yet yn most tymes theyr foreseyd payne ys present
 Whyche payne in the wytty wyttyly weyde,
 May match payne of the wyttles by ye fyrst leyde;
 And to the second point for dystemporatt joyes,
 By havynge or hopynge of fancyes or toyes,
 In wyttles or wytty bothe tak I as one,
 Ffor thowgh the thyngs that wytty have or hope on,
 Are yn some kynd of acownt; thyngs muche gretter
 Then thyngs of the sotts joyings, yet no whyt better,
 Nor les payne bryngth that passhyon, but endyferent
 To bothe, except wytty have the woors turment.⁵

¹ F. W. FAIRHOLT, *Percy Society Publications*, Vol. XX, pp. 9, 10.

² *Stultitiae Laus*, pp. 40, 41.

⁴ *Stultitiae Laus*, p. 113.

³ FAIRHOLT, p. 2.

⁵ FAIRHOLT, p. 6.

On this same point we find in Erasmus:

Est ne quicquam felicius isto hominum genere, quos vulgo moriones, stultos, fatuos ac bliteos appellant, pulcherrimis, ut equidem opinor, cognominibus? . . . Principio vacant mortis metu, non mediocri, per Jovem, malo. Vacant conscientiae carnificina non teritantur manium fabulamentis. Non expavescunt spectris ac lemuribus, non torquentur metu impendentium malorum, non spe futurorum bonorum distenduntur.¹

James's chief argument for the fool's superiority is his certainty of salvation:

But for a meane betwene bothe, my self strayght schall
Alege not plesewrs all I sey, but such one
As over weythe other plesewrs every chone:
Whych plesewre wher yt in fyne dothe not remayne,
All plesewrs in all parts ar plesewrs but vayne
Of whyche one plesewre the wyttles are sewre evyr
And of that plesewre, wytty are sewr nevyr!

JOHN: What plesewr ys that?

JAMES: Plesewr of salvashyon!

And the state of sotts have none acownt so carnall
That God ympewtethe any yll to them I say.²

On this point Erasmus says:

Denique si propius etiam ad brutorum animantium insipientiam, accesserint, ne peccant quidem autoribus theologis. Hic mihi jam expendas velim, stultissime sapiens, quot undique solitudinibus noctes diesque discrutietur animus tuus, congeras in unum acervum universa vitae tuae incommoda, atque ita demum intelliges, quantis malis meos fatuos subdixerim. Adde huc, quod non solum ipsi perpetuo gaudent, ludunt, cantillant, rident, verumetiam caeteris omnibus quocunque sese verterint, voluptatem, jocum, lusum, risumque adferunt, velut in hoc ipsum a Deorum indulgentia dati, ut humanae vitae tristitiam exhilararent . . . impune permittant quicquid vel dixerint, vel fecerint . . . sunt enim vere sacri Diis.³

From these particular instances we see that a number of Heywood's ideas are already stated in *Encomium Moriae*.

Through surprising oversight in connection with Heywood's *Wit and Folly*, no one has mentioned a striking French parallel in the somewhat obscure *Dyalogue du fol et du sage*.⁴ The ideas in the French dialogue are as follows:

¹ *Stultitiae Laus*, pp. 126, 127. ² FAIRHOLT, pp. 13, 14, 16. ³ *Stultitiae Laus*, pp. 128, 129.

⁴ Printed in *Les Joyeusetez Facecies et Folastres Imaginacions*, "Techener Libraire," Vol. XIV, No. 3 (Paris, 1833).

The wise man, regretting his former days of folly, determines to seek the pleasure, peace, wealth, and honor that belong to wisdom. The fool objects that with wisdom come only care and unrest. Wisdom brings wealth to be sure, but also the fear of losing it. The fool need not fear losing what he does not possess. The fool may be mocked and maltreated, but such discomfiture is slight compared to the constant burdens of the wise man. In fact, since the fool can do nothing to disgrace himself, he of the two will always have the better reputation. With neither worry nor effort the fool inevitably attains the ease, peace, and honor of old age. Most important of all, the wise man by getting much money and setting his heart upon it is in danger of damnation, a danger from which the fool is entirely free.

Placing the two dialogues side by side, we notice that the main ideas in Heywood's *Wit and Folly* are these: (1) the wise man must toil while the fool need not; (2) the fool is mocked and maltreated; (3) the wise man suffers agonies of mind; (4) the wise man is in danger of damnation, while the fool is sure of salvation.

That each of these points is treated also in the French *Dyalogue* will appear from the following passages:

1. As to the wise man's toil and the fool's exemption we read:

SAGE: "Tu nauras escus ne ducatz
Et pourtant rends toy a sagesse."

FOL: "Oste le moy ie nen nay cure
Ce nest que tourment et trauail
Tantost a pied; puis a cheval
Ceste sagesse ne vaut rien."¹

FOL: "Iamais ie veis mourir de fain
Homme qui fut enuers Dieu mixte
He navons nous pas le psalmiste
Qui dist non vidit justum
Semen eius derelictum."²

2. As to the mocking and maltreatment of the fool we read:

SAGE: "Si tu ioues ce sera bien ioue
Tu en seras un peu loue
De quelque homme ou de quelque femme
Mais si tu faulx tu es infame
Chascun de toy se mocquera."³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

3. As to the wise man's pain of mind we read:

SAGE: "Jauray mon plaisir corporel
Repos, soulas, et tout deduyt."

FOL: "Tu n'euz oncques un jour pareil
Depuis que mere te produyt.

.
Un riche a tousiours doubte et tremble
De paour que on luy emble le sien
Mais un pauvre homme qui na rien.
Iamais il ne craint le deschet
Car qui na rien rien ne luy chet."¹

4. As to the matter of salvation we read:

FOL: "Car si dargent tu faictz ton maistre
Je te tiens pour homme damne."²

.
FOL: "Si subjectir et asservir
Que on en laissast de dieu servir
Ceulx la sont folz et non pas sages
Deulx est escript en maintz passage
Quilz sen vont a damnation."³

At this point it should be mentioned that the latter part of Heywood's *Wit and Folly*, in which wisdom is reinstated by Jerome, could be due to neither *Encomium Moriae* nor the French *Dyialogue*. This original addition of Heywood's illustrates the freedom with which he probably handled all his sources, and may perhaps be accounted for by his grasping an opportunity to display his dialectical cleverness, or, better still, by his desire to pay a compliment to Henry VIII. Near the end of the play occurs the stage remark, "Thes thre stav next following in the Kyngs absens ar voyde,"⁴ after which follow four stanzas to the king. Such a compliment (and incidental begging⁵) would be much less artistically added if folly were to triumph. The very triumph of wisdom is turned into a compliment to Henry VIII.

From the foregoing parallel passages we conclude that either *Encomium Moriae* or the French *Dyialogue* might have furnished Heywood with his main ideas. No actual verbal parallels are

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴ FAIRHOLT, p. 27.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 28, "I hartly wyshe for encrease of rewardes."

noticeable between Heywood's play and either the French or the Latin work. Since either *Encomium Moriae* or the French *Dyialogue* is capable of supplying Heywood with his main ideas, what are the external chances for his use of each? That he must have known *Encomium Moriae* we have already established.¹ The editors of the French play remark:

Ce petit dialogue fut probablement représenté sous la règne de Louis XII, et peutêtre en présence de sa cour, comme les vers suivants semblent le faire entendre:

Si iestoïs sage et toy aussi
Et nous ne serions pas icy
Pour faire tous les seigneurs rire.²

If, then, this *Dyialogue* was a court production for Louis XII, the avenue between Heywood and the play is almost direct. In 1514 Henry VIII and his sister, Mary, visited the court of Louis XII, and soon after Mary and Louis XII were married. As to the dramatic entertainments offered during this visit no documents are available, but at least here is a perfect connection between the court where the French *Dyialogue* is said to have been produced and the court where Heywood was doing his dramatic work. That the train returning with Henry VIII and Mary should have brought to England dramatic ideas from the French court is entirely probable. Most important of all is the fact that whereas *Encomium Moriae* provides the ideas, but no suggestion for a dialogue form, this French *Dyialogue* offers not only the ideas, but also a precisely similar dialogue form.

With these facts before us we may safely conclude:

1. That Heywood certainly knew *Encomium Moriae*, and may have taken from it some general ideas.
2. That an exact analogue to Heywood's play existed in France in the period 1498-1515.
3. That the external circumstances provide an avenue between Heywood and this French play.
4. That, considering its form and material, the French *Dyialogue* is the most satisfactory source for Heywood's *Wit and Folly*.

Bearing in mind the possible French relations of at least three of Heywood's plays, let us return to a detailed criticism of

¹ Cf. p. 13 above.

² *Les Joyeusetez*, etc., p. v.

Swoboda's thesis regarding the genealogy of Heywood's plays as a whole. After stating his main thesis and purpose of explaining Heywood's plays as "legitime Nachkommen der Moralitäten,"¹ the writer supports his theory by a detailed examination of a number of aspects of these plays. I propose to give Swoboda's own statement of each separate point, with such criticism of each as may be suggested by my previous examination of Heywood's relations to French material.

1. "Die Personen der Moralitäten waren allegorische Figuren gewesen, die abstracte Eigenschaften, Laster, Tugenden, Gemuthszustände u. A. vorstellten. Betrachten wir zunächst das *Play of Love*. Es handelt von dem Einfluss der allmächtigen Leidenschaft der Liebe auf das menschliche Gemüth und zeigt die Leiden und Freuden, die sie dem Menschen bringt. Das geschieht im modernen Lustspiel auch, aber es zeigt den allgemeinen Gedanken an einem concreten Falle. Das *Play of Love* lässt aber den allgemeinen Satz durch Personen vorführen, die als solche nicht menschliche Wesen von Fleisch und Blut sind, die die Sympathie oder Antipathie des Zuhörers herausfordern. Der geliebte Liebhaber ist nicht dieser oder jener, sondern der Liebhaber in abstracto Aehnliches gilt von dem *Play of Weather*. . . . Den Personen an sich kommt kein charakteristisches Merkmal zu. Sie sind also auch blos abstract."²

This abstractness of characterization can be found in only *two* of Heywood's *six* plays. Moreover, since these two plays, *Love* and *Weather*, are in type genuine *débats*, their abstractness of characterization should probably be traced to the mediæval *débat*, from which they directly descended, rather than to English morality-plays.

2. Noch entschiedener als in diesem Punkte macht sich der Einfluss der Moralitäten mit Bezug auf ihre didaktische Tendenz geltend.

Dies ist der Fall im *Wetterspiel*, im *Liebesspiel*, den *Four P's* und *Wit and Folly*. Aber nicht mehr in gleichem Masse ist die lehrhafte Absicht mit der Structur der Stücke verwachsen. Das Interlude von den *Vier P* oder das *Liebesspiel* könnte auch ohne die Schlussmoral bestehen, nicht so jedoch ein *Moral play*. Das Spiel vom Wetter trägt den Stempel des Lehrhaften am deutlichsten. . . . Was ist die Ursache dieses zähen Festhaltens an einem ganz undramatischen Princip? Warum hat sich John Heywood nicht auch in diesen Stücken von dieser Fessel losgemacht, wie in dem *Ablasskrämer* und *Mönch* und dem *Hahnrei*-

¹ Cf. above, p. 2.

² SWOBODA, p. 56.

spiel?¹ Theils hatte der Dichter selbst eine starke Neigung zum Lehrhaften, theils stand er unter dem Drucke der Gewohnheit, so dass diese moralisirenden Schlüsse als eine Concession an den Zeitgeschmack betrachtet werden müssen.²

In view of our previous study of French relations, may we not answer Swoboda's own question less feebly? In *John and Pardoner* Heywood is "von dieser Fessel losgemacht," because in these two plays he is dealing with the French farce type, a type which deals with pure comic bourgeois realism and to which "didaktische Tendenz" and "Neigung zum Lehrhaften" are utterly foreign. This confessed weakness of Swoboda's theory is apparently entirely met by our opposing theory of French farce influence.

3. Das Hauptmotiv aller *Interludes* von John Heywood ist Zank und Streit. . . . Das Thema des Streites ist meist ein abstracter Satz. In *Wit and Folly* handelt es sich darum, "ob es besser sei, ein Narr oder ein Weiser zu sein," im *Loveplay* "ob es besser sei zu lieben und geliebt zu werden, oder nicht," im *Weatherplay* wird nachgewiesen, dass "der Menschen Wünsche unvereinbar seien." In *Pardoner and Friar* and *The Four P's* handelt es sich schon um etwas mehr Greifbares, nämlich den Werth verschiedener Seelenrettungsmethoden. Auch ist in beiden der Streit durch den Brotneid motivirt. Das concreteste Streitobject ist aber die Pastete im Hahnreispiel. Je concreter das Streitobject, desto grösser wird das Interesse des Zuhörers sein. Der Streit um die abstracten Sätze der drei erstgenannten Stücke wird uns weniger interessiren als der in den zwei folgenden. Das beste Stück in dieser Beziehung ist daher das Hahnreispiel.

* * * * *

Das Streitmotiv, sowie die ganze Art seiner dramatischen Entwicklung ist eine Erbschaft der Moralitäten. Aber auch die Moralitäten standen in dieser Beziehung unter französischem Einfluss. . . . Das Streitmotiv der Moralitäten und seine ganze juristisch-casuistische Durchführung ist gelehrten Ursprungs. Schon im 13. Jahrhundert waren in Frankreich neben den Mysterien und Mirakeln Spiele rein profaner Natur gespielt worden, die ihren Streitcharakter schon durch den Namen *Jus, Jeu* andeuten. Auch aus der Lyrik und Didaktik der Trouvères gingen dramatische Compositionen rein weltlicher Art hervor. Diese *Disputations* und *Débats* zeigen auch schon im Namen ihren Charakter. Die "Farcen der *Bazochiens* sind auch oft nichts weiter als ein witziger Wettstreit über irgend ein gegebenes Thema, in welchem

¹ Meaning *Pardoner* and *John*.

² SWOBODA, pp. 56, 57.

sich Witz und Humor mit juristischer Casuistik vereinte. Das Spiel *Pierre de la Broche qui dispute a Fortune par devant Reson* weist auf die *Disputaisons* der *Trouvères* zurück und auf die späteren *Querelles* wie *Moralités* fort.¹ Die Moralitäten aber beeinflussten ihrerseits das komische Interlude Heywoods. Das *Interlude Wit and Folly* zeigt den juristisch-casuistischen Charakter am einfachsten, reinsten und deutlichsten: es ist auch nichts Anderes als ein witziger Wettstreit über ein gegebenes Thema, in welchem sich Witz und Humor mit juristischer Casuistik vereinten.²

In clearing up this point, we must first contest the opening statement that "Das hauptmotiv aller *Interludes* von John Heywood ist zank und streit." Beyond doubt *Wit and Folly*, *Love*, and *Weather* are perfect examples of *streit*-plays. The action and interest of these plays lie entirely in the proposal and discussion of a debatable question. *Four PP* and especially *Par-doner* are not strictly *streit*-plays. Each opens with an amusing situation out of which arises an amusing discussion, and the comedy of the characters and their ludicrous situations are our main interest rather than the discussion of an abstract question. In saying, "Das concreteste streitobject is aber die pastete im hahnreispiel," Swoboda surely falls into triviality. If *John* were to have a *streitmotiv* at all, it must surely be the cuckolding of John, not the mere incidental stage business of the pie. As a matter of fact, *John* has not the slightest vestige of *streitmotiv*, but is a little drama of bourgeois scandal in which occur cuckolding, henpecking, and, if someone insists, a pie! In other words, *John* is a perfect example of French farce, and need not be considered further under this part of Swoboda's argument.

After attributing to all Heywood's plays this characteristic of *streitmotiv*, Swoboda clumsily derives this *streitmotiv*, so far as Heywood is concerned, exclusively from morality-plays, explaining that the moralities had it as an inheritance from the lyric and didactic poetry of the *Trouvères*, from mediæval *disputaisons* and *débats*, and from such French farces as were "ein witziger wettstreit über irgend ein gegebenes thema." Even if we were to grant that English morality-plays derive their *débat* character-

¹ EBERT's *Jahrbuch*, Vol. I, "Besprechung der *Études historiques sur les Clercs de la Bazoche*," pp. 235-40.

² SWOBODA, pp. 57-59.

istics in just this way, why need we take the next step and say that Heywood got his *débat* ideas from English morality-plays rather than from the original sources themselves? If *Love and Weather* are pure *débats* acted out in dramatic form, is it not reasonable to assume that they were inspired by contemporary and antecedent *débats* rather than merely by morality-plays? Since *Wit and Folly* is a perfect example of one type of French farce, and since a contemporary parallel is extant, the English play and the French play are probably related directly rather than through the medium of morality-plays.

Against Swoboda, then, I insist, in the first place, that "zank und streit" are not characteristics of Heywood plays as a whole; in the second place, that where "zank und streit" do occur they are not "eine erbschaft der moralitäten," but are directly related to the same elements in contemporary and antecedent *débats*, *disputaisons*, *jeus*, and *farces*.

4. Die Folge des starken Hervortretens von Streit, Zank und Disput ist, dass die Handlung der Moralitäten so gut wie die des komischen *Interludes* vom rhetorischen Wust überwuchert ist. *Wit and Folly* ist ganz rhetorisch und hat keinen andern Anspruch dramatisch zu heissen, als dass es die Form des Dialogs hat. Es ist ein "Gesprächsspiel." In beschränkterem Masse gilt dies auch von anderen *Interludes*. Das *Love-play*, das *Weatherplay*, *The Four P's* und auch *The Pardoner and Friar* bestehen zum grösseren Theile aus Reden. Die genaue, oft spitzfindige Abhandlung einer gegebenen Frage oder Behauptung, ihre Exemplification, die sichtliche Freude an dem Abwägen von Gründen und Gegengründen ist für die Moralitäten wie für das komische Interlude charakteristisch.¹

Wit and Folly, *Love*, and *Weather* are obviously overladen with rhetorical and logical trash. Although *Four PP* and *Pardoner* are made up largely of *talk*, these plays are not overladen "vom rhetorischen wust." The difference between the comic conversation of the latter plays and the dry hairsplitting of the former is in itself almost sufficient to distinguish two separate genres. Most striking of all is the fact that this characteristic does not in the least apply to *John*. This play, being free from "zank und streit," is also free from talk or rhetorical trash,

¹ SWOBODA, p. 59.

Here again Swoboda is apparently unaware that he is dealing with two genres. *John*, *Four PP*, and *Pardoner* take their comic dialogue from the farce tradition. *Love*, *Weather*, and *Wit and Folly* derive the dryness of their hairsplitting discussions from the *débat*.

5. Auch das erzählende Element nimmt, wie schon in den Mysterien und den Moralitäten, so auch in dem komischen Interlude einen verhältnissmässig zu grossen Raum ein. So ist *The Four P's* durch die langen Geschichten des Apothekers und des Ablasskrämers—vom dramatischen Standpunkt genommen—entstellt. Selbst das beste Stück Heywoods, die Hahnreicomödie, ist von dieser Unzukömmlichkeit nicht frei. Der Dichter hat es nicht über sich bringen können, uns die drei Wundercurgeschichten des Priesters zu ersparen. . . . Daraus sieht man, dass Heywoods Stärke in der Composition epischer Poesie, d. h. der versificirten komischen Erzählung lag.¹

Four PP is certainly guilty of a large narrative element. Perhaps, however, it is worth while to remark that in this play the narrative element consists in two stories of the *fabliau* type. Probably no one will try to maintain that *fabliaux* are characteristic of morality-plays. To attribute this narrative characteristic to Heywood's best piece, *John*, is surely to accentuate unfairly a very minor point. The narrative part is entirely contained in three small bits of dirty story that the priest mixes into his conversation to amuse the adulterous Tyb. Moreover, such a correspondence in a minor characteristic is at best slight evidence of organic relation between morality-play and pure French farce.

6. Zu den epischen Bestandtheilen des komischen *Interludes* gehören auch die Reiseberichte im *Weatherplay* und in *The Four P's*, die auch schon in den Mysterien und Moralitäten beliebt waren. Hierin spiegelt sich eine andere Richtung der Zeit, die Freude an Entdeckungen und Reisen.²

What "Reiseberichte" may mean as a vital characteristic of Heywood's plays is not apparent. Since the writer applies this characteristic to only two plays, and without illustration, we have no basis for interpretation.

7. Eine andere Eigenthümlichkeit, die ebenfalls aus dem Nachlass der Moralitäten stammt, ist die Figur des Lustigmachers, des *Vice* der *Moralplays*. In zwei Interludes kommt diese Persönlichkeit vor, in dem

¹ SWOBODA, pp. 59, 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

Weatherplay und dem *Loveplay*. Sie heisst zwar in jenem *Merry Report*, in diesem *Neither Lover nor Loved*, aber die Bühnenanweisungen bezeichnen ihn geradezu als *Vice*. In *The Four P's* trägt der Apotheker, in *John, the Husband* der Pantoffelheld John viele Züge des *Vice*, doch nicht mehr den Namen.¹

In regard to *Love* and *Weather* this observation is emphatically correct; also the Apothecary in *Four PP* certainly has *Vice* characteristics. Nevertheless, in spite of the presence of this stray morality-play characteristic, *Love* and *Weather* are clearly *débats*, and *Four PP* is closely related to French farce. In making a *Vice* of the husband in *John*, Swoboda is surely guilty of misconception. Were this play to have a *Vice*, Tyb, the wife, were certainly the only fair candidate for the office. With her malicious and comic spirit, she, and not the henpecked and gullible husband, is the moving evil genius of the play. As a matter of fact, however, *John* has no *Vice*, since in a pure farce no character is given a moral value. In *Pardoner* and *Wit and Folly* Swoboda very properly finds no vestige of *Vice*.

8. Die Art und Weise der *Mysterien* und *Moralplays*, die Handlung mit Anreden an das Publicum zu beginnen, findet sich in dem komischen *Interlude* wieder. Sowie zum Beispiel in der *Moralität Nature* die allegorische Figur des Stolzes (*Pride*) die Zuhörerschaft vor Beginn des Stückes anspricht, oder John Bale seine *Interludes* mit chorusartigen Reden als "prolocutor" einleitet, so wird auch Heywoods *Wetterspiel* mit einer ganz ähnlichen Anrede Jupiters eröffnet.

* * * * *

Im *Play of Love* richtet der unglückliche Liebhaber seine Klagen an die Zuschauer; die Predigt des Mönches in *The Pardoner and Friar* ist an die im *banqueting room* wirklich anwesende Gesellschaft gerichtet; ihr werden auch die Reliquien gezeigt; ihr gibt der Pilgrim in *The Four P's* seinen Reisebericht, bevor noch eine andere Person auf der Bühne ist.²

In the opinion of Ward, Ebert, and others,³ all these examples, except that in *Weather*, are mere monologues or dramatic soliloquies, no more addressed to the public than is any remark of an actor to himself. Even if Swoboda were right, the mere matter of prologue would probably furnish only a slight basis for vital relation between Heywood's plays and morality-plays.

¹ SWOBODA, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

9. Auch die Schlüsse der *Moralplays* sind in dem komischen *Interlude* wieder anzutreffen. Mit Ausnahme von zweien (P. F. und J. H.), schliessen alle mit moralisirenden Ansprachen an das Publicum.¹

Apparently Swoboda openly admits that in this point his thesis is inadequate to account for *John* and *Pardoner*.

10. Einen weiteren Berührungspunkt zwischen den *Moralplays* und dem komischen *Interlude* bildet die Art und Weise, wie eine Art von poetischer Gerechtigkeit geübt wird. Die Personen der Stücke werden von der Schlechtigkeit ihrer Lebensführung und der gefährlichen Verkehrtheit ihrer Anschauungen überzeugt und am Ende zu besserer Aufführung und Reue bekehrt: die Sittlichkeit triumphirt. Ganz in derselben Weise werden im *Wetterspiel* die Bittsteller von der Unvereinbarkeit ihrer Wünsche überzeugt und schliesslich gezwungen, die Weisheit der bestehenden Weltregierung anzuerkennen. Die Liebesleute im *Loveplay* müssen nach langwierigem Streite endlich zugeben, dass wahre Glückseligkeit nur in der Liebe Gottes zu finden sei. Die *Vier P* müssen sich trotz ihrer im Stücke so weit auseinandergehenden Ansichten zum Schluss der Autorität der Kirche unterordnen. *Wit and Folly* endigt mit der Niederlage und Bekehrung James, des Verfechters des im Stücke abgehandelten paradoxen Satzes.²

Whether or not this point be important even for the plays to which it applies, Swoboda does not attempt to apply it to *John*, *Pardoner*, and *Four PP*.

11. Wie die Moralitäten, so weist auch das komische *Interlude* eine entschieden satirische Tendenz auf.³

Although we grant that several of Heywood's plays contain keen and enjoyable satire, we find no proof that this "satirische tendenz" can come only from morality-plays.

After making these eleven observations, Swoboda says:

Diese Erwägungen, glaube ich, sind hinreichend, die Innigkeit des Zusammenhanges zwischen den Moralitäten und Heywoods komischen Interlude zu beweisen.⁴

Then, with pointing out several striking verbal parallels between Heywood's work and that of Chaucer and Skelton, Swoboda closes his chapter on "Das verhältniss des komischen interludes zu literarischen vorgängern."

¹ SWOBODA, p. 62.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

I have sufficiently indicated my objections to the separate points involved in Swoboda's main thesis. Apparently this thesis fails to account satisfactorily or completely for a single play of John Heywood.

In conclusion, I venture to suggest a new genealogy for Heywood's six plays. In the first place, on the basis of their types, the plays fall into two groups. *Love, Weather, and Wit and Folly* follow the *débat* tradition; *John, Pardoner, and Four PP* are intimately related to French farce.

Though *Wit and Folly* is clearly an example of *débat*, the absurdly amusing nature of the discussion and the circumstances of its production at court allow it to be classified under farce, a type to which it is not essentially related. *John* and *Pardoner* are first-rate examples of French farce with extant parallels in France. Although difficult to classify, *Four PP* is most closely related to farce in spirit, and most closely related to *débat* in form.

Therefore, granting every morality-play characteristic that Swoboda has correctly attributed to Heywood's plays, I still maintain that these plays are not "legitime nachkommen der moralitäten."

In view of the conclusions reached in this article, we must assign to John Heywood a new place in the history of English drama. Although surrounded by miracle-plays, moral-plays, and Latinized plays, he produced a type of drama so distinctly his own that Collier calls it "an entire novelty."¹ From the English point of view, Heywood's plays² were an entire novelty, for, free from logical connection with previous English drama, they are in model and inspiration wholly foreign—they are frank adaptations or imitations of French farce. Just as in *Ralph Roister Doister* Nicholas Udall introduced Latin comedy into England, so in *Johan Johan the husbände* Heywood gave England its first pure, unattached³ French farce.

¹ Cf. p. 1 above.

² I refer especially to *John, Pardoner, Four PP*, and *Wit and Folly*.

³ By "unattached" I distinguish *John* from such a play as *Secunda Pastorum* of the Towneley miracle-plays, where the farce of the Mak episode is only part of a larger play and of a cycle.

Though we must grant, then, that our author attained his eminence through his sympathetic following of a French model, and though this alien inspiration may detract somewhat from his dignity as an original genius, still we must class John Heywood with Udall and the authors of *Gorboduc* as one of the most significant innovators of early English drama.

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POE'S KNOWLEDGE OF GERMAN.

WHETHER Edgar Allan Poe knew enough German to be able to read German authors in the original, or not, is not a question of momentous importance. Yet it is one of considerable interest to the student of Poe who while reading his works is haunted continually by echoes and reminiscences, more or less striking, of the German Romanticists. He cannot help speculating as to whether such similarities come directly from the study of the originals, or were unconsciously absorbed from the literary atmosphere of the period, which was surcharged with Romanticism and "Germanism." If this question could be definitely answered, it might clear up a number of knotty problems presenting themselves to the reader of Poe. Among them, that one suggested by Professor H. M. Belden, of the University of Missouri, some two or three years ago,¹ who, assuming that Poe knew no German, develops an ingenious theory of the sources of Poe's charges of plagiarism against Hawthorne.

Consequently it may be worth while—if only to satisfy a justifiable literary curiosity—to examine a little further into the question, to investigate what light a careful marshaling of all the evidence may throw upon the case, and to see what answer, if any, may be given to this problem after a thorough discussion of the evidence presented.

The general attitude of those who hold that Poe knew no German is well expressed by Professor Belden in the article referred to,² when he writes:

In what we know of Poe's life there is nothing to show that he read German, and there is much reason, in his lack of regular education and his hurried, hand-to-mouth career, to believe that he never undertook what in those days even more than now was an arduous task, the acquisition of that language. He could make effective use of a name now and then, or of an occasional phrase, but there is nothing to warrant the belief that he knew German well enough to detect the "manner" of a German book.

¹ Cf. *Anglia*, Vol. XXIII (1901), pp. 376-405.

² P. 389.

This view, generally accepted, is based upon three arguments. Of these the first, that we have no record or authoritative statement that Poe knew or studied German, is perfectly true. The other two are, however, mere assumptions. The second claim, that "there is much reason to believe that he never undertook . . . [the] arduous task, the acquisition of that language," is not warranted by what we know of the poet's natural abilities and of his studies, or of his literary interests and work. Hence it is not to be accepted without further discussion. The third argument, that Poe's occasional use of German was only for effect, was meretricious, and not based upon actual knowledge of German, is a charge which has often been made and is not without considerable foundation. There is not the slightest doubt that Poe discredited all his work by his "noxious habit" of "throwing a glamor of erudition about his work by the use of phrases from old authors he had read, or among whose treatises he had foraged with a special design," a method that "was clever," though "it partook of trickery even in its art."¹ But in itself this is no more an argument against his possessing a knowledge of German than against his knowledge of French or Latin, both of which languages he knew comparatively well, even though his knowledge was inexact at times.

Looking at this question entirely from a theoretical, *a priori* standpoint, the presumptions seem to favor a view just opposite to that taken by Professor Belden, who holds that "there is much reason to believe that he never undertook . . . [the] arduous task, the acquisition of that [i. e., German] language." We know from the testimony of old schoolmates and friends that Poe was an uncommonly bright, precocious boy; that in the school at Stoke-Newington in England and later in Richmond he displayed unusual talents for languages. He learned to speak French "with a marked facility."² He also was an adept in

¹ Cf. STEDMAN, *Edgar Allan Poe*, p. 79. Cf. also HARRISON, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, Virginia Edition (New York, 1902; hereafter cited as *Works*), Vol. XIV, p. vi. "The habit [of jotting down quotations from poets, aphorisms from philosophers, and memorabilia from men of literary generations gone by] was perhaps an intellectually noxious one, for Poe continually used the same quotations—especially the French ones—to garnish some trite context or give an air of superior learning to some insignificant critique."

² Cf. JOHN H. INGRAM, *Edgar Allan Poe: His Life, Letters, and Opinions* (London, 1880),

"capping" Latin verses,¹ "was very fond of the Odes of Horace," which "he often repeated," and possessed besides "an unusual skill in construing Latin." He showed, even at school, an "aptitude and fondness for literary and linguistic studies." At the University of Virginia, where Poe was enrolled as a student for one year,² he was reported as among those who had excelled in French and Latin. He was also "publicly commended for a verse translation from Tasso," besides being a successful student in Spanish.³

At the university Poe enrolled himself in the School of Modern Languages, in which "are to be taught French, Spanish, Italian, German, and the English language, in its Anglo-Saxon form."⁴ His chief instructor was Professor Blaettermann, who, according to Professor James A. Harrison,⁵ was "an accomplished German," and whose "influence is perceptible all through Poe's humorous, imaginative work." Poe was better prepared than most of his fellow-students,⁶ besides being more mature. He was "already writing weird tales" and "was seriously busied with poetry"⁶ during the year at the university.

Furthermore, this year came right at the time when the English-speaking world was becoming thoroughly interested in German literature and thought, particularly of the Romantic school. The trend and spirit of German Romanticism were so fully in accord with the temperament and genius of the incipient author that it seems almost inevitable to suppose that he too would become interested in the productions of that school. Considering also that Poe's chief instructor was an accomplished native German, ready to introduce the student into the promising fields of Romanticism, it does not seem an entirely unwarranted assumption that Poe availed himself of the opportunity and studied German, either in the class-room or outside.⁷ His course was not a "heavy" one for a student of his capacities, as there is

Vol. I, pp. 20 ff. Also *The Unveiling of the Bust of Edgar Allan Poe*, etc., compiled and edited by CHARLES W. KENT (Lynchburg, Va., 1901; cited as *Poe Memorial*), pp. 13, 14.

¹ "Capping" was recalling Latin verses when the first letter, or both the first and the last letter of the line, were given.

² He was at the university from January 19, 1826, till late in December of that year.

³ *Poe Memorial*, p. 21. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14. ⁵ In a personal letter. ⁶ *Poe Memorial*, p. 16.

⁷ He had abundant leisure and spent considerable time in the library. *Poe Memorial*, p. 15.

a record of a classmate of his, a "hard student," Henry Tutwiler, who during that same session had not only taken, but excelled in, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, German, Spanish, and mathematics.¹ Hence it would not have been such a very "arduous task" for Poe to have acquired a knowledge of German, besides doing the work in those studies of which we have direct testimony.

Lack of direct testimony as to his study of German is no proof in itself. For he had sufficient knowledge of Greek, however inaccurate in detail, to discuss questions of Greek literature with considerable intelligence and a certain amount of critical acumen. Professor Kent thinks that "it may be true that he was a member of the classes in Greek . . . though there is no mention of him in connection with Greek."² What holds true of Greek may be just as true of German—nay, more true, as Poe really had better opportunities and more personal reasons for its study.

Far be it from me to belittle the difficulties of acquiring German. We must, however, always bear in mind that Poe had an unusual gift for languages, besides being mature and therefore able to do effective independent work. Furthermore, the acquisition of German was not universally considered such an "arduous task" even in those days. For only a year afterward Thomas Carlyle wrote:³

The difficulties of German are little more than a bugbear; they can only be compared to those of Greek by persons claiming praise or pudding for having mastered them. Three months of moderate diligence will carry any man, almost without assistance of a master, over its prime obstacles, and the rest is play rather than labor.

Poe was no Carlyle, but if Carlyle could surmount "the prime obstacles" in three months and find the rest "play," German could not have been an insuperable, or even an appalling, task for Poe with his natural gifts and linguistic training, supported by powers of application, which are proved beyond all question by his record as a soldier and his effective industry as an editor in the working periods of his early life.

¹ *Poe Memorial*, p. 14. Another student, Gessner Harrison, excelled in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, German, and medicine.

² *Poe Memorial*, p. 14.

³ In his *Introduction to German Romance* (Edinburgh, 1827). See Vol. I, p. 315 of *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, final edition (London, 1869).

Taking, then, the actual state of affairs, as presented, into consideration, there is just as much reason to believe that Poe did acquire German, at least enough to get a reading knowledge of it, as there is for believing that he did not.

If Poe did acquire a knowledge of German there is good reason to believe that he studied the language comparatively early, for from the very beginning of his literary career there are indications that he was deeply interested in German and had some knowledge of it, however superficial. Thus in a note to the poem "Al Araaf" he quotes three lines from Goethe's "Meine Götting":¹

Seltsamen Tochter Jovis,
Seinem Schosskinde
Der Phantasie.

In his first-published tale, *Ms. Found in a Bottle*, Poe shows an interest in German, speaking of the hero's favorite studies,² for Poe's heroes generally contain a good deal of Poe himself. There are allusions of a similar nature in *Morella*³ and *Bon-Bon*,⁴ which were all written before he began his career as an editor.

Now for the third argument of Professor Belden, based upon Poe's superficiality and shallow pretensions to extensive and profound erudition, especially in foreign languages. Not only in regard to German, but also in regard to Greek, the charge has been brought that he was "profoundly ignorant" of the language.⁵ Yet it is probably true that he studied Greek, and, though at times inaccurate in his information, he does show an intelligent appreciation of its literature and spirit. His enemies and adverse critics have questioned his knowledge of all foreign languages, including French,⁶ and ridiculed even his English. To what

¹ Published in 1829. Cf. *Works*, VII, 28. He uses this same quotation as a motto for the title-page of *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*.

² *Works*, II, 1. "Beyond all things the study of the German moralists gave me great delight," etc.

³ *Works*, II, 27. There is a reference to "those mystical writings which are regularly considered the mere dross of early German literature," the study of which "in the process of time became my own." There is also a correct reference to the leading principles of the philosophers Fichte and Schelling.

⁴ *Works*, II, 129. He speaks of *Bon-Bon* as appearing "deeply tinctured with the diablerie of his favorite German studies."

⁵ WILLIAM F. GILL, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1877), p. 170.

⁶ The most sweeping condemnation of Poe is contained in the charges made by ARVÈDE BARINE in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Vol. CXLII, p. 566: "Edgar Poe, hélas! prêtait aussi

extent his enemies were ready to go in their indiscriminate accusations may be seen in those hysterical charges made by Thomas Dunn English, who in that notorious controversy with Poe wrote in a public letter:¹

He [Poe] professes to know every language and to be proficient in every science and art under the sun—when, except that half Choctaw, half Winnebago he habitually uses . . . he is ignorant of all . . . His frequent quotations from languages of which he is totally ignorant and his consequent blunders expose him to ridicule.

The persistent reiteration of such charges, corroborated, as it seemed, by his first biographer, Griswold, did not fail to make an impression upon the minds of honest and impartial writers, as upon Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose mistaken impression and unintentional slander of Poe have been so cleverly shown up by Professor Henry A. Beers.²

It is high time that these indiscriminate charges should cease, that the evidence be gathered and the testimony be carefully weighed, and that then only judgment be passed.

Now, what evidence bearing upon this point can be presented from a thorough examination of Poe's works? There is, to begin with, scattered testimony proving his general knowledge of German literature and German thought. We find in his reviews and literary discussions reference to German criticism and critics,³ particularly repeated references to the Schlegels.⁴ There are

le flanc aux reproches de charlatanisme qu'il adressait à ses confrères. Il ne cédait à personne de la baie de Delaware au Mississippi, pour la science de la réclame, et, si sa probité lui interdisait les moyens déshonnêtes, sa vanité d'auteur lui conseillait les moyens ingénieux. . . . Lui aussi, il eut sa petite provision de citations en toutes langues qu'il savait et celles qu'il ne savait pas, et il les plaça et remplaça 'adroitement,' avec un mépris superbe de la prosodie, de la syntaxe et du reste." After calling attention to a number of errors in French and Greek, the writer goes on to say: "On s'avertissait entre éditeurs de se défier de la science de M. Poe:—'Il fait des citations de l'allemand, mais il n'en sait pas un mot. . . . Quant à son grec, vous saurez à quoi vous en tenir pour peu que vous y mettiez le nez.'"

¹ Published in the *New York Mirror*, June 23, 1846; cf. *Works*, XVII, 238.

² HENRY A. BEERS, *A History of English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1901), p. 163. "Colonel Higginson (*Short Studies*), à propos of Poe's sham learning and his habit of mystifying the reader by imaginary citations, confesses to having hunted in vain for this fascinatingly entitled 'Journey into the Blue Distance;' and to having been laughed at for his pains by a friend who assured him that Poe could scarcely read a word of German. But Tieck really did write this story, 'Das Alte Buch; oder Reise ins Blaue hinein,' which Poe misleadingly refers to under its alternate title."

³ *Works*, XI, 5; XVI, 115.

⁴ *Works*, VIII, 44; VIII, 47; X, 65; XI, 5, XVI, 144. Cf. also, *Works*, X, p. viii of Introduction, where the editor remarks: "His repeated quotations from August Wil-

allusions to various German poets with quotations, correct in every particular.¹ In his review of Longfellow's ballads² he discusses with discrimination a number of German ballads, and ventures some generalizations concerning the nature of the German ballad. He finds that Longfellow has been influenced in his way of thinking by his study of German and is "imbued with the peculiar spirit of German song," so that "he [Longfellow] thinks the inculcation of a *moral* as essential"—a perfectly true statement in respect to most German ballads. Poe is greatly interested in Fouqué, the translation of whose *Undine* he reviews with enthusiastic admiration.³ He discusses and criticises the German *Kunstroman* as being a "mad—or perhaps a profound idea."⁴ In a review he makes a hit at poor "German Greek Prosodies."⁵ He notes in the *Marginalia* the "epidemic of history-writing" with which the "Germans are now afflicted."⁶ In these same notes he jots down a bit of information from "an old German chronicle about Reynard the Fox,"⁷ which he uses to illustrate some literary point. Here too he censures some assertion of Hegel's, which he cites as jargon, and as not being original with that philosopher.⁸ He criticises an apothegm of Novalis, which he quotes.⁹ From Novalis he quotes another apothegm in his tale *The Ragged Mountains*.¹⁰ In his *Pinakidia* we find a note about "German epic poems composed in metre of sixteen and seventeen syllables,"¹¹ while in a letter he alludes to the wandering Jew, "known to German writers as Ahasuerus."¹² Of course, none of these allusions, nor all of them combined, afford the slightest evidence that Poe knew German at first hand. He may have, probably had, found them all in English works, magazines, translations, etc. They do, however, show accuracy in the use of names and such quotations as occur. Furthermore, they prove an intelligent, keen interest in and appreciation of German literature and thought, covering a wide range of subjects.

helm von Schlegel show the profound influence of this scholar and his brother on the plastic nature of Poe."

¹ *Works*, IX, 195. Review of *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans*.

² *Works*, XI, 65 f.

³ *Works*, X, 30; XI, 89; XVI, 48.

⁴ *Works*, VIII, 231.

⁵ *Works*, XIV, 217.

⁶ *Works*, XVI, 12.

⁷ *Works*, XVI, 173.

⁸ *Works*, XVI, 164.

⁹ *Works*, XVI, 98.

¹⁰ *Works*, V, 171.

¹¹ *Works*, XIV, 67.

¹² *Works*, XVII, 16.

Poe, as has been justly charged, was frequently guilty of the tendency of his literary contemporaries, "to garnish some trite context or give an air of superior learning to some critique" by means of a learned, or foreign, word or phrase. He most commonly employed French, as he spoke it fluently and could quote it freely. But he uses also occasional German words and phrases, introduced, however, with discrimination and with a nice appreciation of their meaning; e. g., where no single English equivalent can be found, as *Schwärmerei*¹ and *motivirt*,² for which equivalents do not exist even now. He speaks of his own Philistine age as a "period not inaptly denominated by the Germans 'the age of wigs'" (i. e., *Zopf- or Perückenzeit*).³ In Griswold's edition of the *Literati*⁴ his severe flagellation of Thomas Dunn Brown (English) ends with that most appropriate, scathing sentence: "In character, a *windbeutel*"—in which the German word speaks volumes.

Again, he contrives to give a sentence a clever or humorous turn by simply using a German phrase; e. g., he "made great eyes (as we say in Germany)."⁵ In his introduction to the *Marginalia* he speaks of a mood of distraction and ennui as "what the Germans call the 'brain-scattering' humor of the moment."⁶ In his *Marginalia* he senses a difference in meaning between *edelgeboren* and *wohlgeboren*, whether the facts inferred are correct or not.⁷ So in the *Pinakidia* he noted the derivation of *dichtkunst* and *dichten*,⁸ which, though it is wrong, he considers a lucky discovery, as he makes use of his note in a review of Longfellow's poems.⁹ He also knows that "art" in German has an "extensive signification," which the English does not possess.¹⁰

Phrases are not quoted frequently. But those which are quoted are correctly quoted; e. g., he cites a couple of lines

¹ *Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 166. "The German *Schwärmerei*—not exactly humbug, but 'sky-rocketing'—seems to be the only term by which we can conveniently designate that peculiar style of criticism which has lately come into fashion through the influence of certain members of the *Fabian* family—people who live (upon beans) about Boston." From the context it seems clear that Poe uses the word in its proper sense—visionary, unpractical method of criticism.

² *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 146. "In the sense I intend it, it [perverseness] is, in fact, a *mobile* without a motive, a motive not *motivirt*."

³ *Works*, VIII, 163.

⁵ *Works*, VI, 20.

⁷ *Works*, XVI, 8.

⁹ *Works*, XI, 74.

⁴ *Works*, XV, 270.

⁶ *Works*, XVI, 3.

⁸ *Works*, XIV, 67.

¹⁰ *Works*, IX, 62.

from Schiller's "Nadowessiers Totenlied," which Poe, probably following the book before him, calls "Nadowessische Todtenklage."¹ Three long names of books, two by Kant² and one by Herder,³ are correctly cited with their full German title. Very felicitous too is the German motto from Goethe on the title page of his *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*.⁴

Only in one case does there seem to be testimony favoring the view that Poe knew no German. But that testimony is uncertain and might be used as an argument for either view. In the tale *How to Write a Blackwood Article*,⁵ after quoting some sample passages from French, Spanish, and Italian to be used to give an air of erudition to a magazine article, Poe quotes also the following German couplet:

Und sterb' ich doch, so sterb' ich denn
Durch sie—durch sie!

He then goes on: "That's German from Schiller. 'And if I die, at least I die—for thee—for thee!'" Now, these lines are not from Schiller, but from Goethe, occurring in the ballad "Das Veilchen."⁶ Furthermore, they are *not* correctly quoted, as the first line runs:

Und sterb' ich denn, so sterb' ich doch.

In the third place, *durch sie* is not correctly translated by "for thee." But the very fact that Poe assigns the lines to Schiller and makes a mistake in quoting them may be taken to indicate that Poe was quoting from memory, and forgot the author as well as the exact wording of the lines. Poe's translation is not correct, but in sense it is not so far from the original, and fits his purpose better and may have been intentional. Besides the parody of the verses Poe gives in the following tale, *A Predicament*,⁷

Unt stubby duk, so stubby dun
Duk she! duk she!

proves that Poe knew at least two facts about German pronunciation; namely, that a *d* final (in *und*) is pronounced like *t*, and

¹ *Works*, IX, 195 f.

² *Works*, II, 276.

³ *Works*, IX, 200.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 5.

⁵ *Works*, II, 279.

⁶ KÜRSCHNER, *National Litteratur*; Goethe's *Works*, I, 117. The ballad begins *Ein Veilchen auf der Wiese stand*.

⁷ *Works*, II, 295.

that the German *ch* is pronounced more like *k* than *ch* in "church," which pronunciations a person utterly ignorant of German would naturally give.

The varied cumulative evidence so far adduced seems to prove this much at least, that Poe was not entirely ignorant of German, that he must have had enough of a smattering knowledge to copy German, cite books, and quote words and phrases correctly when he so desired.

But there is positive evidence bearing upon the question under discussion—evidence which in the case of any other author would be absolutely convincing, and, even with Poe's dubious reputation in the matter of literary and scientific honesty, seems all but conclusive.

The first case in point is to be found in the tale *The Premature Burial*,¹ where Poe gives the details of a case of premature burial, taken, as he informs us, from a recent number of "The Chirurgical Journal of Leipsic"²—"a periodical," he goes on to say, "of high authority and merit, which some American bookseller would do well to translate and republish." While it is not impossible that Poe had hit upon the case cited in some journal in English, or that some friend might have read it and told him of it, yet the tone and whole setting of the incident seem to indicate that Poe had read the case himself and had consulted the "Chirurgical Journal" at other times for abnormal medical cases. There seems to be no special reason for Poe's wishing to display pretended erudition in this connection, as he might have reasons for doing in a learned book review.

The next case seems to furnish direct and positive evidence. It is a passage of German prefaced to the *The Mystery of Marie Roget*,³ containing forty-five words, correctly quoted with exception of an evident typographical error. Poe adds a translation. There was at that time no complete translation of Novalis's works,⁴

¹ *Works*, V, 259.

² Probably *Deutsche Zeitschrift für die Chirurgie*, which dates back to the early thirties of the nineteenth century.

³ *Works*, V, 1 ff.

⁴ At least no such book could be found in the catalogues of the British Museum and the leading American libraries. This is also confirmed by the statement of MRS. AUSTIN, in the book cited below, p. 314.

and only one book, as far as could be ascertained, contained the translation of that particular passage.¹ This book Poe had probably seen, as it contains also the quotations from Novalis, mentioned above.² This passage, taken from Novalis's *Moralische Ansichten*³ runs:

Es giebt eine Reihe idealischer Begebenheiten, die der Wirklichkeit parallel läuft. Selten fallen sie zusammen. Menschen und Zufälle modificiren gewöhnlich⁴ die idealische Begebenheit, so dass sie unvollkommen erscheint, und ihre Folgen gleichfalls unvollkommen sind. So bei der Reformation.⁵ Statt des Protestantismus kam das Lutherthum hervor.

The passage is translated by Mrs. Austin and Poe as follows:

MRS. AUSTIN.

There are ideal *trains* of events which run parallel with the real ones. *Seldom* do they coincide. Men and accidents commonly modify *every* ideal *event*, so that it *appears* imperfect, and its consequences are equally imperfect. Thus it was with the Reformation—instead of Protestantism *arose* Lutheranism

10

POE.

There are ideal *series* of events which run parallel with the real ones. They *rarely* coincide. Men and *circumstances* generally modify the ideal train of events so that it *seems* imperfect, and its consequences are equally imperfect. Thus with the Reformation; instead of Protestantism *came* Lutheranism.

Comparing the two translations, in which divergencies are indicated by italics, it will be seen that they differ chiefly in choice of words. They both follow the German closely. Poe is closer in line 5, where Mrs. Austin translates *die* by "every;" in line 8, where Mrs. Austin inserts "it was;" in the slight matter of the semicolon in line 7, and the literal translation of *kam* in line 9, where Poe, however, disregards *hervor*. Mrs. Austin, on the other hand, translates *Begebenheit*, line 5, and *Zufälle*, line 4, more exactly.⁶ The differences, after all, are unimportant, and

¹ *Fragments from German Prose Writers*, translated by SARAH AUSTIN (London, 1841).

² Poe had also reviewed earlier a translation by the same author of VON RAUMER'S *England in 1835* (*Works*, IX, 55).

³ Cf. *Novalis' Schriften*, edited by TIECK AND SCHLEGEL, 5th ed. (Berlin, 1837), II, 274.

⁴ In Poe this word is spelled *gewöhnlich*, unmistakably a misprint.

⁵ Poe has a colon instead of a period.

⁶ In order to obtain some idea of how this passage would be translated by those able to read ordinary German, it was set as a sight passage for a class in third-year German. As a whole, the papers of the better students were as similar as the above, and, besides that, every one of Poe's peculiar translations was duplicated in some one paper. Thus *Zufälle* was translated "circumstances" by at least a third of the class.

determined apparently rather by reasons of taste and style than by the demands of the sense. In short, the translations are such as would be made by two persons independently of each other, both of whom understood the German accurately, but were not obliged to translate it word for word with aid of a dictionary.

There could be no doubt at all about the conclusiveness of this evidence, if there were no doubts about Poe's literary and scientific methods. But, unfortunately, his methods are not above criticism,¹ and he has laid himself open to the charges of literary charlatanism which he has made against others. And so some might see in the two translations suggestions of the method employed in Poe's compilation of *The Conchologist's First Book*, i. e., a deliberate attempt to cover plagiarism by slight changes in Mrs. Austin's translation, not important enough to change the sense, but yet sufficient to give to the whole an appearance of originality. For example, in the first line both translations make *idealischer* agree with the wrong noun. Again in line 7 both translate *gleichfalls* by "equally," which is neither the natural nor the exact translation. Furthermore, the use of "train of events" by Poe in line 5, though he uses "series of events" in line 1 where Mrs. Austin uses "train of events," might seem to point to the same method.

But, in considering these doubts, we must remember that, in the very first place, Poe had somehow to find the original passage in Novalis, as he quotes the German for it. For Mrs. Austin gives not the slightest hint as to where the passage is to be found. If now, we deny Poe's ability to read German, we must assume that he asked some friend to hunt out the passage for him. In addition, since Poe's translation shows some independence and yet is fairly accurate, we must assume that he had this friend translate or explain the passage to him, and that then he worked over Mrs. Austin's translation into this pretendedly independent version.

Now why should Poe have gone to all this trouble and have committed this deliberate deception for the mere motto to a tale? Particularly when this motto is so inessential to the plot and

¹ Cf. what PROFESSOR WOODBERRY has to say about POE's compilation of *The Conchologist's First Book* (: or a system of Testaceous Malacology . . . By EDGAR A. POE. Philadelphia, 1839), in his *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1885), pp. 109 f.

contributes so little to the atmosphere of the whole? And when he could have produced practically the same impression of erudition by simply quoting the passage in English, assigning it to Novalis and concealing its real source? If he had run across the German in his reading of Novalis and had jotted it down, it is easy to see why he should be tempted to cite the German as well as the English version. But these other assumptions are entirely unwarranted by the circumstances.

Then there seems to be some warrant for supposing that Poe was an admirer of Novalis and acquainted with his work, if we may trust the opinion of Professor Harrison, his latest biographer and editor, in which Professor Woodberry seems to a certain extent to concur. The former calls Novalis one of "Poe's masters across the German sea,"¹ and the latter speaks of the treatise "'Eureka'—of which a germ appears in a single phrase of Novalis."² As there was no complete translation of Novalis at the time, and the fragments translated by Mrs. Austin cover just seven small pages, while those in the few contemporaneous English essays contain hardly much more, it seems most reasonable to hold that Poe knew Novalis in the original, and that he translated the passage under discussion independently, even though his attention may have been distinctly called to it by the passage in Mrs. Austin's *Fragments*.

Fortunately, there is another German selection which Poe quotes in the original as a note to the translation occurring in the text of his *Eureka*. The passage is longer, seventy-six words, and much more difficult, taken from the first volume of Humboldt's *Kosmos*.³ There were only two English translations of this volume antedating Poe's *Eureka*⁴—one by Prichard (London, 1845), the other done by Lieutenant-Colonel Sabine (London, 1847). The original selection, which Poe quotes letter-perfect, runs:

¹ *Works*, I, 154.

² Cf. EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN and GEORGE EDWARD WOODBERRY, *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe* (Chicago, 1894), Vol. I, p. 93.

³ ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, *Kosmos* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1845), Vol. I, p. 151.

⁴ At least no others are to be found in the catalogues of the British Museum and the leading libraries of this country.

Betrachtet man die nicht perspectivischen *eigenen* Bewegungen der Sterne, so scheinen viele Gruppenweise in ihrer Richtung entgegengesetzt; und die bisher gesammelten Thatsachen machen es auf's wenigste nicht nothwendig, anzunehmen, dass alle Theile unsrer Sternenschicht oder gar der gesammelten Sterneninseln, welche den Weltraum füllen, sich um einen grossen, unbekannten, leuchtenden oder dunkeln Centralkörper bewegen. Das Streben nach den letzten und höchsten Grundursachen macht freilich die reflectirende Thätigkeit des Menschen, wie seine Phantasie, zu einer solchen Annahme geneigt.

This has been translated as follows:¹

PRICHARD (ΚΟΣΜΟΣ, I, 154).

If the non-perspective proper motions of the stars be considered, many of them appear groupwise opposed in their directions; and the data hitherto collected make it at least not necessary to suppose that all parts of our astral system, or the whole of the star-islands which fill the universe, are in motion about any great, unknown, luminous, or non-luminous central mass. The longing to reach the last or highest fundamental cause, indeed, renders the reflecting faculty of man as well as his fancy disposed to adopt such a proposition.

POE (*Works*, XVI, 299).

When we regard the real, proper, or non perspective motions of the stars, we find *many groups of them moving in opposite directions*; and the data as yet in hand render it not necessary, at least, to conceive that the systems composing the Milky Way, or the clusters, generally, composing the Universe, are revolving about any particular

SABINE (*Cosmos*, I, 135).

If we consider the proper motions of the stars, as contradistinguished from their apparent or perspective motions, their directions are various; it is not, therefore, a necessary conclusion, either that all parts of our astral system, or that all the systems which fill universal space, revolve around one great undiscovered luminous or non luminous central-body, however naturally we may be disposed to an inference which would gratify alike the imaginative faculty, and that intellectual activity which ever seeks after the last and highest generalisation.

OTTÉ (*Cosmos*, I, 136).

If we consider the proper, and not the perspective motions of the stars, we shall find many that appear to be distributed in groups having an opposite direction; and facts hitherto observed, do not at any rate render it a necessary assumption, that all parts of our starry stratum, or the whole of the stellar islands filling space, should

¹ For the sake of still further comparison the translation of this passage by E. C. OTTÉ, *Cosmos*, "Bohn's Scientific Series" (London, 1849), is appended.

centre unknown, whether luminous or non-luminous. It is but Man's longing for a fundamental First Cause, that impels both his intellect and fancy to the adoption of such a hypothesis.

move round one large unknown luminous or non-luminous central-body. The tendency of the human mind to investigate ultimate and highest causes, certainly inclines the intellectual activity, no less than the imagination of mankind, to adopt such a hypothesis.

A comparison of the four translations demonstrates that Poe's translation is surely as independent and original as the other three. While less literal than Prichard's, as a whole it is closer to the original than Sabine's and has more literary quality than all three. It is a free translation, but gives the full sense of the German, except possibly that part (in lines 7 to 9) beginning "the systems," etc., to "the Universe." However, the inexactness of the translation here does no violence to the general sense, and in no way affects the point in which Poe is interested. Nor is the translation a dictionary word-for-word translation, or Poe would not, e. g., have mistranslated *Sternenschicht* as "Milky May," or interpolated "real" in the first line or "particular" in line 10. On the whole, Poe's version might be called a faithful rendering of the substance and form of the original, such as would be made by one thoroughly understanding the German original, and, hence, feeling himself free to make changes not essential to the sense for the sake of a good literary English translation.

Of course it might be assumed in this case too that Poe secured somebody to hunt up the original passage in the German text—somewhat of a task, as the German volume has no index—and to translate it for him. But if we stand ready to accept assumption in place of argument, we may as well stop discussing literary questions seriously and adopt once for all as the guiding principles of literary investigation the methods of the Shakspeare-Baconian school.

Here we must rest the case. The evidence presented has shown that Poe had an unusual natural capacity for languages; that he had abundant and favorable opportunity for studying German, which was one of the course of studies elected by him

at the university; that, furthermore, his chief professor was a native German. It is well known and universally acknowledged that Poe's innate bent and native genius were more in sympathy with German Romanticism than with the tenets of any other literary school. His personal interest in German thought and literature has been abundantly shown in his criticisms. And we know that his contemporaries were equally interested in these subjects, so that a knowledge of German seems a *sine qua non* for a literary critic of that period. We have noted his careful and discriminating use of single German words, and the appropriateness and correctness of the German phrases which he occasionally cites. Finally, we have found two German passages, quoted accurately, which, as far as can be judged by any evidence at hand, he translated independently and correctly, with no indications either of painful word-for-word translation or of careless guessing. All this cumulative evidence ought, in my opinion, to establish beyond reasonable doubt the presumption that Poe knew German at first hand, and must have known enough to read easy prose and, where necessary, to translate difficult prose with exactness and facility. If the evidence does not seem convincing to any who have held the opposite view, it devolves upon them to establish their standpoint. For upon them the burden of proof now rests.

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EMENDATIONS IN OLD ENGLISH POEMS.

I.

Gifts of Men, 1:

*Fela bið on foldan forðgesynra
geongra geofona, þa þa gæstberend
wegað in gewitte, swa her weoruda God,
Meotud meahtrum swið monnum dæleð,
syleð sundorgiefe.*

geongra geofona has hitherto passed unchallenged in this passage as well as in *Phoen.*, 624 (*geongra gyfena*) and *Guðl.*, 1015 (*gingra geafena*), though the customary translations "young," "early," "new," "recent" are quite lame and inappropriate. Cosijn's attempt (*Beitr.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 119) to improve the meaning of *geong* by comparing it to O.H.G. *iucundlih* = "jucundis" (Graff, Vol. I, p. 608) is by no means above suspicion. But the true reading, I have no doubt, in all three cases, is *ginra*. *ginra* > *gingra* > *geongra* is a self-explanatory series. It may just be added that *ginne*, a word unknown in prose and rare even in poetry,¹ was particularly liable to be misapprehended by scribes, as appears also from *Beow.*, 466: *gimme rice*.

ginfæste gife is a favorite formula (*ginfæste gife ðe him God sealde*, *Beow.*, 1271; *ibid.*, 2182; *Gen.*, 2919; *Jul.*, 168; *Met. Boeth.*, 20, 227; cf. *Exod.*, 524), of which *ginra geofona* is merely a metrical variant. A similar phrase is found in the discourse on the manifold gifts of God (cf. I. Cor., 12) in *Crist*, 659 ff. (see Cook's note):

*ðus God meahlig geofum unhnæawum,
Cyning alwihta cræftum weorðað
eorþan tuddor* (686-88).

See further *Panther*, 69 ff.:

*Swa se snottra gecwæð Sanctus Paulus:
"Monigfealde sind geond middangeard*

¹ It is to be compared with the highly archaic *cormen*.—It occurs to me that in *Exod.*, 490: *þeos geomre lyft* (COSIJN: *cormenlyft*), *ginne* would make an acceptable reading (*eo* does not alliterate with *g* in *Exod.*; see HOLTHAUSEN, *Literaturbl.*, Vol. XXI, p. 62).

*god ungnýðe, þe us to giefes dæled
and to feorhnere fæder ælmihtig"*

II.

Moods of Men, 10:

*se þe hine læted on þas lænan tid
amyrran his gemyndum modes gælsan
and on his dægrime dru[n]cen to rice.*

In place of Grein's improbable *tō rice*, "zu mächtig," I suggest to *ricene*, "too quickly," "too readily," which is admirably suited to the thought of the following lines and also makes a fine parallel to *Wand.*, 112:

*ne sceal næfre his torn to rycene
beorn of his breostum acyþan.*

III.

Whale, 69:

*þam þe leaslice lices wyne
ofer ferhtgereahht fremedon on unræd.*

The older explanations of *ofer ferhtgereahht*, "over the soul's direction" (Thorpe, Ettmüller(?), apparently also Grein in the *Sprachschatz*), "über die furcht hinaus gelenkt" (Grein in *Dichtungen der Angelsachsen*) leave too much room for doubt. Might it not be an expression analogous to (*þæt he Wealdende*) *ofer ealde riht* (. . . *bitre gebulge*), *Beow.*, 2330? If so, I propose *ofer ferhte reht*, "contrary to just law." Cf. *he ferhtlic riht folcum demed*, *Par. Ps.*, 95, 10.

The change of *fremedon* to *fremede* (Ettmüller, Grein, Assmann) is not necessary. But the second *on* may possibly owe its existence to a scribal blunder.

IV.

Harrowing of Hell, 70:

*Ic adreag fela,
siþþan þu end to me in siþadest.*

Previous efforts to clear up *end* have been attended with scant success. Grein, who prints *end*, has no other explanation to offer than a fanciful reference to German *eh(e)nder*. Kirkland (pp. 36, 44) seems to follow him. Sievers (*Beitr.*, Vol. IX, p. 263) iden-

tifies *end* with Gothic *andis*, and in his *Grammar* (§ 323) admits an adverb "*end frūher*(?);" but the meaning of *andizuh* (. . . *aipþau*) = ἡ γὰρ (. . . ἡ, *Luke*, 16, 13) is indeed widely removed from "prius." *end* still figures in Cramer's and Assmann's editions; but it has been duly condemned by Cosijn (*Beitr.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 127) and Holthausen (*Anglia-Beiblatt*, Vol. IX, p. 357).

Thorpe's suggestion *in* only serves to emphasize the difficulty.

I propose to read *æne*, "once," calling attention at the same time to *Crist*, 329: *æne on þas eorðan ut siðade*, and *Disc. of Soul*, 55: *syððan ic ana of þe ut siðode*.

Another satisfactory reading, so far as the sense is concerned, would be *sipþan* . . . *ærest* (as in *Beow.*, 6, 1947; *Gen.*, 2775, etc.), and if we are bold enough to substitute the form *æst* (as in *Oros.*, 112, 22; 124, 8; 130, 21; 174, 2; 182, 18; see also *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XVIII, p. 244), the metrical structure would remain absolutely unchanged. But how the scribe chanced upon *end* would not be quite easy to tell.

V.

Juliana, 605:

hine se cwealm ne beah.

Read *him*, as the construction with accusative is incredible. So *Sat.*, 576: *him seo dæd ne geþeah*; *Beow.*, 3058 f. We find that Toller quotes the above passage, adding after *hine* (*him*?). *hine* is kept in all editions and in Simons's Glossary.

VI.

Guðlac, 186:

*Stod seo dygle stow Dryhtne in gemyndum
idel and æmen eþelriehte feor,
bad bisæce betran hyrdes.*

For *bisæce*, which has been doubtfully provided with the conjectural sense of "visit," "coming," *bisæte* may be hazarded: "awaited a better keeper's taking possession of it." The objection that *bisæc* (f.) is an οὐδέποτε λεγόμενον should not be considered fatal, especially in view of (*agan and*) *besittan* = "possidere"

(*Bede*, 96, 20), *gesittan* = "possidere," and the compounds of *-sætan* (*sæte*) "residents."¹

VII.

Riddle, 4, 28:

*þær bið ceole wen
slipre sæcce, gif hine sæ byrð
on þa grimman tid gæsta fulne,
þæt he scyle rice birofen weorþan,
feore bifohten fæmig ridan
yþa hrycgum.*

To dispose of the two difficulties: *rice*, and *feore bifohten*, I conjecture (1) *rince* (cf. *hereri*[*n*]c, *Beow.*, 1176; *swe*[*n*]cte, *ibid.*, 1510; *dru*[*n*]cen, *Mood.*, 12, etc.), to be taken in a collective sense; and (2) *fere bifohten*, i. e., "attacked by danger," since, on the strength of *unbefohten*, "unopposed," "unattacked" (*Byrhtn.*, 57; *OE. Chron.*, A. D. 911), the verb *befeohtan* is plausibly to be credited with the meaning of "attack."

In case we interpret, with Grein and Sweet, *befeohtan* as "deprive of by fighting," *feore bifohten*, "deprived of life," referring to *rince*, would not be an impossible reading.

VIII.

Riddle, 34, 5:

*wæs hio hete grim hilde to sæne,
biter beadoweorca.*

A much-doctored passage—see Thorpe, Ettmüller, Grein, Herzfeld, Assmann. *hilde to sæne* looks at first sight genuine (cf. *Doomsday*, 88; *And.*, 204, etc.), but the context seems to demand exactly the opposite of it. A radical cure might be effected by the substitution of *on wene*: *wæs hio hetegrim, hilde on wene*. Supposing the scribe found in his original the form *wæne* (cf. *wænenssum*, *Bede*, 82, 11; *wæpendre*, *ibid.*, 44, 24; *fædnis*, *ibid.*, 88, 6, etc.; Brown, *Die Sprache der Rushworth Glossen*, Vol. I, § 54; etc.), and confused *s* and *w* (as could easily happen, e. g.,

¹ *Guðl.*, 1051: *edleanan georn*. Why does ASSMANN refuse to embody in his text the obvious correction *edleana*, which GREIN (*Sprachschatz*, see also footnote in his edition) had adopted some forty years ago? Also GOLLANCZ sticks to *edleanan*.

Guðl., 1172: *þa he ædre oncneow | frcan feorhgedal, þæt hit feor ne wæs, | endedogor*. We need not hesitate to remove the comma after *wæs*. Cf. 1139, *nis nu swiþe feor | þam ytemestan endedogor*. For the dat.-instrum. *dogor* see SIEVERS, *Beitr.*, Vol. X, p. 233; *Grammar*, § 289.

sel: wel), this erroneous *sæne* would tempt him to change *on to to. on wenum* with preceding genitive is a rather common phrase; see Grein. I confess that the allusions of the following two lines are not quite clear to me (Dietrich's articles are out of reach). The suprising use of (*heterune*) *bond* instead of *onbond* (*Beow.*, 501) has been noticed by Cosijn.

As to the scansion of l. 5a, see Herzfeld, p. 50.

IX.

Riddle, 49, 1:

*Ic gefrægn fer hæleþum hring [ær]endean (Gr.-Assm.),
 torhtne butan tungan tila [reordian] (Gr.-Assm.),
 þeah he hlude stefne ne cirmde, strongum wordum.*

The corrections to be advocated amount to an emendation of the emended text and, practically, a restoration of the MS version with proper division of the lines. L. 1b should read: *hring ændean* (or *endean*) (a normal verse of the D-type), *ændean* being = *ærndean* = *ærendian* (*erendian*). The form (*ge*)*ærndian*, it seems, was not infrequently used; cf., e. g., *Ine Laws*, 33 (H); *Bede*, 420, 22 (Ca); *Wulfst.*, 20, 19; and the suppression of the *r* may be regarded as a natural process (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Vol. XVIII, p. 244). Though no sure instance of *ændian* has come to light, it is worth while to put the question whether it might not possibly be traced in *Nine Herbs Charm*, 24: *gemyne þu, Mægðe, hwæt þu ameldodest, | hwæt ðu geændadest æt Alorforda*.

The improved version of l. 2b is: *tila þeah he hlude*—a verse similar in structure to 44, 9b; 55, 9b. Thus, at the same time, l. 3 is happily relieved.

X.

Riddle, 54, 10:

*Oft hy an yst strudon
 hord ætgædre.*

In preference to former explanations and emendations (Thorpe, Dietrich, Grein), I venture to read: *oft hy anys (anes) strudon | hord ætgædre*.¹

¹ *Riddle*, 44, 9: *care, gif se esne | his hlaforde hyrð yfte, | frean on fore, ne wile forht wesan | broþor oþrum*. GREIN's explanation of this *forht* as "terribilis" in the *Sprachschatz*

XI.

Fata Ap., 47:

*forþan he ða hæðengild hyran ne wolde,
wig weorðian.*

Why not *herian*? (*herian* > *heran* > *hyran*). Cf. *Beow.*, 180: *metod hie ne cuþon | . . . ne hie huru heofena helm herian ne cuþon*; *ibid.*, 175: *hwilum hie geheton æt hærgtrafum | wig-weorþunga*.

By the way, was not Grein's old conjecture (1857) in *Dan.*, 207: *þæt* (rather *þa*) *þis* [*hæðengyld*] *he[r]gan ne willað*, | *ne þysne wig wurðigean*, though rejected by himself (1864) and later critics (Graz, Cosijn), right after all?

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(so Thorpe, Toller), and his translation "und der Bruder dem andern nicht will unterthänig sein," are open to doubt. It will be better to take *broþor oþrum* as parallel to *ene his hlaforde* and interpret—*ne wile forht wesan*—as a parenthetical clause, "will not live in fear"—a thought well illustrated by the *Discourse of the Soul to the Body*.

GASCOIGNE'S JOCASTA A TRANSLATION FROM THE ITALIAN.

SINCE Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, gave a detailed comparison of Gascoigne's *Jocasta* with Euripides's *Phænissæ*, it has become customary to look upon Gascoigne's play as a translation, or rather adaptation, from the Greek. This was justly contradicted by Morley and Schelling,¹ who referred to Dolce's *Giocasta* as an immediate source. They certainly are right, as can be easily proved. But the old mistake will not disappear from our handbooks of English literature. To mention only two instances, I refer to the new edition of Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, Vol. I (1903), p. 247, where we read "*Jocasta* based on the *Phænissæ* of Euripides," and to Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 169, where, even in the second edition of 1904, *Jocasta* is called "an adaptation of the *Phænissæ* of Euripides."² Under these circumstances it is perhaps worth while to compare the *Dramatis Personæ* and the beginnings of the English, Italian, and Greek dramas with each other and thus to prove by mere juxtaposition that Gascoigne's *Jocasta* (1566) is not an adaptation from Euripides, but a mere literal translation from Lodovico Dolce's *Giocasta* (Venezia, 1541).

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

GASCOIGNE.	DOLCE.	EURIPIDES.
Jocasta	Giocasta	Ἰοκάστη
Seruus, a noble man of the Queenes traine	Seruo	_____
Bailo, gouvernour to the Queenes sonnes	Bailo	Παιδαγωγός
Antygone	Antigone	Ἀντιγόνη
Chorus, foure Thebane dames	Choro di donne Thebane	Χóρος Φοινισσῶν γυναικῶν
Pollynices	Polinice	Πολυνείκης

¹ First of all by J. A. SYMONDS. See his *Shakspeare's Predecessors* (London, 1884), p. 221. [EDS.]

² Cf. also COURTHOPE, *loc. cit.*, p. 168: "Gascoigne . . . adapted a tragedy from the Greek."

GASCOIGNE.	DOLCE.	EURIPIDES.
Eteocles	Eteocle	Ἐτεοκλῆς
Creon	Creonte	Κρέων
Meneceus	Meneceo	Μενουκεύς
Tyresias	Tiresia	Τειρεσίας
<i>Manto</i> , the daughter of Tyresias	<i>Manto</i>	_____
<i>Sacerdos</i> , the sacrificing priest	<i>Sacerdote</i>	_____
Nuntij, three messangers from the campe		Ἄγγελος
Ædipus	Un' altro Nuntio	Ἐτερος ἄγγελος
The Tragedie presented as it were in Thebes	Edippo	Οἰδίππους
	La fauola è rap- resentata in Thebe	

GASCOIGNE, *Jocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 33-53.

Iocasta: Thou knowst what care my carefull father tooke
In wedlockes sacred state to settle me
With Laius, king of this unhappie Thebs
That most unhappie now our Citie is.
Thou knowst how he, desirous still to searche
The hidden secrets of supernall powers,
Vnto Diuines did make his ofte recourse,
Of them to learne when he should haue a sonne
That in his Realme might after him succede:
Of whom receiuing answere sharpe and sowre,
That his owne sonne should worke his wailfull ende,
The wretched king (though all in vayne) did seeke
For to eschew that could not be eschewed;
And so, forgetting lawes of natures loue,
No sooner had this paynfull wombe brought foorth
His eldest sonne to this desired light,
But straight he charged a trustie man of his
To beare the childe into a desert wood,
And leaue it there for Tigers to deuoure.

Seruus: O lucklesse babe, begot in wofull houre!

Iocasta: His seruant, thus obedient to his hest,

L. DOLCE, *Giocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 30-50.¹

Giocasta: Tu sai, quanta uaghezza hebbe mio padre
Di legarmi con nodo di mogliera
A Laio Re de l'infelice Thebe:

¹"*Giocasta*. | Tragedia di | M. Lodovico | Dolce | [vignette of Aldi filii] | In Vinegia,
M.D.XLIX."

Ch' infelice ben è la città nostra
 Et sai, si come il mio nouello sposo
 Bramoso di saper quel ch' era occulto,
 Ricorse a gli indouini; e intender uolse,
 Quando di me nascesse alcun figliuolo,
 Qual di lui fosse la futura forte.
 Onde hauendo risposta amara & aspra,
 Che dal proprio figliuol sarebbe ucciso,
 Cercò il misero Re (ma cercò in uano)
 Di fuggir quel, che non potea fuggirsi.
 Quinci sbandita ogni pietà natia,
 Poi, che 'l peso meschin di questo uentre
 Ne la luce mortal aperse gli occhi;
 Commisse a un seruo suo piu d' altri fido,
 Che lo portasse entro una selua oscura,
 Et lasciasse il figliuol cibo a le Fere.

Seruo: Infelice bambin nato in mal punto.

Giocasta: Il seruo insieme obediente & pio

EURIPIDES, *Phœnissæ*, ll. 12-25.

Ἰοκάστη (alone): Καλοῦσι δ' Ἰοκάστην με — τοῦτο γὰρ πατήρ
 ἔθετο — γαμῇ δὲ Λαῖός μ' · ἐπεὶ δ' ἄπαις
 ἦν χρόνια λέκτρα τᾶμ' ἔχων ἐν δώμασιν,
 ἐλθὼν ἐρωτᾷ Φοῖβον, ἐξατεῖ θ' ἅμα
 παίδων ἐς οἴκου ἀρσένων κοινωνίαν.
 ὁ δ' εἶπεν · ὦ Θήβαισιν εὐίποισι ἄναξ,
 μὴ σπείρε τέκνων ἄλοκα δαιμόνων βία.
 εἰ γὰρ τεκνώσεις παῖδ', ἀποκτενεῖ σ' ὁ φύς,
 καὶ πᾶς σὸς οἶκος βήσεται δι' αἵματος.
 ὁ δ' ἠδονῇ δοὺς ἔς τε βακχείον πεσῶν
 ἔσπειρεν ἡμῖν παῖδα, καὶ σπείρας τάλας
 γνοὺς τ' ἀμπλάκημα τοῦ θεοῦ τε τὴν φάτιν
 λειμῶν' ἐς Ἥρας καὶ Κιθαιρώνος λέπας
 δίδωσι βουκόλοισιν ἐκθῆναι βρέφος.

Perhaps still more convincing is the following beginning of the first scene, where we have nothing in the Greek play to compare at all:

GASCOIGNE, *Jocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 1-19.

Jocasta: O Faithful seruant of mine auncient sire,
 Though vnto thee sufficiently be knowne
 The whole discourse of my recurelesse grieve,
 By seeing me from Princes royall state
 Thus basely brought into so great contempt,

As mine own sonnes repine to heare my plaint,
 Now of a Queene but barely bearing name,
 Seyng this towne, seing my fleshe and bloude,
 Against it selfe to leuie threatening armes,
 (Whereof to talke my heart it rendes in twaine)
 Yet once againe I must to thee recompte
 The wailefull thing that is already spred,
 Bicause I know that pitie will compell
 Thy tender hart more than my naturall childe
 With ruthfull teares to mone my mourning case.

Seruus: My gracious Queene, as no man might surmount
 The constant faith I beare my souraine Lorde,
 So doe I thinke, for loue and trustie zeale,
 No Sonne you haue doth owe you more than I.

L. DOLCE, *Giocasta*, Act I, scene 1, ll. 1-18.

Giocasta: Caro gia del mio padre antico seruo,
 Benche nota ti sia l' historia a pieno
 D' i miei graui dolor, d' i miei martiri:
 Pur da l' alto et Real stato di prima
 Veggendomi condotta a tal bassezza,
 Che 'l mio propio figliuol sdegna ascoltarmi;
 Ne tengo di Reina altro, che 'l nome;
 Et ueggo la cittade e 'l sangue mio
 L' arme pigliar contra 'l suo stesso sangue;
 Perche si sfoga ragionando il core,
 T ti uo raccontar quel ch' è palese:
 Però ch' io sò, che de le pene mie,
 Pietà souente a lagrimar ti moue,
 Et piu che i figli miei ne senti affanno.

Seruo: Reina, come me non uinse alcuno
 In seruir fedelmente il mio signore:
 Così i credo, che alcuno in amar uoi
 De' figli uostri non mi passa auanti.

Lodovico Dolce seems to have been well known to the Elizabethans. Thomas Lodge, too, introduced several "sonnets, written in imitation of Dolce the Italian," into his *Margarite of America*.¹

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¹"A Magarite of | America | By T. Lodge | Printed for John Busbie, and are to be | sold
 in S. Dunstons [sic!] church-yard in | Fleet-street, at the little shop | next Cliffords Inne.
 1596."

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DIE AUDIENZ BEIM FÜRSTEN.

GESCHICHTE EINES LITERARISCHEN MOTIVS.

UNSERE Zeit überschätzt, wie keine frühere, die Originalität in der Erfindung; und gerade deshalb wird das Publikum periodisch durch die Nachricht von unheimlichen Druckdiebstählen erschreckt. Was hat der Italiener *Giuriati* in seinem grossen Werk *Il Plagio* nicht alles zu erzählen gewusst von Plagiaten zumal der Franzosen und Italiener—dieser beiden Nationen zu—meist, weil er die andern weniger kannte! Und handelt es sich hier um kleine Zwangsanleihen, um Motive, Typen, Situationen, die einem Erfinder von kecken Nacherfindern entwandt sein sollen, so schwelgt unsere Zeit auch in der Vorstellung gewaltigeren Gedankenraubs. Da soll Helmholtz dem Robert Mayer oder Joule, Nietzsche gar dem Max Stirner die Grundgedanken entnommen haben; Lessing und Leibniz werden als Hehler angeklagt, deren Schriften ein ganzes Lager angeeigneter Gedanken darstellen, und andererseits sollen Giordano Bruno, ja Gottsched die eigentlichen Thäter der geistigen Thaten ganzer Jahrhunderte sein, von denen sie stillschweigend ausgebeutet worden wären!

In all dem liegen ungeheuerliche Uebertreibungen. Das Stehlen ist gar nicht so leicht, wie man sich im Publikum vorstellt; wenn auch nicht geläugnet werden soll, welche Meisterschaft in dieser Kunst manche Dichter—und manche Kritiker, manche Gelehrten—und manche “Denker” früherer und neuerer Epochen an den Tag gelegt haben. Der alte *Goethe* hat schon in einem herrlichen Aufsatz “Meteore des literarischen Himmels” auf gewisse

immer wiederkehrende und doch immer wieder falsch gedeutete Erscheinungen in der literarischen Welt hingewiesen: wie irrig leicht besonders die Jugend entdeckt zu haben glaubt, was schon unsere Altvordern wussten; wie schwer Benutzung und Ausbeutung zu unterscheiden sind. Und er bemerkt:

Wir müssen den bildenden Künstler in Schutz nehmen, welcher nicht verdient, Plagiarier genannt zu werden, wenn er schon vorhandene, gebrauchte, ja bis auf einen gewissen Grad gesteigerte Motive nochmals behandelt. Die Menge, die einen falschen Begriff von Originalität hat, glaubt ihn deshalb tadeln zu dürfen, anstatt dass er höchlich zu loben ist, wenn er irgend etwas schon vorhandenes auf einen höheren, ja den höchsten Grad der Bearbeitung bringt.

Indess, wie wir sehen, hängt diese Verteidigung an einem "Wenn." Und das eben ist das Schlimme an den wahren Plagiatoren, dass sie das Vorhandene nicht steigern, sondern herunterbringen. *Jeremias Gotthelf*, der Schweizer Realist, schreibt eine prächtige kleine Bauerngeschichte; *Mosenthal*, der Effecthascher, macht ein widerwärtig sentimentales Theaterstück daraus. Wie lächerlich sehen die Nachbildungen des *Schillerschen* Posa, wie hohl die Nachäffungen seines grossen Stils bei kleinen Nachahmern aus!

Sieht man nun aber auf die Literatur im Grossen, so verliern solche Phänomene den Charakter des Vereinzelten, Zufälligen. Nur wenige Motive, Figuren, Situationen giebt es überhaupt, und immer wieder werden sie von dem Genie "auf einen höheren Grad der Bearbeitung gebracht," von dem Talent auf dem alten Stand gelassen, von dem Pfuscher ruinirt. Wie die unendliche Erscheinungsfülle der physischen Welt aus zahllosen Combinationen weniger Elemente sich aufbaut, so sind auch in der Dichtung der Erfindung enge Schranken gesetzt und über eine begränzte Zahl von Combinationen vermag auch das phantastische Genie des grössten Dichters, ja der ganzen Zeit und der ganzen Nation nicht hinweg zu gelangen.

Wir greifen ein einzelnes Motiv heraus, um nicht etwa in vollständiger Uebersicht — das wäre vergebliches Unterfangen — nein, nur in einer kurzen Auswahl charakteristischer Behandlungen, vorzugsweise aus der neueren deutschen Dichtung, zu zeigen, wie

unvermeidlich es sich eindrängte, aufdrängte, vordrängte, wie wenig Originalität der Erfindung es genialen Poeten liess—und wie viel Individualität in der Bearbeitung es dennoch gestattete!

Menschen und zwar wieder in ihren Beziehungen zu Menschen sind und bleiben ewig der Hauptgegenstand aller Dichtung. Diese Beziehungen sind nun aber in zwiefacher Hinsicht zu betrachten: als äusserliche und innerliche Verhältnisse. Unter dem letzteren Gesichtspunkte stehen wir uns gegenüber als Freunde oder Feinde, Gegner oder Bundesgenossen, Liebende oder Verscämähte. Aeussere Beziehungen sind die der Verwandtschaft: Eltern und Kinder, Geschwister; des Alters: Greis und Jüngling, Altersgenossen; der staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Ordnung: Priester und Laie, Feldherr und Soldat, Fürst und Unterthan. Als "Naturformen des Menschenlebens" hat *Victor Hehn* in einem schönen Aufsatz sie durch *Goethes* Dichtungen verfolgt. Sie sind ewig, wenn auch natürlich mit den wechselnden Formen des Alters der Abstand etwa zwischen Herr und Diener, die Innigkeit etwa der Liebe, die Macht der Eltern, das Ansehen der Familie wechselt. Und ihre Zahl ist beschränkt, beschränkt selbst wenn wir alle Variationen z. B. des Liebesverhältnisses als selbständige Formen zählen.

Diese Beziehungen spielen in der Literatur durchwegs alle die gleiche Rolle. Der Wichtigkeit des Liebesverhältnisses kommt in der Poesie keine zweite auch nur entfernt gleich; obwohl in der Wirklichkeit fast jede andere für das Leben der Menschen entscheidender ist als sie. Auch der Gegenpol der Liebe, der Hass, fehlt keiner Epoche, mag er nur in urwüchsigen Kriegsliedern auftauchen, oder in heissen Gemeindegesängen, oder in moderner Agitationsdichtung. Dagegen fehlt die Beziehung zwischen Fürst und Diener langen Perioden der Dichtung fast ganz—als selbständiges poetisches Motiv nämlich. Die einfache ruhige Unterordnung erscheint manchen Epochen so selbstverständlich, dass sie dieser Beziehung einen dichterischen Reiz nicht abzugewinnen wussten: der Herr befiehlt, der Diener thut's—was ist da weiter zu sagen?

Ein Gegensatz zwischen dem Vorgesetzten und dem Untergebenen muss sich aufthun, um in diesem Verhältniss die Span-

nung aufzuwecken, die literarisch fruchtbar wird. Zeiten in denen das Verhältniss lebhaft empfunden und lebhaft als drückend empfunden wird, sind vor allem Blütezeiten dieses Themas.

Je schärfer nun diese Spannung gefühlt wird, desto unbedingter fordert sie energischen Ausdruck. Sie schafft sich grosse Typen, die nicht mehr einfach den Herrscher und den Unterthan ausdrücken, sondern in dem Herrscher zugleich das Prinzip der Ueberordnung, in dem Unterthan das der Auflehnung verkörpern. Die Standesrepräsentanten werden gleichzeitig Vertreter eines ewigen, aber oft latenten Gegensatzes: die herkömmliche legitime Herrschergewalt, das sich aufbäumende revolutionäre Freiheitsbedürfniss; hie historisches, hie natürliches Recht.

Und ist die Spannung so weit gediehen, so verlangt sie prägnanten Ausdruck auch in der Situation. Die beiden Typen müssen sich Aug in Auge gegenüberstehen, sie allein, sie aber auch in freier Aussprache. Als etwas Neues, Unerwartetes muss der Vertreter der neuen Anschauungen dem der ererbten Vorrechte gegenübertreten. So entsteht mit innerer Notwendigkeit jenes dankbare und fruchtbare Motiv, das wir "Die Audienz beim Fürsten" nennen, und dessen Eigenart wir mit hinreichender Deutlichkeit umschrieben zu haben glauben.—

Goethe nennt einmal die Bibel und die Antike die beiden grossen "Erbschaften" die die moderne Menschheit angetreten hat; und so denn auch insbesondere die neuere Dichtung. Und unser Motiv fehlt den beiden grossen Erblasserinnen nicht; doch tritt es in charakteristisch verschiedener Form auf.

Der *Bibel* wie dem Orient überhaupt ist das Verhältniss zwischen Herr und Diener so selbstverständlich, dass die Situation nirgends poetisch fruchtbar wird. Wie oft sehen wir den Unterthanen vor dem Herrscher und in der gefährlichsten Lage; es mag an Posa vor Philipp erinnern, wenn der Prophet Nathan dem König David ins Gewissen redet (Sam. 12), an Nathan vor Saladin, wenn Elia dem Ahab den wahren Gott verkündet (1 Kön. 18). Aber weder hier noch da treffen wir eine Spur jener social-psychologischen Vertiefung, die uns in dem Motiv zu liegen scheint. Freilich sind die Propheten kaum Unterthanen: als Gottes Boten kommen sie, und so treten sie fast als die Höheren

den Fürsten der Welt gegenüber. Aber wenn Joseph vor dem Pharaö, Daniel vor Nebukadnezar gefährliche Träume deuten wollen—sie fühlen, dass sie in die Hand des Mächtigeren gegeben sind als selbstverständlich; nichts spricht in ihnen von jener Empörung, die den Diener dem Herrn furchtbar macht. Ein natürliches Verhältniss ist es, natürlich auch, wo es scheinbar erschüttert wird. Denn wie das Kind gelegentlich den unwiderstehlichen Reiz des Ungehorsams empfindet, den Stachel fühlt, der es bis zum Aeussersten trotzen lässt, obwohl es sich dabei seiner Unterordnung wohl bewusst bleibt, so reizt auch im Orient den Diener plötzlich ein verwegener Schritt zu herausforderndem Ungehorsam, zu tollkühnem Hohn. Unter der Ueberschrift "Gegenwirkung" hat der Dichter des West-Oestlichen Divan das in den "Noten und Abhandlungen" herrlich erläutert:

Wie grenzenlos hartnäckig und widersetzlich Günstlinge sich gegen den Kaiser betrogen, wird uns von glaubwürdigen Geschichtsschreibern anekdotenweise überliefert. Der Monarch ist wie das Schicksal unerbittlich, aber man trotzt ihm.

Wo Orient und Hellenenthum sich berühren, fand dies merkwürdige psychologische Phänomen seine klassische Ausgestaltung in der Erzählung von Alexander dem Grossen und seinem Günstling Clitus. Aber selbst von dergleichen finden wir in der Bibel keine Spur. Das Buch Esther ist Späteren zu einer Fundgrube psychologischer Motive geworden, die sie aus dem Gegenüber von Fürst und Diener oder Dienerin schöpften; aber in seiner ursprünglichen Form verliert es kein Wort über die Wirkung der Schicksalswandlungen Esthers und Hamans. Nichts von all dem, was *Grillparzers* psychologischer Tiefsinn in die Fabel legte, steht bei dem alten Erzähler, der einfach seine Legende vorträgt von den wunderbaren Wegen, die Gottes Weisheit zur Errettung seines Volkes wählte. Esther wird durch ihre Gunst beim König sein Werkzeug, wie Joseph oder Esra; auf die Handlung kommt es an, und jene Situation ist eine beliebige Station auf dem Wege.

An anderer Stelle müssen wir suchen, wenn wir in der Bibel unser Motiv finden wollen: den Diener allein dem Herrn gegenüber, ihm seine geheime Empörung in kühner Rede offenbarend. Ein höherer Fürst ist es, dem sie entgegengeschleudert wird.

Adam hat gesündigt und Gott wandelt im Garten und ruft ihn an; und trotzig-verzagt antwortet der erste Mensch: "Das Weib, das du mir zugestellt hast, gab mir von dem Baum und ich ass." Dem Herrn schiebt er die Schuld zu. Und wieder: Kain hat Abel getödtet, und Gott befragt ihn; und wieder hören wir eine trotzig-verzagte Antwort: "Soll ich meines Bruders Hüter sein?" Der erste Mensch und sein Sohn der erste Mörder — eine neue Generation der Geschöpfe wächst mit ihnen auf, nicht voll demüthiger Unterwerfung wie die Engel und die Thiere des Paradieses, nein mit dem Keim der Empörung im Herzen. Und diese Stimmung verkörpern jene kurzen packenden Zwiegespräche des Schöpfers mit seinem Geschöpf: zum ersten Mal wird hier die Spannung sichtbar, die Herrn und Diener trennt, wird sie sichtbar im erregten Moment, da beide sich allein gegenüberstehen, Rechenschaft heischend der eine von dem andern. Und es liegt in jenen fragmentarischen Dialogen, dem ersten zumal, im Keim schon das Zwiegespräch Satans mit Gott im Buch Hiob, die Audienz eines zwischen Trotz und Unterwürfigkeit schwankenden Vasallen vor seinem Lehnsherrn, die *Goethe* im Vorspiel seines "Faust," die dämonische Psychologie tiefer ausschöpfend, erneut hat.

Im hellenischen Alterthum dagegen tritt das Motiv rein und häufig auf; wie ja darin nicht zum wenigsten die Grösse der griechischen Kunst besteht, dass sie rein und klar zu Tage liegend zeigt, was anderwärts mit Schlacken und unreinem Metall vermischt ist. Mannigfache Variationen bietet es dar: der weise Solon, der dem übermütigen Krösus die Vergänglichkeit seiner Pracht vorhersagt; Polyxenes, der lieber in den furchtbaren Steinbrüchen zum zweiten Mal schmachten als des Dionys schlechte Verse loben will (Boileau zog sich geschickter aus der Affaire als ihm Ludwig XIV. ein Gedicht vorlegte: Ew. Majestät, sagte er, ist nichts unmöglich — Sie wollten schlechte Verse machen, und es ist Ihnen trefflich gelungen.) Und noch deutlicher, zu deutlich sogar wird der Gegensatz zweier Weltanschauungen in der berühmten Audienz dargestellt, die eigentlich Diogenes in seiner Tonne dem Weltherrscher Alexander erteilt: "Geh mir aus der Sonne." Ueberall ist die Tendenz die gleiche: der freie Geist

des einfachen Mannes beschämt den Prunk des Fürsten. Aber ein wichtiger Punkt fehlt in diesen Beispielen: es sind, wenigstens bei Solon und Diogenes fremde Herrscher, denen die Wahrheit gesagt wird; wie denn auch geschichtlich Aehnliches sich wiederholt hat, als Platon bei dem halbbarbarischen Makedonierfürsten weilte, um Staatsweisheit zu verkünden. Noch unmittelbarer aber bringen hohe Tragödien das Motiv zum Ausdruck. Antigone rechtfertigt in einer grossartigen Redescene ihren persönlich begründeten Ungehorsam vor ihrem Herrscher Kreon, und sie stirbt als Opfer ihrer Auflehnung. Und an jene biblischen Empörungsdialoge gemahnt die hohe Macht des Prometheus, dieses "Lucifer" im eigentlichen Wortsinn, der stolz und stark wie Miltons Satan sein Recht vor dem Selbstherrscher vertritt—so gewaltig, dass noch *Goethe* den ergreifenden Ausdruck neueren Titanenthums an diesem Feuer entzünden konnte.

Aber dann geht jene Freiheit des Geistes, die bei den Hellenen die erste Blütezeit unseres Gegenstandes gezeitigt hatte, in Barbarei und Sklaverei unter und langsam taucht die ganze Welt aufs Neue in die Demut des Morgenlandes: Byzantinismus nennen wir noch heute diese willige Sklaverei nach der Stadt, die den Occident von neuem dem Orient unterwarf. Der Unterthan, der dem Fürsten die Wahrheit sagt, ist wieder nur als höflicher Günstling denkbar. So erscheint schon Kineas an der Seite des Pyrrhus fast wie eine Parodie des Solon neben Krösus; und bald sinkt der Unterthan, der so viel wagt, zum Hofnarren herab und begegnet so in zahllosen Metamorphosen: Morolf im mittelalterlichen Volksbuch, der Salomons Weisheit mit grobem Mutterwitz zu Schanden macht; Neidhart von Reuenthal, der höfische Sänger, der der Herzogin und ihrer sentimentalen Feinheit böse Streiche spielen darf; Maitre François Villon, den Rabelais dem wilden König Heinrich VIII. von England so grobe Hohnreden ins Gesicht werfen lässt; Taubmann, der gelehrte Professor, der für ein paar Gulden am Hof des sächsischen Kurfürsten den modernisirten Neidhart spielt.

Oder es wird eine andere Form gewählt, damit der bedrückte Unterthan sein Herz vor dem mächtigen Fürsten erleichtern kann: dieser wird seines Glanzes entkleidet und schleicht incognito um-

her, um die Wahrheit zu hören, ein Harun Al Raschid, wie der Landgraf von Thüringen in Ruhla, als der Schmied auf den Amboss schlug: "Landgraf, werde hart!" oder wie in mancher Sage der verjagte entthronte Fürst, der bittere Wahrheit zu kosten bekommt.

In allen diesen Fällen aber können wir von einer "Audienz" kaum sprechen: es fehlt die prägnante Gegenüberstellung des in Macht und Glanz gekleideten Herrschers und seines in bewusster Verteidigung anderer Rechte redenden Unterthanen. Da die Spannung fehlt, mangelt die Entladung. Der Abstand der Stände ist wieder zu gross geworden; zu unmittelbar wird er als gottgewollt, als unabänderlich empfunden. Und als wieder ein Mann auftritt, der stark und tapfer vor Kaiser und Reich sein eigenes Recht verteidigt, Martin Luther, da thut er es im Sinne jener alttestamentlichen Propheten: nicht als Karls V. Unterthan fühlt er sich in Worms, sondern als Diener Gottes.

Und so dauert durch lange Zeit die alte Art fort. In der gesteigerten idealistischen Poesie wird die Tradition der biblischen Propheten oder der hellenischen Weisen fortgeführt: so stehen die Helden der Tragödien Corneilles und Voltaires vor ihren Königen. Gelegentlich nur begegnet der Versuch, die Situation dadurch umzugestalten, dass gegen alle literarische Ueberlieferung die höhere Weisheit und das bessere Recht auf Seiten des Fürsten ist: so in Corneilles berühmtem "*Soyons amis, Cinna!*" das Augustus dem Empörer zuruft. Und in der schlichteren Dichtung ahmt man die Lebensgewohnheiten nach: wie selbst der finstere Philipp II. von Spanien seine Hofnarren hat, so fehlen sie auch nicht bei Calderon und Lope, und König Lear hat den seinen gerade wie der ernste Oliver Cromwell. Und hier kommen Annäherungen an die vollere Gestalt des Motivs vor, wie in dem grandiosen "Richter von Zalamea," wo aber doch der König nicht als Partei auftritt, sondern als Gerichtsherr über den Parteien.

Mit dem unerschütterlichen Respect vor dem Machthaber ist auch die bildende Kunst erfüllt, die den dankbaren Contrast von Pracht und Schlichtheit jetzt gern darzustellen übernimmt und ihn auch psychologisch vertieft. Ich erinnere nur an das be-

rühmte typische Gemälde *Coypels* im Louvre, wo Esther im Anblick der Pracht des Ahasverus in Ohnmacht fällt. Welch ein Weg von hier bis zu *Burne-Jones'* König Kophetua, wo umgekehrt der Fürst vor der Schönheit der ärmlich gekleideten Bettlerin in bewegungslos andächtige Bewunderung versinkt!

Aber allmählich ändert sich die Sachlage. Von England fliegt ein neuer Geist über Frankreich nach Deutschland. Lang ehe die Revolution die Formel prägt, ward "Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit" das Losungswort der Aufklärer. Lang ehe *Schiller* "Mannesstolz vor Fürstenthronen" forderte, verhandelte *Voltaire* mit Friedrich II. und gar *Diderot* mit Katharina von Russland fast wie ein Gleicher mit Gleichem. Freilich, für den deutschen Dichter war die Zeit noch nicht gekommen, da (wieder nach Schillers Wort) der Dichter mit dem König gehen sollte. Wandelte die philosophische Königin Sophie Charlotte mit dem höfisch gewandten Leibniz in nachdenklicher Disputation im Schlossgarten, so bekamen *Gottsched* und *Gellert* von ihrem Enkel, dem grossen Friedrich, noch den ganzen Abstand zwischen dem Fürsten und dem armen "Weltweisen" zu kosten. Der Freund *Voltaires* sprach freundlich mit den beiden gefeierten Universitätslehrern, den Führern der damaligen deutschen Literatur, aber doch recht sehr von oben herab. Tiefe Wahrheiten ihm zu verkünden hätte solch ein Sohn des 18. Jahrhunderts nie wagen dürfen; war es doch schon viel gewagt, dass ein dritter gefeierter Schriftsteller, *Rabener*, aus patriotischen Gründen sich vor dem König zu erscheinen weigerte.

Und dennoch waren diese ersten beiden berühmten Dichteraudienzen die Vorläufer zu den nicht minder charakteristischen Begegnungen *Goethes* mit Napoleon und *Herweghs* mit Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Nicht mit Unrecht hat in der Zeit, in der die Literaturkomödien im Schwang waren, der Dichter der "Karlsschüler," *Heinrich Laube*, auch ein Schauspiel "Gottsched und Gellert" verfasst, in dem freilich die beiden Dichter (wenn man denn Gottsched so nennen will; und nach der neuesten Offenbarung musste er ja mit mehr Recht als Goethe so heissen!) nur vor dem Prinzen Heinrich von Preussen erscheinen. Eine Audienz vor dem Fürsten ist doch auch dies, und auch hier vertreten die beiden Unter-

thanen vor dem fremden Machthaber das höhere Recht. Das that auch *Gellert*, als er vor dem Verfasser der Schrift "de la littérature allemande" für die deutsche Dichtkunst eintrat; aber wie zaghaft that er es, wie zweifelte noch der einfache Bürger, ob er vor einem Regenten überhaupt ein Recht habe. Der König, der ihn berief, dachte höher von seinen Aussprüchen, als er es selber wagte.

Aber schliesslich erreicht jene Welle gesteigerten Selbstbewusstseins auch die deutschen Dichter. Wenn *Claudius* in populärer Frömmigkeit und gefälliger Kunst sie vorzuführen, Gellerts Nachfolger war, so liess er doch seinen Weltweisen vor einem Herrscher viel männlicher sprechen: aber allerdings war es eine fingirte Audienz in der Asmus vor dem—Kaiser von Japan so recht frei von der Leber weg sprach. Aber schon war der Mann da, der dem Motiv für die deutsche Dichtung wenigstens dauernde Gestalt und Geltung gewinnen sollte.

Wenn *Lessing* seinen Nathan vor Saladin stehen lässt, so liegt die Situation von der des guten Asmus scheinbar gar nicht so weit ab. Auch hier orientalische Umgebung, auch hier allgemeine Wahrheiten, auch hier kein furchtbarer Gewaltherrscher, sondern ein milder humaner, für Humor empfänglicher Regent. Dennoch liegt eine Welt zwischen beiden. Bei dem Wandsbecker Boten haben wir ein gemüthliches Spiel des Witzes, eine Maskerade ungefährlicher Wahrheiten; bei Lessings Figur die leidenschaftliche Aussprache innerster Ueberzeugung, in leichter Verhüllung die gefährliche Verkündigung der Meinungen, für die der Dichter des "Nathan" kämpfte und litt—und starb.

Es ist bekannt, dass jene Situation den Kern bildet, aus dem *Lessings* Meisterdrama erwuchs. Und das brauchen wir hier nicht auszuführen, wie der Dichter altes Gut erneuerte. Schon *Boccaccio* hatte von der Audienz erzählt, in der ein kluger Jude durch eine gewandte Erzählung sich aus der Verlegenheit zog; aber sein Geschichtchen hat nichts von dem Geist, den die Anekdoten von hellenischen Weisen vor Barbarenfürsten athmen. Diesen dagegen steht Lessings Behandlung nahe; wie Solon vor Krösus, wie Diogenes vor Alexander steht ein weiser Mann vor einem edlen Herrscher und beschämt den Frager, der ihn zu be-

schämen gedachte. Ja, es ist von dieser Analogie mehr als gut in der Situation: wie Saladin den Nathan in die Falle lockt, das sieht einem Barbaren ähnlicher als dem milden Fürsten der Aufklärungszeit, dessen Typus sonst Sultan Saladin vertritt.

Dann aber in der grossen Scene selbst erreicht das literarische Motiv seine höchste Höhe. Frei und gross stehen sich der Fürst und der Weise gegenüber, schwungvoll entwickelt der Unterthan die Weisheit einer neuen Zeit und in freudiger Zustimmung bekennt der Herrscher sich überwunden. Der Conflict, der einen Augenblick mit tragischem Ausgang droht, geht in einer Versöhnung auf, die beide Parteien über sich selbst hebt; und wenn Nathan hier zugleich etwas von den Propheten des Alten Bundes und den Weisen von Hellas hat, so vereinigt Saladin mit der Gesetzesstrenge des Koran etwas von göttlicher Milde.

Kein Wunder, dass diese herrliche Scene "Schule macht;" die künstlerisch vollendetste und die moralisch erbauendste blieb sie dennoch unter allen Behandlungen des Motivs. Es fehlte ja in jener Zeit, zumal im lebhaften Roman und vorher nicht an Versuchen, dem Verlangen der neuen Zeit durch den Mund solcher Redner vor Königsthronen Ausdruck zu geben. In *Hallers* philosophischen Romanen fehlt der "redliche Mann am Hofe," der auch seinem Fürsten die Wahrheit sagt, so wenig wie bei manchem Populärphilosophen; und 1773, sechs Jahre vor dem "Nathan," hatte *Wieland* im "Agathon" (um W. Bölsches Ausdruck zu gebrauchen) "den Philosophen zum Regenten treten lassen, um ihn zum Menschenfreund zu machen"—was ja auch Nathan und Posa wollen. Aber überall war der Weise am Thron nur das Sprachrohr eines wohlwollenden Pädagogen, der bestimmte Ideen durch seinen Deputirten der Hoheit übermittelt; erst bei *Lessing* sprach eine lebensvolle Gestalt die innerste Ueberzeugung einer Generation aus—und mass sie an der älterer machthabender Generationen.

Bei *Goethe*, der die Situation oft hat, steht sie nie in so hellem Licht. Er war von unsern Dichtern der einzige, dem Umgang und Gespräch mit den Grossen der Erde eine alltägliche Erfahrung war—ohne freilich je für ihn an Reiz zu verlieren. Audienz ertheilte Kaiser Max im "Götz," Iphigenie berichtet

dem Thoas ihre Vergangenheit, vor Alfons von Ferrara tragen Tasso und Antonio ihre Angelegenheiten vor, und Faust steht am Kaiserhof; nirgends aber handelt es sich hierum den typischen Gegensatz von Herr und Diener. Viel näher steht dem eine andere Situation: Egmont vor Alba. Wohl sehen wir hier einen vornehmeren Herrn vor einem andern, der nur Bevollmächtigter eines Herrschers ist; aber doch kommt es gerade hier zur Aussprache der typischen Gegensätze. Die Legitimität, das Recht der Macht, die Gewalt des Befehls vertritt Alba; Egmont wird zum Sachwalter der Sehnsucht nach Freiheit, Unabhängigkeit, Selbstbestimmung. Auch das teilt die grosse Scene mit manchen ihrer Verwandten, dass die Freude an grossen Antithesen über das dramaturgische Interesse des Augenblicks weit herauswächst. Dennoch gehört sie zu den Nebenformen und liegt nicht auf dem grossen Wege der Entwicklung unseres Motivs.

Auf diesem ist die nächste Stufe die neben der Scene Nathans berühmteste Einzelszene der deutschen Bühne: Posa vor König Philipp. *Schiller*, dessen zu Abstractionen geneigter Sinn Antithesen solcher Art überhaupt liebte (ich habe dahingehörende Verse schon citirt: "Es soll der Dichter mit dem König gehen," "Männerstolz vor Königsthronen!") hat fast in jedem Drama eine Scene, die sich irgendwie als eine Variante des Audienzmotivs darstellt. Wie Fiesco mit Andrea Doria spricht, der Musiker Miller mit dem Präsidenten und (revolutionärer noch) der Kammerdiener mit Lady Milford—da sehen wir überall den Unterthan vor dem Machthaber sein Recht geltend machen und zugleich im Namen vieler das Herkömmliche erschüttern. Mit rhetorischem Glanz umgeben sich spätere Audienzscenen: die Jungfrau von Orleans vor König Karl, die Chorführer vor der Fürstin von Messina, und vor allem Maria Stuart vor Elisabeth, Tell vor Gessler. Die äusseren Beziehungen wechseln: einmal spricht eine gefangene Königin vor einer andern Herrscherin, das andere Mal ein einfacher Bauer vor einem Tyrann der wie Alba im "Egmont" nur Bevollmächtigter eines Fürsten ist. Noch mehr wechseln die inneren Beziehungen: Jeanne d'Arc die Retterin, Maria Stuart die Verschwörerin. Aber überall wird ein

Naturrecht vor dem Gesetzesrecht geltend gemacht: das Recht der göttlichen Inspiration, des einfach gehorsamen Lebens, das Recht der Nothwehr gegen die Macht; und überall erscheint dies Recht als das höhere und siegreiche, nicht am wenigsten da, wo es einmal (in der "Jungfrau") die Legitimität nicht angreift, sondern stützt. Endlich gipfelt Schillers letztes fragmentarische Werk in einer berühmten Scene dieses Typus: Demetrius vor dem Reichstag, dem Collectiv-Fürsten von Polen, wobei freilich nicht gegen diesen, sondern gegen den abwesenden Inhaber der Macht in Russland für das angeborene Recht des Prätendenten plädirt wird. Und damit fällt diese Scene aus der Reihe heraus, dass wirklich nur um die persönlichen Ansprüche eines Einzelnen gekämpft wird und Demetrius nicht als Repräsentant ganzer Classen dasteht, wie der Kammerdiener und der Musikus, wie Wilhelm Tell, ja wie auch Jeanne d'Arc und Maria Stuart, das heroische Landmädchen und die resignirte Königin, wirksame Gebilde von tragischem Begehren und tragischem Verzichten.

Durchaus spricht dagegen der Marquis von Posa als Vertreter Ungezählter, als Repräsentant auch derer, die da kommen werden. Niemals hat man verkannt, niemals konnte man verkennen, dass er der Anwalt einer ganzen fordernden, neue Rechte verfechtenden Generation ist; den Vorläufer der grossen girondistischen Conventsredner hat man ihn genannt. Gerade das politische Interesse, das in dieser Figur sich verkörpert, hat den "Don Carlos" von einem Familiengemälde in ein historisches Drama und dann in ein politisches gewandelt.¹ Er war zunächst einfach der Vertraute des Prinzen, wie etwa Aspermonte in *Leisewitz* von Schiller stark benutztem "Julius von Tarent;"² er wird zum Vorkämpfer der politischen Ideale der Zeit.³ Möglich, dass direktere Vorbilder benutzt sind, Fürsprecher des politischen Umschwunges in zeitgenössischen Schriften; sicher aber ist, dass *Schiller* seine eigenen Ueberzeugungen zum Ausdruck brachte — und dabei literarischen Mustern folgte.

Nur zufällig zwar, und keineswegs tiefreichend, sind die Aehnlichkeiten mit der fast genau gleichzeitig entstandenen Egmont-Scene, die wir besprochen und auf die in diesem Zusammenhang

¹ Vgl. MINOR, *Schiller*, 2, 542.

² *Ibid.*, S. 560.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 563.

*J. Minor*¹ hinweist. Unzweifelhaft aber ist die dort entdeckte Abhängigkeit der Scene von der des Nathan:

Diese Situation erinnert zunächst deutlich an Lessings Nathan, in welchem der Weise gleichfalls vor den Thron citirt und um Rat gefragt wird. Saladin und Don Philipp sind beide hilfsbedürftig; der eine bedarf des Geldes, der andere der "Wahrheit." Beide erhalten von dem Weisen mehr als sie verlangt haben. Um die Gleichberechtigung der Religionen handelt es sich dort, um die Gedankenfreiheit hier. Die Monologe, in welchen sich die beiden Weisen in den Vorzimmern ihrer Gebieter ihre Aufgabe vorbereiten, stimmen genau überein. Und nicht bloss manche Wendung des Dialoges verdankt der Dichter des Don Carlos dem des Nathan, sondern auch das Resultat der Scene ist dasselbe: trotz ihrem Freimut scheiden die beiden Weisen als Freunde von ihrem Fürsten. Wir müssen Freunde sein, ruft Saladin; der Ritter wird künftig ungemeldet vorgelassen, befiehlt Philipp.

Bei Lessing war diese Scene der Kern, um welchen sich das ganze Stück krystallisirte; bei Schiller wurde sie nachträglich in den Mittelpunkt eines im Gedanken fertigen Stückes eingeschoben. Organisch ist sie weder hier noch dort, dramatisch gleichfalls nicht; aber rhetorische und oratorische Kunststücke sind beide Auftritte. Die Bühne wird in dem einen Fall zur Kanzel, das Theater in dem andern zum Parlament. Lessings Entfernung vom Theater und die Beschäftigung mit der Theologie hat den Nathan gezeitigt; durch Schillers Entfernung von dem Theater können wir es allein erklären, dass er nun die Handlung stehen liess und sie dem Enthusiasmus für die erhabensten Gedanken des aufgeklärten Jahrhunderts opferte.

Nicht in jedem Punkt zwar könnte ich diese Worte Minors unterstreichen. Organisch und dramatisch scheint mir die Scene im "Nathan" durchaus—wie sollte die Keimzelle des ganzen dramatischen Organismus nicht beides sein? Aber anders steht es allerdings mit ihrer Nachbildung im Don Carlos.

Den Vorwurf, dass Schiller durch sein individuelles Interesse an dieser grossen Aussprache die Entwicklung des Dramas hemmt, hat auch *Bellermann* ("Schillers Dramen," I, 253) vergeblich abzuwähren gesucht. Und das bleibt bestehen, dass sie gewaltsam herbeigeführt wird—wie die im "Nathan" und wie so viele dramatische Hauptscenen, denen das Interesse des Dichters zu ungeduldig andrängt. Dass Philipp sich nach einem Menschen sehnt, ist psychologisch begreiflich, auch wenn (was *Hoffmeister*

¹ *Loc. cit.* S. 566.

dagegen angeführt hat) Lerma oder sonst ein redlicher Mann am Hofe lebt; die Diogenesfrage sucht ja einen wahren Menschen, eine königliche Seele, die dem König Freund sein kann — wie sollte die an Philipps Hof gedeihen! Aber wie er dann den Posa findet — das bleibt ein wunderbares Spiel des Zufalls; oder, realistischer ausgedrückt, die nicht genügend motivirte Aufnahme einer älteren Behandlung unseres Motivs.

König Philipp in schlafloser Nacht schreitet im Zimmer auf und ab (wie er die eingeschlummerten Pagen schont, erinnert sowohl an einen Auftritt in *Shakespeares* "Julius Caesar" als auch an eine bekannte, von dem Populärphilosophen *J. J. Engel* dramatisirte Anekdote von Friedrich dem Grossen). Nach Gesprächen, die seine Aufregung nur vermehrten, weil der treue Diener Lerma, der intriguirende Hofpaff Domingo, der ehrgeizige General Alba seine Sehnsucht nach einem Menschen nicht befriedigen, greift er zu einer Schreibtafel mit den Aufzeichnungen über verdiente Männer. (Ein Gegenstück dazu finden wir in der überhaupt ein Pendant bildenden zweiten grossen Audienzscene des "Don Carlos," der des Grossinquisitors: Posas Leben "liegt angefangen und beschlossen in der Santa Casa heiligen Registern." Und diese Scene geht auf eine historische Anekdote zurück: Philipp II. soll sich vor einem Boten des Heiligen Offiz demütig-stolz wegen einer vom Grossinquisitor erhobenen Anklage gereinigt haben — man warf ihm vor, einen Schuldigen der Inquisition entzogen zu haben.)

Und wir lesen im Buch Esther (Kap. 6):

In derselben Nacht konnte der König nicht schlafen, und liess die Chronik mit den Historien bringen. Die wurden vor dem König gelesen.

Philipp findet den vergessenen Namen des Marquis von Posa. Und von Posa berichtet zuletzt der Herzog von Feria:

Und dieser Marquis von Posa war es auch,
Der nachher die berüchtigte Verschwörung
In Katalonien entdeckt, und bloss
Durch seine Fertigkeit allein der Krone
Die wichtigste Provinz erhielt.

Das nahm *Schiller* aus seiner Quelle; aber eben deren Bericht machte ihn auf das Buch Esther führen, wo es weiter heisst:

Da fand sichs angestrichen, wie Mardochai hatte angesagt, dass die zween Kämmerer des Königs, Bigthan und Theres, die an der Schwelle hüteten, getrachtet hätten, die Hand an den König Ahasverus zu legen. Und der König sprach: Was haben wir Mardochai Ehre und Gutes dafür gethan?

Die Uebereinstimmung könnte wohl nicht leicht schlagender sein. Schiller kehrt zu jener alten Behandlung des Gegenstandes zurück, die inzwischen durch die Malerei und durch *Racine* grössere Bedeutung erhalten hatte, und vereinigt sie mit der klassischen *Lessings*. Neu fügt er aber den feurigen Geist der Zeitforderungen hinzu, indem er in noch weiterem und allgemeinerem Sinn als der Dichter des "Nathan" den Unterthanen grosse Gesinnungen der ganzen Jugend und der—nächsten Geschlechter dem Herrscher vortragen lässt. Der Idealismus unserer klassischen Dichtung fand niemals unmittelbarer, kaum je wirksamer Ausdruck als in dieser hinreissenden Scene, deren Schwung über alle psychologischen und historischen Unmöglichkeiten, über alle Reminiscenzen und dramaturgischen Schwächen hinweg trägt wie auf Adlersflügeln.

Kein Wunder, dass die Scene bei den Nachahmern Schillers unzählige Mal neu aufgelegt wurde; ich nenne als ein Beispiel nur den trefflichen *J. G. Fischer* mit seinem "Florian Geyer."¹

Einen andern Weg freilich schlagen zwei charakteristische Darstellungen der Epigonenzeit, der grossen und fruchtbaren Epigonenzeit an. Wir gehen an *Kleist* and *Immermann*, an *Heines* Disputation vor König und Königin und *Richard Wagners* Sängerkampf vor Landgraf und Landgräfin vorbei wie an zahlreichen andern Nebenformen des Motivs. Ganz rein treffen wir es aber bei zwei möglichst verschiedenen Geistern—bei *Grillparzer* und *Grabbe*.

In *Grillparzers* "Libussa" steht Primisläus vor der weisen Königin äusserlich in einer Situation, die an die Nathans erinnert—Rätselfragen gilt es zu lösen, von deren Beantwortung seine ganze Zukunft abhängt. Von der barbarischen Art, den klugen und reichen Unterthan zu bedrängen, die *Boccaccios* Schwank zeigte, lassen sich noch leise Spuren erkennen; die absichtliche Entwicklung von Pracht und Prunk erinnert an die

¹ *Biographisches Jahrbuch*, herg. v. BETTELHEIM, 2, 135.

Esther-Darstellungen, denen der Dichter ja selbst eine neue beifügte. Aber während in seiner "Esther" das charakteristische Moment fehlt: die Spannung des Unterthanenverhältnisses, bildet in der Libussa gerade dies den Angelpunkt. Der kluge Unterthan soll seinen Unabhängigkeitsdrang, die weise Fürstin ihr Herrschbedürfniss bezwingen; in heissem Rede- und Liebeskampfringen sie, bis auch hier (wie im "Nathan") eine Versöhnung das Recht der Herrin und des Dieners, der Fürstin und des Gatten, der inspirirten Weisheit und des menschlich-erfahrungsmässigen Weltverstandes ausgleicht. Dabei ist eins auffällig: während sonst überall der Fürst nur mit wenigen Worten, der Unterthan mit mächtiger Rede am Dialog Anteil nimmt, sind hier die Partien fast gleich verteilt. Und wer ist denn auch am Ende hier der Herrscher, wer der Unterthan?—ist es schliesslich doch Primislaus, der auch über Libussa regirt und dessen Willen und Energie die der weiseren Frau beugen.

Eine Caricatur gab nach seiner Art *Grabbe*, als er in dem Fragment "Hannibal" den grossen Feldherrn Karthagos dem lächerlichen König Prusias gegenüberstellte. Es is eine Audienz im formellsten Sinne des Wortes, mit Hofmarschall, Anmeldung, Thronszung; und die Rechte des flüchtigen machtlosen Genies bleiben ohnmächtig gegenüber der Legitimität einer in der Macht sitzenden Impotenz. Eine blutige Satire ist es, in der der Zufallsherrscher durch die Erscheinung des fremden Flüchtlings ärger blossgestellt wird als Philipp durch Posas Beredsamkeit; ohnmächtige Wuth über die herrschende Verächtlichkeit paart sich mit der fast widerwilligen Bewunderung des Heros, der das Recht der Natur, die Genialitätsforderung der Zeit, die patriotische Verzweiflung der Generation vertritt.

Es ist wieder ein politischer Geist, der die Scene durchdringt, wie die des Posa und des Tell; aber an die Stelle des Reformgeistes ist der der Revolution getreten. Der spanische Edelmann erhofft Gedankenfreiheit und Neuerschaffung der Erde von einem Federstrich des Monarchen—in Preussen, in Oesterreich, in Danemark und Portugal hatte das Zeitalter der Aufklärung ja Aehnliches erlebt. Der karthagische General hofft nichts mehr von dem Fürsten—die grosse Revolution und, schlimmer noch

für Deutschland, die Reaktion hatte die Erwartungen eines *Schiller* in den Pessimismus eines *Grabbe* verkehrt.

Unmittelbar stellt sich eine andere poetische Behandlung des Motivs in die Nachfolge der Posa-Szene. *K. Gutzkow* hatte in "Zopf und Schwert" und dem "Urbild des Tartuffe" sich nahe an die typische Form heranbegeben, ohne doch gerade jenen springenden Punkt, die Spannung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem herrschgewohnten Regenten und dem freiheitsbedürftigen Unterthan, in die Mitte zu stellen. Das aber that am Vorabend der Revolution *Heinrich Laube* in seinen "Karlschülern." Den Dichter des "Don Carlos" selbst, freilich erst in der Epoche der "Räuber," nahm er zum Helden und liess ihn in einer wirksamen Scene das Wort führen für die Freiheit des Genies, für die des Wortes, für die von Posa geforderte Gedankenfreiheit. Und in dieser ewigen Streitfrage zwischen Dichter und Fürsten, zwischen der "schöpferischen und erhaltenden Macht," wie er selbst sagt,¹ suchte er Licht und Schatten einigermaßen unparteiisch zu verteilen; meinte er doch selbst² in dem Herzog Karl einen gesunden und tüchtigen Vertreter des damals herrschenden absoluten Geistes hingestellt und ihm vielfach Recht gegeben zu haben. Indessen bleibt der Eindruck der grossen Scene doch der, dass das natürliche Recht über die Tyrannei der Legitimen siegt. Nicht umsonst hat *Laube* schon vorher seinen *Schiller Schubarts* "Fürstengruft" vor dem Herzog recitiren lassen, in der dieser auf seine Weise die Audienz vor dem Herrscher darstellt:

Nun ist die Hand herabgefault zum Knochen,
Die oft mit kaltem Federzug
Den Weisen, der am Thron zu laut gesprochen,
In harte Fesseln schlug.

Nicht umsonst ertönt am Schluss des Dramas der Ruf: "Es lebe Friedrich Schiller," während Herzog Karl selbst sich für überwunden erklärt. Wir haben wirklich hier einen jüngeren Posa, der mit seiner eigenen Sache zugleich die der Menschheit vor einem Gewaltherrscher führt; auch hier Aug in Aug die volle Aussprache der Gegensätze, auch hier den Sieg des Geistes über

¹ Einleitung, S. xxxii.

² *Ibid.*, S. xlv.

die Macht. Und in der Aktualität der berühmten Probleme — Pressfreiheit, Theaterfreiheit — rückt die Scene fast etwas näher an die des "Nathan" heran. (Freilich hat sie nicht wenig auch unmittelbar entlehnt; so das Aparte an die wohlwollende Lauscherin hinter der Thür.) Allerdings darf man ihren künstlerischen Werth so wenig wie den philosophischen an solchen Vorbildern messen; aber als letzter, nicht unwürdiger Nachklang zeigt die Scene, wie mächtig wieder jenes Grundproblem alle Gemüther erfüllte, wie sie sich wieder erdichten mussten, was sie sich sehnten zu erleben.

Die grossen Audienzen rückten heran, die klassischen Begegnungen des "Fürsten" mit dem "Weisen." Seltsam spielte ihnen eine humoristische Begegnung vor, die aber doch nicht ohne ernste Folgen blieb. Am 16. September 1842 gab die Stadt Coblenz dem König von Preussen einen Ball, und er traf dort *Ferdinand Freiligrath*, damals noch den unpolitischen Dichter des "Löwenritts" und Inhaber einer königlichen Pension.

Friedrich Wilhelm IV. redete den Dichter an: "Ah, Herr Freiligrath, Sie sind ja ein Weinkenner. Ist Ihnen auch der Grüneberger bekannt?" (ein berüchtigt schlechter Wein aus Schlesien, in Liedern und Anekdoten verspottet). Als Freiligrath lächelnd verneinte, sagte der König: "Da gratulire ich, da gratulire ich." Und das Gespräch war beendet.¹

Das hatte nun nicht eben viel zu bedeuten; aber später erzählte der Dichter selbst von diesem Erlebniss.

Wissen Sie, wann ich Demokrat geworden bin? Das geschah an dem Tage, wo ich dem König und dem Erzherzog Johann vorgestellt ward. Als ich im einfachen schwarzen Frack ins Vorzimmer und um den Saal kam, wo ich lauter goldbetresste, besternte Herren fand, sah ich, dass jeder zu mir herüberschielte, wer ich wohl sein mochte. Diesen und jenen kannte ich; man nannte meinen Namen, aber niemand sprach mit mir, und ich drückte mich in eine Ecke. Da kam der Erzherzog die Reihe entlang auch zu mir und unterhielt sich längere Zeit mit mir. Kaum war er weg, so drängte sich jedermann von dem Geschmeiss an mich, begrüßte mich, erinnerte sich meiner. An jenem Abend und in jener Stunde ward ich Demokrat.

Da sind wir wieder im "Don Carlos": bei der Begegnung des Königs mit dem Herzog von Medina Sidonia, unmittelbar vor der Posa-Scene. Und gleich folgt auch diese in der Wirklichkeit.

¹ W. BUCHNER, *Freiligrath*, 2, 30.

Georg Herwegh stand an jenem denkwürdigen Novembertag des Jahres 1842 vor König Friedrich Wilhelm IV., in dem das Herscherbewusstsein König Philipps, Saladins Freude an weiser Rede, und ein klein wenig auch des Prusias innere Haltlosigkeit bei äusserer Feierlichkeit der Haltung sich vereinte. Auch war es damals noch der König, der mehr und besser redete.—“Ich liebe eine gesinnungsvolle Opposition.” “Ich wünsche Ihnen einen Tag von Damaskus und Sie werden Grosses wirken.” Zwar holte der Vertreter des Mannesstolzes vor Fürstenthronen diesmal noch die vergessene Geistesgegenwart ziemlich kläglich in einem ungeschickten Briefe nach; doch bald kam das Jahr 1848, in dem den Volkstribunen das Wort gehörte. Mitten in der Nacht liess König Ludwig von Bayern den seltsamen Propheten *Rohmer* in den Palast berufen, um sich von ihm politischen Rath in der Noth des Moments erteilen zu lassen. Und derselbe Friedrich Wilhelm IV., vor dem Herwegh “gespielt den Marquis Posa,” wie *Heine* sofort in seinem boshaften Zeitgedicht “Die Audienz” spottete, er hörte jetzt von dem Abgeordneten *Johann Jacoby* in einem entscheidenden Augenblick das berühmte Wort: “Das ist das Unglück der Könige, dass sie die Wahrheit nicht hören wollen.” Die Audienzen bei jenem geistreichen König waren, wie man sieht, reich an geflügelten Worten; und wenn der Geschichtsschreiber *Droysen* meinte, *Lamartines* “Histoire des Girondins” habe die Redner der Paulskirche mit ihrer Lust an tönenden Phrasen angesteckt, so könnte wohl Schillers “Don Carlos” gleichfalls die Freude am feierlichen Wort bei dem König wie bei dem Unterthan verstärkt haben.

Freilich, das war im Moment der höchsten Spannung. Später hielt wieder vor Friedrich Wilhelm IV. *Alexander von Humboldt* jene grossen Vorträge, die *W. Jordan* in seinem “Demiurgos” poetisch nachbildete, oder vor dem nächsten Bayernkönige *Leopold von Ranke* in Tegernsee seine bedeutungsvollen Vorlesungen über die Epochen der Geschichte; und weder der liberale Naturforscher noch der konservative Historiker, so eifrig beide auch sonst politischen Einfluss suchten, benützte diese Situation zu pathetischen Redewendungen und aktuellen Anspielungen. Und gar in den Kleinstaaten zog mit der Reaktion wieder die volle Strenge der

socialen Isolirung des Fürsten ein; und wenn *Fritz Reuter* in "Dorchläuchting" oder *John Brinkman* in "Kasper Ohm" Herzog und Unterthan mit einander reden liessen, so mussten sie etwas von der humoristischen Färbung oder auch geradezu von der Hofnarren-Manier abwenden, die einem Morolf, Neidhart, Taubmann allein noch seine gewisse Freimütigkeit vor dem Thron ermöglichte. "Kinder und Narren reden die Wahrheit," oder wie in den Tagen der Majestätsbeleidigungen *Friedrich Bodenstedt* den alten Spruch variirte:

Die Wahrheit liegt im Wein;
Das heisst: in unsern Tagen
Muss einer betrunken sein,
Um Lust zu haben die Wahrheit zu sagen.

Damals wurde der schöne Studentenvers

Wer die Wahrheit weiss, und er sagt sie nicht,
Der ist fürwahr ein erbärmlicher Wicht

parodirt:

Wer die Wahrheit weiss und er sagt sie frei,
Der kommt zu Berlin auf die Stadtvogtei —

hatte ja dort auch *Fritz Reuter* die qualvollste Zeit seiner "Festungsid" verlebt.

So rasch stieg im wirklichen Leben die Audienz des Dichters vor dem König zu pathetischer Höhe—so rasch sank sie zu tragikomischer Trivialität! Nur im Roman erlebte sie noch eine nicht allzu glückliche Nachblüte. Da ward gerade in den Jahren der Reaktion und vor allem des wieder erstarkenden Liberalismus die Audienz beim Fürsten ein fast unentbehrliches Prunkstück. In *Theodor Mügges* "Vogt von Sylt" (1851) steht der historische Volksmann Lornsen in feierlicher Rede vor dem König von Dänemark. In *Gustav Freytags* "Verlorener Handschrift" (1864) hält Frau Ilse dem Fürsten liberale Vorträge über Menschenwert und Erziehung. "In Reih und Glied" von *Spielhagen* (1866) bringt Sylvia den Demokraten Leo, dem Lassalle als Modell gedient hat, zur Aussprache vor den König. Im "Landhaus am Rhein" (1866) wirft *Auerbachs* interessante Romanfigur, der reich gewordene Sklavenhändler Lunenkamp, in der Wuth dem Fürsten, aus dessen Hand er schon das Adels-

diplom empfangen sollte, einen blutigen Vergleich seiner eigenen Rechte mit denen des Regenten ins Gesicht. Leicht liessen sich die Beispiele häufen und bis in die neueste Zeit, etwa bis zu *Bertha von Suttners* Tendenzroman "Schach der Qual," fortführen. Aber keine dieser Szenen bringt eine Fortführung des Motivs, mag auch manche—besonders die bei *Auerbach*—geistreiche neue Nüancen bringen. Es ist überall das Schema der Posa-Szene: der Anwalt der Jugend, der neuen Rechte in bedrörter Deklamation vor dem verstummenden Inhaber der alten Macht. Ueberall sind die Dichter Partei für den Fürsprech des jungen Geschlechts und der Rechte, die mit uns geboren sind; überall bleiben die Fürsten unbekehrt wie in der ganzen Geschichte des Motivs, die beiden wunderbaren Fälle des weisen Nathan und des klugen Primislaus allein ausgenommen.

Auch im Drama ist man zu einer neuen Stufe nicht gelangt. *Björnsons* "König" mit seiner wunderlichen Mischung von Romantik und Aktualität; *Sudermanns* "Johannes," der die neustamentliche Wiederholung der Prophetenszene, Johannes vor Herodes, in kaum geringerer Stilmischung wiedergab; *Gerhart Hauptmanns*, der im "Florian Geyer" und gewissermassen auch schon in den "Webern," Schillers "Demetrius" überbietend, den Collectiv-Unterthanen vor den Collectiv-Herrscher stellte—für die Literaturgeschichte unseres Motivs haben sie nicht mehr zu bedeuten als die vielen Andern, die neben *Aischylos* und *Sophokles*, *Lessing* und *Schiller*, *Grillparzer* und *Grabbe* ihm ihre Kunst zuwandten. In diesen sechs Namen dürfte im Wesentlichen seine Evolution beschrieben sein; und stolz dürfen wir Deutsche uns rühmen, dass eine Situation, die in den ersten Kapiteln der Bibel auftaucht und für den Naturalismus der Neuesten ihren Reiz noch nicht verloren hat, in den Händen zweier grosser deutscher Dichter ihre höchste Ausgestaltung fand.

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THE TERM LYNCH LAW.

THOUGH a discussion of the practice of lynch law does not come within the scope of this paper, yet a brief outline of the practice is pertinent.¹ Whether the criminal laws were adequate and their administration efficient, during our colonial period, need not be debated here. It is sufficient to point out that for more than half a century before the term lynch law is encountered, lawlessness had existed to a greater or less extent in various parts of the country. Complaints about desperadoes were heard in the back parts of the Carolinas as early as 1752,² and between 1767 and 1771 occurred the movement of the Regulators. In 1765 the Stamp Act ushered in a decade of violence, chiefly of a political character and directed against those of Tory proclivities. With the outbreak of actual war in 1775, an increase of illegal acts was inevitable. Finally, the constant pushing westward of the frontiers, with the consequent rough life found along the borders, furnished a new field of action for those who took the law into their own hands. These self-constituted ministers of justice, whose usual punishment was the application of thirty-nine lashes, were sometimes called "regulators,"³ sometimes

¹ DR. J. ELBERT CUTLER, of Yale University, is now preparing a monograph to be entitled, *Lynch Law: an Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States*. Through the kindness of its author, I have read in manuscript four chapters of this monograph, and to it I am indebted for several extracts.

² A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws* (1767), p. 131.

³ This word occurs in 1752, was adopted by certain persons in the Carolinas in 1767-1771, reappeared in 1819, was exceedingly common for many years, but is now little used.

"We hear from *Elizabeth-Town*, that an odd Sect of People have lately appeared there, who go under the Denomination of *Regulars* [sic]; there are near a Dozen of them, who dress themselves in Women's Cloaths, and painting their Faces, go in the Evening to the Houses of such as are reported to have beat their Wives; where one of them entering in first, seizes the Delinquent, whilst the rest follow, strip him, turn up his Posteriors, and flog him with Rods most severely. . . . 'Twere to be wish'd, that in order for the more equal Distribution of Justice, there wou'd arise another Sect, under the Title of *Regulatrices*, who should dress themselves in Men's Cloathes, and flagillate the Posteriors of the Scolds, Termagants, &c.," *New Jersey Archives* (1752), Vol. XIX, pp. 225, 226.

"My Case being happily nois'd abroad, induc'd several generous young Men to discipline him. These young Persons do stile, or are stiled, REGULATORS; and so they are with Propriety; for they have regulated my dear Husband, and the rest of the bad Ones hereabouts, that they are afraid of using such Barbarity," *New Jersey Archives* (1753), Vol. XIX, p. 326.

"moderators;"¹ and the expressions "club law," "gag law," and "mob law" were occasionally employed;² but it is not until 1817 that we meet with lynch law—a term which soon came to include every sort of punishment, from banishment to death, that might be illegally inflicted. Even thus early, however, such punishments were thought to be no longer necessary, and between 1820 and 1830 writers regarded the practice of lynch law as on the wane and likely soon to disappear altogether before advancing civilization. But in the next decade came the anti-slavery agitation, the practice revived and spread throughout the country, the punishments became more and more severe, negroes then first became victims, and many terms of a sinister character were added to the English language.

The purpose of this paper is to show the history of these terms, and to consider the theories which have been advanced as to their

"The means to suppress those licentious spirits that have so lately appeared in the distant parts of the Province, and, assuming the name of Regulators, have, in defiance of Government, and to the subversion of good order, illegally tried, condemned, and punished many persons, require an attentive deliberation."—Lord Charles G. Montagu, in A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 136.

"At a general meeting of the Regulators held April 4th 1768 it was agreed to send Peter Craven and John Howe," *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. VII, p. 702.

"Charlestown, (South-Carolina) Sept. 12. The people called regulators have lately severely chastised one Lum," *Boston Chronicle* (1768), No. 42, Vol. I, p. 381 2.

"These regulators are self-appointed ministers of justice, to punish or destroy those whom the law cannot touch."—W. FAUX, *Memorable Days in America* (1823), p. 318.

"On such occasions therefore, all the quiet and industrious men of a district form themselves into companies, under the name of 'Regulators.'"—W. N. BLANE, *Excursion through the United States and Canada* (1824), p. 234.

"A band of so-called 'regulators' served notice on certain peaceable and law-abiding colored citizens that they must leave the county," *Nation* (1897), Vol. LXV, p. 253/2.

¹ This word is occasionally but not often met with.

"Various accounts continue to be received from the back country. A new set of people, who call themselves Moderators, have appeared against the Regulators."—In A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 182.

"The citizens of our border country have witnessed these men under the names of regulators and moderators, committing in the territory of Texas some of the most barbarous cruelties of the 19th century," *Niles' Register* (1841), Vol. LXI, p. 149/3.

"The lynchers, or 'regulators,' as they are often called, soon find that their foes organize also; arm themselves, and prepare for systematic resistance, under the denomination of 'moderators,'" *Harbinger* (1847), Vol. V, p. 136 1.

"Ere long . . . a counter party is got up, nominally to keep the regulators in check. The last formed parties are called moderators, and invariably contain all the spare rascals in the county whom the regulators have not already received into their ranks," *American Whig Review* (1850), Vol. XI, p. 462.

² In addition to these terms for summary modes of punishment, there are others which have long been used in the British Isles but which are unknown in this country: as, Cupar justice, Halifax law, Jeddard justice, Lydford law, Stafford law.

origin. The former object can best be attained by a series of brief extracts. The original expression was not lynch law but Lynch's law.

LYNCH'S LAW.

In the year 1792, there were many suits on the south side of James river, for inflicting Lynch's law.¹

The people of the place deputed . . . four persons to inform him, that unless he quitted the town and state [Indiana] immediately, he should receive Lynch's law, that is, a whipping in the woods.²

No commentator has taken any notice of *Lynch's Law*, once the *lex loci* of the frontiers.³

"LYNCH'S LAW." We have heard, that capt. *Slick*⁴ summoned his corps the other night, and obtained possession of a man with whose misdeeds they had become familiar, carried him to the prairie near town [St. Louis], and administered "Lynch's law" upon him in fine style. He received about fifty lashes.⁵

Lynch's Law.—The colored population since the late riots [in New York], also seem determined to take the law into their own hands. Saturday . . . the negro loafers . . . apprehended one of their

¹ 1817, Judge Spencer Roane, in W. WIRT'S *Life of P. Henry* (1818), p. 372. In his *Patrick Henry*, Vol. II (1891), p. 482, Mr. W. W. HENRY printed, no doubt through error, "Lynch law."

² 1819, November 29, W. FAUX, *Memorable Days in America* (1823), p. 304.

³ J. HALL, *Letters from the West* (1828), p. 291. Most of these letters had already been printed in the *Port Folio* between 1821 and 1825, Vols. XII-XIV, XVI-XX; but the letter about lynch law first appeared in the book.

⁴ "Capt. Slick" was again mentioned in the *Liberator* of October 3, 1835, Vol. V, p. 157/1, where we learn that "there has also been a company formed, who go by the name of 'Capt. Slick,' or 'Lynch'—these take the law into their own hands, go in disguise, and whip and hang all they think deserving." The following extract is from the *Liberator* of August 22, 1835, Vol. V, p. 136/2: "Gregory . . . was sentenced to 50 lashes, and . . . Terrell . . . received 150 lashes. . . . This is called *slicking*, and is performed in the following manner: The prisoner is stripped naked, and laid on his belly, his hands and feet fastened to four pegs, when with a coleman he receives the stripes from different hands. The younger was slicked with a vengeance—his back was literally flayed." In the *Liberator* of December 4, 1857, Vol. XXVII, p. 196/4, we read that great excitement existed in Barton County, Missouri, "on account of the doings of a set of lawless wretches called 'Slickers,' who pretended to be after a horse thief, but who 'slicked' or barbarously beat several men until their lives were despaired of." This use of the word *slick* is apparently not recognized by American lexicographers. With "Capt. Slick" may be compared "Squire Birch," mentioned by Judge J. Hall in 1828: "Squire Birch, who was personated by one of the party, established his tribunal under a tree in the woods, and the culprit was brought before him, tried, and generally convicted; he was then tied to a tree, lashed without mercy, and ordered to leave the country within a given time, under pain of a second visitation," *Letters from the West*, p. 292. In 1846 J. W. MONETTE wrote that "Chief-justice 'Birch' established his tribunal under a forest canopy," *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, Vol. II, p. 17.

⁵ *Niles' Register* (1833), Vol. XLV, p. 87/1.

fraternity at Peck slip, and placing him thwart-ways across an empty hogshead, proceeded to apply to his person a gentle flagellation, with a delicate cowhide.¹

In our quiet village of New Holland [Pennsylvania], we understand *Lynch's law* was carried into execution last week, against a stranger who was taken from his domicile, tarred and feathered in the true Yankee style, marched out of town and let run. . . . We have heard of another case of an appeal to Lynch's code.²

They have one in jail. They took him out yesterday, and gave him Lynch's law, that is 39 lashes in this country [Mississippi].³

Such, however, is too often the administration of law on the frontier, "Lynch's law," as it is technically termed.⁴

Forty years ago, the practice of wreaking private vengeance, or of inflicting summary and illegal punishment for crimes, actual or pretended, which has been glossed over by the name of *Lynch's Law*, was hardly known except in sparse, frontier settlements, beyond the reach of courts and legal proceedings.⁵

LYNCH LAW.

Lynch-Law Operations.—The Cincinnati Whig of July 23d, says, "a gentleman received a letter from Madison, (Miss.) which states that eighteen more of the gambling crew were waiting execution under the same laws as those put in force at Vicksburg."⁶

Anti-gaming societies have been introduced into a number of cities and towns. *Executions* by "*Lynch law*," have been numerous.⁷

I have just returned from witnessing the most horrid sight that ever fell to the lot of man, viz: the execution of "Lynch Law" upon a yellow fellow, by the horrible means of a *slow fire*.⁸

Perhaps some of our brethren in the Maine Conference will be diverted a little, on hearing that two of their delegates wrote opposite to each of their names, when they entered them in the stage or passengers' book at *Wheeling, Va.*, "*No Abolitionist.*" When in the land of "Lynch law" we must mind our P's and Q's you know.⁹

¹ *New York Star in Boston Post* (August 1, 1834), p. 2/3.

² *Liberator* (1834), Vol. IV, p. 153/2. In the second instance, "a celebrated Philadelphia Doctor" was threatened with tarring and feathering.

³ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 124/4. For all the extracts taken from the *Liberator*, I am indebted to Dr. J. E. Cutler.

⁴ W. IRVING, *Tour on the Prairies* (1835), p. 41.

⁵ *Southern Literary Messenger* (1839), Vol. V, p. 218. The original term became obsolete about this time, and I have not noted it after 1842.

⁶ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 131/5. In the *Liberator* of August 1, 1835, Vol. V, p. 124/4, a headline ran thus: "LYNCH LAW—FIVE GAMBLERS HUNG WITHOUT TRIAL."

⁷ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLVIII, p. 439/2.

⁸ *Liberator* (1836), Vol. VI, p. 83/3.

⁹ *Zion's Watchman in Liberator* (1836), Vol. VI, p. 99/4.

All good men must unite in condemning, as barbarous and unchristian, the resort to external Force; in other words, to the arbitrament of War, to international Lynch Law, or the great Trial by Battle, to determine justice between nations.¹

JUDGE LYNCH.

Warwick had no sooner emerged from the court house, than he was stripped of his clothing, and a plentiful coat of *tar* and *feathers* applied to him. He was afterwards whipped until almost insensible to pain. . . . It is said that during the execution of judge Lynch's sentence, the culprit frequently begged to be shot.²

Judge Lynch in Brownsville, Tenn. In accordance with a judgment pronounced by this distinguished dignitary, a man named Anson Moody was on the 12th instant made to receive one hundred lashes, and the brand of the letter R. on his cheek.³

From a written notice that met our eyes on the corner of the square, headed blacklegs beware! followed by a polite intimation that their absence would be particularly desirable by a certain given time; we suppose that the judge [*Lynch*] is about commencing the *Illinois circuit*.⁴

But to be serious—*Judge Lynch*, who presides with so much dignity in the grand courts of Mobocracy, and his myrmidons, forget . . . that "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."⁵

¹ C. SUMNER, in *Memoirs and Letters* (1845), Vol. II, p. 379. To give later examples of so common a term is needless, but it may be added that the attributive use of lynch law is not uncommon, as: "Lynch-law brother" (1837), "Lynch-law code" (1846), "Lynch-law halters" (1857), "Lynch-law pleas" (1859), "Lynch-law proceedings" (1857), "Lynch-law reports" (1892), "Lynch-law violence" (1857), etc.

² *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLVIII, p. 397/1. "Judge Lynch," of whose decisions we have heard so much since this date, is of course a purely jocular title, and he is sometimes referred to as "his honor, Chief justice Lynch" (*Niles' Register*, 1844, Vol. LXVI, p. 423/3), as "Mr. Justice Lynch" (*All the Year Round*, 1861, Vol. VI, p. 321/1), and as Hon. Justice Lynch" (*New York Herald*, December 26, 1871, p. 5/5). Similarly, we occasionally hear of "Doctor Lynch": "The citizens of Natchez . . . notified the gamblers of that city if they did not relieve it of their presence within twenty-four hours, judgment would be passed on them by Doctor Lynch, and punishment on the Vicksburg plan be immediately administered to them" (*Liberator*, 1835, Vol. V, p. 123/5). Other jocular titles are sometimes found, as "Judge Hang" and "Judge Law": "Judge Lynch . . . Pinned it into a chap a few days ago, down on the Runs in this district. . . . We learn that Judge Hang presided there and passed sentence on him" (*Niles' Register*, 1835, Vol. XLIX, p. 65/1). "Sometimes a few of the principal officers of Judge Lynch are called to an account by Judge Law (*Enemies of the Constitution Discovered*, 1835, p. 52). As showing what curious coincidences sometimes occur, it may be added that Judge Lawless, who made a famous charge in 1836 about the acts of "the few" and of "the many," was the name of a real person. (See *Liberator*, 1836, Vol. VI, p. 102/1; H. MARTINEAU, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 1838, Vol. II, p. 208.)

³ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 169/5.

⁴ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLIX, p. 149/1.

⁵ *Liberator* (1838), Vol. VIII, p. 89/4. In his *Western Characters* (1853), p. 244, J. L. McCONNEL printed an agreement which purports to have been drawn up in Illinois October 12, 1820. In this there is an allusion to "the code of his honor, Judge Lynch." If genuine, this carries the title back considerably earlier than any certain example of it; but the genuineness of the agreement, like that of the document (to be mentioned later) of September 22, 1780, is in doubt.

TO LYNCH.

If all the O'Connells were to challenge me, I could not think of meeting them *now*. I consider and everyone else does that they are lynched.¹

The citizens of Vicksburg formed an anti-gambling society on the 4th, and at night Lynched one of the fraternity. The next . . . night another was Lynched.²

In this county several whites have been *Lynched* and ordered off.³

The evidence . . . produced an unanimous verdict on the part of the jury, that two should be *Lynched* and the other two excused. . . . The parties that were Lynched have left the county.⁴

There is no want of laws, heaven knows—and so do those who have been Lynched in person and property—but there is a want of respect for them.⁵

They were soundly flogged, or in other words—*Lynched*.⁶

Several . . . proceeded to the residence of judge BERMUDEZ, with a view to *Lynch him* or to inflict *some severe punishment upon his person*.⁷

I plunged my horse into the waves. Hard was the struggle but . . . my horse at length brought me safely through on the bridge and then on the opposite bank. . . . Probably I shall never forget Lynches Creek; for it had well nigh Lynch^d me.⁸

THE BOSTON RECORDER LYNCHED! The "Committee of Vigilance of the Post office" at Richmond, Va., has forbid the entrance of the Boston Recorder into that city!⁹

I have *Lynched* all the trees,—that is, *tarred* them.¹⁰

Our Mississippi friend . . . I believe would have been ready to lynch on the spot any one who should have assailed his Quaker friend.¹¹

The other class . . . were then either lynched or warned to leave the county in so many days, or else shot if they persisted in remaining.¹²

¹ 1835, May 9, B. DISRAELI, in *Correspondence with His Sister* (1880), p. 37. Taken from the *Oxford Dictionary*, where Mr. Bradley says: "Apparently misused for: To render infamous." On May 6, Disraeli had written: "There is but one opinion among all parties, viz. that I have *squabashed* them" (p. 36). Perhaps, therefore, he meant that the O'Connells had been "squelched" by the public letters he had written.

² *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 126/5.

³ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 130/5.

⁴ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLIX, p. 77/1.

⁵ *New York Transcript*, in *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 192/3.

⁶ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 204/3.

⁷ *Niles' Register* (1836), Vol. LI, p. 69/1.

⁸ W. H. WILLS, in *Publications of the Southern History Association* (1837), Vol. VI, p. 479. See, too, *Nation* (1903), Vol. LXXVI, p. 225. The writer was crossing Lynch's Creek, South Carolina.

⁹ *Liberator* (1838), Vol. VIII, p. 131/2.

¹⁰ 1839, April 7, H. W. LONGFELLOW, in *Life* (1891), Vol. I, p. 339.

¹¹ 1839, August 8, J. G. WHITTIER, in *Life and Letters* (1894), p. 246.

¹² *American Whig Review* (1845), Vol. I, p. 122.

Harris, who murdered Mr. Moseley, was taken out of prison by a mob and was no doubt lynched by them.¹

Their plans were, to demand that Lawrence should be demolished, the leaders of the free-state party lynched, and the others warned to leave the territory.²

As soon as it was known that the prisoner was not to be hung, threats were made that if she was not condemned to death, the people themselves would lynch her.³

FOUR MEN LYNCHED IN TEXAS.—In addition to the many accounts of lynchings in Texas we have the following from the *Novarro Express*. No reasons are given for hanging up four citizens of the place.⁴

Judge Almond said to me: "Doctor, you didn't know it, but I saved both your lives at Platte City. . . . I found that a paper was circulating among the outside people, which pledged the signers to take you from the officers and lynch you."⁵

LYNCHER.

The Lynchers not satisfied with the result, brought him before their peculiar tribunal.⁶

The St. Louis Lynchers next ordered the heads of Marion College to hold a public meeting, and declare their convictions and feelings on the subject of slavery.⁷

LYNCHING.

MORE "LYNCHING!" Short cut his [victim's] throat to the neck bone. . . . He was taken and executed, by hanging.⁸

Horrible Lynching Crook and Carter have been taken by force from prison by some of the citizens of that county and hung!⁹

LYNCHING. A singular act of lynching was perpetrated recently at the Oberlin theological institute. . . . They secured the man's person, gagged and blindfolded him, and then inflicted 25 lashes on his bare back with a cowhide.¹⁰

Lynching in a Court House. A mob rushed into the room, put out the lights, stabbed Carpenter in several places, and cut off his head, leaving him dead on the floor.¹¹

¹ *Liberator* (1856), Vol. XXVI, p. 204/3.

² W. A. PHILLIPS, *Conquest of Kansas* (1856), p. 195.

³ *Liberator* (1857), Vol. XXVII, p. 160/4.

⁴ *Liberator* (1860), Vol. XXX, p. 179/1.

⁵ J. DOY, *Narrative* (1860), p. 73, note.

⁶ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 169/5.

⁷ H. MARTINEAU, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838), Vol. II, p. 211.

⁸ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLIX, p. 228/1.

⁹ *Niles' Register* (1839), Vol. LVII, p. 256/1. ¹⁰ *Niles' Register* (1841), Vol. LIX, p. 304/3.

¹¹ Quoted by J. S. BUCKINGHAM in his *Slave States of America* (1842), Vol. II, p. 449. While in the early days to lynch generally meant to whip or otherwise chastise, yet from almost the beginning the verbal substantive *lynching* was applied indifferently to a whipping or a hanging.

Lynching judgments are a worse step than the guarded measures of strictly legal vengeance.¹

Lynching bees have become the pastime of the rougher element of a community.²

The lexicography of the subject may be rounded off with some examples of nonce words.

A lynch club—a committee of vigilance—could easily exercise a kind of *surveillance* over any neighborhood.³

The slave States continue to be excessively agitated. They appear to have organized Vigilance Committees and Lynch Clubs in various places.⁴

We are no advocates of Lynchism, nor ever can be.⁵

The very condition of public feeling which makes lynching possible, makes the conviction of negroes in the courts for all lynchable offences absolutely certain.⁶

ORIGIN OF THE TERM.

Turning, now, from the term itself to the theories as to its origin, these are found to be of a somewhat varied nature. In 1855 C. A. Bristed wrote:

Linch, in several of the northern-county dialects, means to beat or maltreat. Lynch Law, then, would be simply equivalent to *club law*; and the change of a letter may be easily accounted for by the fact that the name of Lynch is as common in some parts of America as in Ireland.⁷

Three years later this notion was somewhat improved upon by P. Thompson, as follows:

A sort of thong used by shoemakers in the time of Beaumont and Fletcher was called a *lingel*. . . . And as a strap was a very ready

¹ CORA MONTGOMERY, *Eagle Pass* (1852), p. 154. My attention was called to this book by Dr. J. E. Cutler.

² *Age-Herald* of Birmingham, Alabama, in the *Nation* of November 27, 1902, Vol. LXXV, p. 413/1. The attributive use of *lynching* is common, as: "lynching case" (1855), "lynching evil" (1899), "lynching habit" (1904), "lynching mob" (1902), "lynching party" (1857), "lynching pitch" (1894), "lynching tribunal" (1887), etc.

³ W. H. BROADNAX, in W. L. GARRISON'S *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832), Part II, p. 74. For this extract I am indebted to Mr. W. P. Garrison.

⁴ 1835, September 17, W. L. GARRISON, in *Life* (1885), Vol. I, p. 519. Such expressions are also found as: "lynch code" (1838), "lynch committee" (1835), "lynch court" (1838), "lynch epidemics" (1897), "lynch mob" (1838), "lynch punishment" (1843), "lynch system" (1839), "lynch tribunal" (1843), "lynch verdict" (1852), etc.

⁵ *Liberator* (1838), Vol. VIII, p. 89/2.

⁶ *Nation* (1893), Vol. LVII, p. 222/3.

⁷ "The English Language in America," in *Cambridge Essays*, p. 60.

instrument of punishment, it is probable that a *lingel* was frequently used for that purpose, and the phrase to *linge*, might be as common as to *strap* is at this time. To *linge* would be in use in daily parlance when the first colonists left England . . . and *linge* law, now called *Lynch* law, might be introduced as one of the rough necessities of the settlement. This would be only one out of some hundreds of words which are now called Americanisms; which are, in reality, good old English words, used generally in England two hundred years ago, and which have now become antiquated and obsolete here, although retained in America.¹

In 1883 we were told about "the old Anglo-Saxon verb *linch*, meaning to beat with a club, to chastise, &c."² As a matter of fact, *linch*, a variant of *linge* (a word of obscure origin), so far from being an Anglo-Saxon verb, has not been traced earlier than 1600.³ Moreover, so far as is known, *linch* and *linge* have never at any time been in use in this country. Finally, even if it should be discovered that these words were formerly common here, the original form of the term—Lynch's law—makes it all but certain that it could not have been derived from the verb *linch* or *linge*.

The original form of the term, Lynch's law, and the fact that in the early days even its derivatives were usually spelled with a capital L, indicate that the practice was called from some person of that name. Indeed, this suggestion occurred at the very beginning, for to the remark made by Judge Roane in 1817 was appended this note, presumably written by Wirt:

Thirty-nine lashes, inflicted without trial or law, on mere suspicion of guilt, which could not be regularly proven. This lawless practice, which, sometimes by the order of a magistrate, sometimes without, prevailed extensively in the upper counties on James river, took its name from the gentleman who set the first example of it.⁴

Who was "the gentleman who set the first example of it"?

¹ *Notes and Queries* of October 2, 1858, Second Series, Vol. VI, p. 278. In the same journal of December 18 a correspondent wrote: "Lynch-pin . . . is doubtless derived from the Anglo-Saxon *lynis*, an axle-tree, and means the axle-pin. Is lynch, then, a blow or jolt, to which of course the axle-trees of carts, &c., are continually subject?" (Vol. VI, p. 513).

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. XV, p. 105.

³ See the *Oxford Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*.

⁴ *Life of P. Henry* (1818), p. 372. The note is omitted in W. W. HENRY'S *Patrick Henry*.

To this question there have been several answers, but only three need extended notice.¹

¹ It has also been suggested that lynch law is derived not from a person but from a creek. North Carolina and South Carolina has each a river called Lynch's Creek. How early the North Carolina creek received its name, I have been unable to ascertain, but in 1775 "Línches Cr." is found on H. Mouzon's map of North Carolina. In 1884 J. H. Wheeler related a story to the following effect. During the revolution there was a noted Tory named Major Beard, whose capture was determined on by Major John H. Drake, his son Britton Drake, and other patriots. This was finally accomplished, though only after a struggle between Britton Drake and Beard in which the latter was left for dead. But he revived, and "after some consultation it was resolved to take him as a prisoner to headquarters of Colonel Seawell, commanding in camp at a ford on Lynch Creek, in Franklin County, about thirty miles off. . . . After reaching camp, it was determined to organize a court-martial, and try him for his life. But before proceeding to trial, a report came that a strong body of Tories were in pursuit to rescue him; this created a panic, for they knew his popularity and power, so they hung him. The report proved a false alarm, and it being suggested that as the sentence had been inflicted, before the judgment of the court had been pronounced therefore it was illegal. The body was taken down, the court reorganized, he was tried, condemned, and re-hung by the neck until he was dead. The tree on which he was hung stood not far from Rocky Ford, on Lynch's Creek; and it became a saying in Franklin, when a person committed any offence of magnitude, that 'he ought to be taken to Lynch's Creek:' and so the word 'Lynch law' became a fixture in the English Language" (*Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina*, pp. 172, 173). Wheeler added that this tradition was communicated to him by the Hon. B. F. Moore, who received it from the Drake family. Now it so happens that Wheeler had once before related the story of Beard. In 1851 he gave it as narrated to him by his "venerable and worthy friend Michael Collins, Esquire, of Warren, now in the 73d year of his age, and may be relied on for its correctness" (*Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 274). Agreeing in some respects, the two stories differ widely in others. Major Beard, Major John H. Drake, and his son Britton Drake of the Moore version become Captain Beard, James Drake, Esq., and Albritain Drake in the Collins version. In the latter, too, the supposed killing of Beard is done, not by Albritain Drake but by his half-brother Robert Bridges. In the Collins version the *dénouement* is as follows: "They all went out to see his dead body, but Beard had recovered so as to sit up. He was then taken into custody. A negro man, Simon, who had a wife at Drake's, caught another one of his band, named Porch. These were taken to Colonel Seawell, in Franklin County. They were tried by a Court-martial, and both were forthwith hung. Such was the end of Captain Beard." There is nothing here about a hanging first and a trial afterwards; nothing about Lynch's Creek; nothing about lynch law. A comparison of the two stories leads to the conclusion that the "tradition" in the Drake family arose somewhere between 1851 and 1878, in which year Mr. Moore died. According to Wheeler, James Drake "lived to a good old age, and died in 1790;" while John H. Drake was a member of the North Carolina House of Commons in 1792-1796 and 1798, and of the North Carolina Senate in 1800 and 1805. For the Wheeler extract of 1884, I am indebted to Dr. J. E. Cutler.

Lynch's (or Lynche's) Creek, South Carolina, was known certainly as early as 1752 (A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 131). In his "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," Dr. W. A. SCHAPER, speaking of the Regulators, said: "The settlers agreed to rely on lynch law, which received its name at this time" (*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900*, Vol. I, p. 337). From his reply to a letter requesting his authority for this statement, it appears that Dr. Schaper relied too implicitly on his memory, and that Gregg, by whom he thought the statement had been made, so far from asserting that the *term* arose during the Regulator movement in South Carolina, had merely said that "they called themselves 'Regulators,' and thus 'Lynch law' had its origin at this period" (p. 128). Mr. W. E. Stone of Charleston reminds me that in 1859 Dr. R. W. GIBBES had written: "The Regulation, an association of respectable planters, took the matter in hand, and enforced order by a system of Lynch law" (in J. B. O'NEALL'S *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, Vol. I, p. x). And in 1851, as Dr. J. E. Cutler informs me, J. JOHNSON had written: "This process, in what is now called 'lynch law,' was

JAMES LYNCH OF GALWAY.

There formerly existed in Galway, Ireland, an influential family named Lynch. In 1493 James Lynch Fitz Stephen was mayor of the town,¹ and in the course of two centuries there grew up a tradition in regard to an event which is said to have occurred in that year. A son² of James Lynch murdered a young Spaniard,

then designated 'regulating,' and the associates for this purpose were called 'Regulators' (*Traditions and Reminiscences of the American Revolution*, p. 544). Thus for over half a century South Carolina and lynch law have been associated together. Curiously enough, too, there is proof that the Regulators intended to, and presumably did, hold a meeting at Lynch's Creek: "CHARLES-TOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA, . . . July 25. . . . The last Accounts from the Back Settlements, say, that the People called the REGULATORS were to have a meeting at Lynch's Creek, on last Friday, where it was expected 1200 would be assembled" (*Boston Post-Boy* of August 22, 1768, No. 575, p. 2/1). The late Mr. Edward McCrady felt quite sure that "nothing to connect the term 'Lynch Law' with that of 'Regulation' or 'Regulators' in Carolina will ever be found" (*Nation* of January 15, 1903, Vol. LXXVI, p. 53). What future research may yield remains to be seen, but certainly nothing of the sort has yet been found.

¹ The archives of the town of Galway from 1485 to 1710, edited by J. T. GILBERT, were printed in 1885 in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Tenth Report, Appendix, Part V, pp. 380-520. From these it appears that James Lynch Fitz Stephen was mayor in 1493, 1510, and 1515, and that he held the office of master in 1507, 1511, 1513, 1514, and 1518, after which his name disappears (pp. 385, 392-97). James Lynch is also sometimes called warden as well as mayor of Galway, and the commentators appear to regard the offices as identical. Such was not the case. In a charter dated January 28, 1396-97, Richard II. authorized the provost and burgesses to elect yearly among themselves a chief magistrate. In a charter dated December 15, 1484, Richard III. granted the privilege of yearly electing a mayor and two bailiffs. On September 24, 1484, Donat O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, erected the Church of St. Nicholas into a collegiate with one warden and eight vicars. By a bull dated the sixth of the Ides of March, 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. granted "for ever to the aforesaid sovereign, provost or mayor, bailiffs and equals of the said town a right of patronage, and of presenting the aforesaid priests to the warden, to be instituted vicars by him, and of presenting the warden to the said priests or vicars, to be instituted by them" (HARDIMAN, *History of Galway*, pp. 62, 68, 69, 234, 235, Appendix, pp. i-vi). The offices of warden and of mayor were annual. As James Lynch was mayor in 1493, he could not have been warden in that year; but he may have been warden some other year, though of this no proof exists.

² As to the name of this son, the stories differ. In 1824 H. DUTTON, in his *Statistical and Agricultural Survey of the County of Galway*, as quoted in *Black's Guide to Galway* (1868), p. 265, calls him "an only son." In the archives of Galway there is frequent mention of Stephen Lynch Fitz James between the years 1499 and 1516. In 1828 Prince PÜCKLER-MUSKAU gave the name of the son as Edward Lynch (*Tour in England, Ireland, and France*, 1832, Vol. I, pp. 265-78). At the back of the Church of St. Nicholas, there is a stone bearing this inscription: "This memorial of the stern and unbending justice of the chief magistrate of this city, James Lynch Fitzstephen, elected mayor A. D. 1493, who condemned and executed his own guilty son, Walter, on this spot, has been restored to its ancient site, A. D. 1854, with the approval of the Town Commissioners, by their Chairman, Very Rev. Peter Daly, P. P., and Vicar of St. Nicholas" (*Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Ireland*, 1878, p. 183). This memorial is a tablet on which is carved a skull and bones and the following inscription:

1624

REMEMBER DEATHE

VANITI OF VANITI & ALL IS BUT VANITI.

In some accounts the date is 1524, but the above inscription is copied from a picture given by HARDIMAN in his *History of Galway*, facing p. 316.

confessed his crime, was tried, found guilty, and condemned to die. Spurred on by feelings of compassion, the populace endeavored to save the youth's life; but the inexorable father, in order to prevent a miscarriage of justice, either took upon himself the office of executioner and hanged his own son or saw that the sentence was carried out.¹ Though no trace of this story has been found in print before 1809,² yet the tradition can be shown to be of much older date. In 1674 Father Francisco de Ayora deposed:

Mr. James Lynch fitz Stephen built at his own cost and charges the quier of our blessed Lady's church in the west of Galway, and has most sumptuously adorned with glass windows the said church of Saint Nicholas in the year of Christ 1493. It was this James that gott his own son hanged out of one of the windowes of his house for having committed murther and broaken trust towards a st[r]anger, for to be an example of sincere fidelity to all posterity.³

In the same year James Lynch, archbishop of Tuam, deposed:

He also knows, that one Lynch being maior of said town, having heard that his son broak his word with a stranger, gott him immediately hanged out of the windows of his house, for an example to posterity. And this is publicked belived throughout all the province.³

Whether this tradition has some historical basis, and if so exactly what, perhaps will never be known;⁴ but what the actual

¹ There is more than one version of the tradition, but the gist of the story is given in the text.

² In his *History of Galway* (1820), pp. 70-76, J. HARDIMAN gives the story as related by REV. E. MANGIN in his novel of *George the Third*, published in 1809. This novel I have not seen. Since then the story has been constantly repeated by writers and travelers, and about 1829 REV. E. GROVES of Dublin wrote a tragedy called *The Warden of Galway*. This play long held the stage, and was acted a few nights before Thackeray's arrival in 1842 (*Irish Sketch Book*, 1869, p. 167). It has apparently never been printed, but from the allusions to it in *Notes and Queries* of August 30 and October 11, 1862, Third Series, Vol. II, pp. 167, 296, it appears to have been "founded on the celebrated history of Walter Lynch, who, was the warden or mayor of Galway, in the early part of the seventeenth century." Here we have a different name and a different date from the usual story. In 1846 Hardiman spoke of this tragedy and said that Mr. Groves "considers it as a popular story founded on fiction, well adapted for the genius of poetry, but inadmissible as an historic fact, without better evidence than has been hitherto adduced in its support" (*Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society*, Vol. I, p. 69).

³ *Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society* (1846), Vol. I, pp. 50, 59.

⁴ The *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* ends with 1301; the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland* begins with 1509; and the *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts* begins with 1515. Hence there is nothing in print from these sources for the year 1493. In the following works, which contain descriptions of Galway, there is no allusion to the story: J. SPEED, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611), p. 143; W. CAMDEN, *Britain* (1637), Ireland, pp. 99, 100; R. O'FLAHERTY, *Chorographical Descriptions of West or H-Iar Connaught*,

facts were is really immaterial, for the commentators have been singularly at fault in seeing in this story an instance of lynch law. The son either did or did not commit a crime. If he was innocent and yet was hanged by his father, it was a case of simple murder on the part of the father. If the son was guilty, and the father insisted on the carrying out of a duly imposed sentence, the father was merely playing the part of an Irish Brutus.

To attempt to explain a term first met with in America in 1817, which then had the specific meaning of a whipping, and which from the nature of the case could not have been in existence many years, by an event alleged but not known to have occurred in Ireland in 1493, and which bore no resemblance whatsoever to lynch law, savors of the grotesque.

STEPHEN LYNCH OF JAMAICA.

Equally unsatisfactory was the attempt made to connect lynch law with a certain Stephen Lynch.¹ On January 20, 1687-88, James II. issued "A PROCLAMATION For the more effectual Reducing and Suppressing of PIRATES and PRIVATEERS in *America*."² A few days later the following notice appeared:

1684, pp. 35, 36 (first printed by the Irish Archaeological Society in 1846); W. W. SEWARD, *Topographia Hibernica* (1797); E. WAKEFIELD, *Account of Ireland* (1812). James Lynch and lynch law were first associated together by D. M. STEVENS in *Notes and Queries*, of November 9, 1861, Second Series, Vol. XII, p. 365. In the same journal of August 23, 1862, Third Series, Vol. II, p. 147, a correspondent gives what purports to be an extract from "the Council Books of Galway" relating to "James Lynch, mayor of Galway in 1491." As already pointed out, the archives of Galway are silent on the subject. It does not follow, however, that the tradition is without historical basis, for the archives from 1487 to 1495 merely record the names of the mayors for those years. It may be added that a statute enacted in 1548 required that if any gentleman "apprehend any the townis adversaries who doth spoyll and robe the Comens of the same of ther provicion and merchandiz by land or sea, and sending that naughty person into this town to answer for such faultes and crymis . . . ther shall a queste passe on him, and if the queste condemne him to death, the Mayor and officers forthwith shall put that person so condemnid to execucion, withoute any respecte of grace or favore" (*Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 412).

¹ In *Notes and Queries* of October 23, 1858, Second Series, Vol. VI, p. 338, C. H. BAYLEY wrote: "In my opinion this term is derived from one Lynch, who in 1687-8 was sent to America to suppress piracy. (*London Gazette*, 2319, Feb. 6-9, 1687-8.) As the colonists did not administer law with vigour or certainty, owing to 'the difficulty of adhering to the usual forms of law in the newly fashioned territories,' Lynch was probably empowered to punish pirates summarily, whence this term would arise." This vague statement has since been frequently repeated, but the ascertainable facts are now given for the first time. In 1887 H. H. BANCROFT remarked that "in 1687 one Judge Lynch . . . is said to have executed justice summarily" (*Popular Tribunals*, Vol. I, p. 6).

² This proclamation was printed in the *London Gazette* of January 23-26, 1687-88, No. 2315, p. 1.

*Whitehall, Febr. 8. Stephen Lynch Esq; being Appointed, with His Majesties Approbation, One of the Agents of Sir Robert Holmes His Majesties Sole Commissioner for suppressing of Pirats in America, and having received particular Directions amongst other things committed to his Trust, to carry his Majesties late Proclamation in that behalf to Jamaica, and to the Spanish Ports as well on the North Sea as to Panama on the South Sea, being furnished with all necessary Passports from the Crown of Spain; After which he is to remain for the further performance of this Service, at Jamaica: His Majesty has been Graciously pleased to continue the place of Consul in Flanders unto the said Mr. Lynch, to be executed by his Deputy during his Absence, as a Mark of His Majesties Grace and Favor to him.*¹

Stephen Lynch was in Jamaica by April 24, 1688, he visited certain of the Spanish ports, he left Jamaica for home March 15, 1689, and during his year's stay in the West Indies he appears to have incurred the dislike of everyone. His proceedings were perhaps arbitrary and ill-advised, but he did not inflict illegal punishments, and he never set foot on the soil of the present United States.²

CHARLES LYNCH OF VIRGINIA.

It cannot be doubted that the proper place to look for "the gentleman who set the first example" of lynch law, referred to but not identified by Wirt in 1817, is in this country. This gentleman was not again alluded to until 1835, when we were informed that the practice arose "many years ago" in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and that the party which held an impromptu trial of a poacher "proceeded to try him in due form, choosing one of their number, a farmer named *Lynch*, to be judge."³ In the same year J. H. Ingraham remarked that

¹ *London Gazette* of February 6-9, 1687-88, No. 2319, p. 2/2.

² Admiral Sir Robert Holmes complained (August 12, 1688) that his "agent Mr. Lynch has received great discouragement from the Government of Jamaica in the business of suppressing pirates;" while Sir Francis Watson, President of the Council of Jamaica spoke (March 15, 1689) of Lynch as "a very troublesome and unsatisfied man," and declared (April 22, 1689) that Lynch "has stirred up irreconcilable enmity with the French, and his inconsiderate management has done nothing towards the repressing of pirates, for not one would come in after his severity and his threats," and that Lynch's "oppressive behaviour crippled the execution of the duke's commission." Stephen Lynch's career in the West Indies can be followed in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1685-1688*, Nos. 1715, 1725, 1734, 1759, 1775, 1777, 1782, 1801, 1801 I, 1865, 1884, 1945, 1946, 1948, 1951, p. 579; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1688-1692*, Nos. 52, 52 I, 85, 85 II.

³ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLVIII, p. 402/2. Washington County was formed out of Westmoreland County on March 28, 1781 (*Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 1782*, pp. 438-44; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, Vol. XII, p. 681).

the "summary process of popular justice" was termed "'Lynch's law,' I believe from its originator."¹ In 1839 C. A. Murray said he believed the term originated "in one of the Southern States, where a body of farmers, unable to bring some depredators to justice, according to a legal form, chose one of their number, named Lynch, judge; from the rest they selected a jury, and from this self-constituted court they issued and enforced sundry whippings, and other punishments."² In 1842 Brande declared that lynch law "is said to have been so called from a Virginian farmer of the name of Lynch, who took the law into his own hands on some occasion, by chasing a thief, tying him to a tree, and flogging him with his own hands."³ In 1844 we were told about "a very awful personage named Judge Lynch" of Arkansas, "whose unrivalled ability in the science of cross-questioning had often thrown light upon the most obscure cases" and had been "inherited from a famous Virginian ancestor of his" who was "a miller and a justice of the peace in the back woods."⁴ In 1855 C. A. Bristed said that "it is usually explained as having been derived from the emphatic practice of a certain Judge Lynch, who lived somewhere in the 'Far West.'"⁵ These statements and the persons alluded to in them are equally vague and shadowy.

We next come to a set of explanations in which a specific person is mentioned. In 1836 a writer declared that "it will be perceived from the annexed paper, that the law, so called, originated in 1780, in Pittsylvania, Virginia. Colonel William Lynch, of that county, was its author."⁶ In 1846 F. Wyse wrote:

¹ *The South-West*, Vol. II, p. 186.

² *Travels in North America*, Vol. II, p. 79.

³ *Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art*, p. 689. Curiously enough, this was the first dictionary of any sort to recognize the term.

⁴ G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH, *Excursion through the Slave States*, pp. 89, 90.

⁵ *Cambridge Essays*, p. 60.

⁶ *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. II, p. 389. This reference comes to me through Mr. J. P. Lamberton of Philadelphia and Mr. E. Ingle of Baltimore. The "annexed paper" was a copy of an agreement said to have been drawn up September 22, 1780. It is interesting, if genuine, but we are not told where it came from. It was reprinted by Mr. INGLE in his *Southern Sidelights* (1896), pp. 192, 193.

Who was this Col. William Lynch? There was a William Lynch who married Eleanor (Dorsey) Todd, the widow of Thomas Todd of Todd's Neck, Baltimore County, Maryland. Her will was proved in 1760, hence this William Lynch must have flourished about that

John Lynch, the terrible judge, was a native of South Carolina, who emigrated to Kentucky shortly after the pioneer, Daniel Boone, had established himself there. . . . The appointment of Lynch as a judge, and the first exercise of his jurisdiction, took place in the case of an Indian, who stole a horse from Daniel Boone. The Indian was caught, almost in the act, and Boone immediately instituted a court, and twelve jurors, to try the offence. John Lynch was elected chief justice. . . . Lynch was a daring dissolute fellow, addicted to every species of vice.¹

In 1860 we were told that lynch law "derives its name from John Lynch, a farmer who exercised it upon the fugitive slaves and criminals dwelling in the 'dismal swamp,' North Carolina, when they committed outrages upon persons and property which the colonial law could not promptly redress."² And in 1875 we read of "James Lynch, a farmer of Piedmont, Va."³ So far as I have been able to ascertain, all these were purely mythical persons.

Finally, we find lynch law associated with Charles Lynch of Bedford County, Virginia. In a conversation alleged to have taken place in 1834, but not recorded until 1859, R. Venable of Prince Edward County, Virginia, is reported to have said:

I knew Mr. Lynch well—as well as a stripling could be expected to know a dignified and venerable gentleman. He was for many years the senior and presiding justice of the County Court of Pittsylvania, whose

time; but whether he was of Maryland or of Virginia is not stated. (*Virginia Magazine*, 1895, Vol. III, p. 82.) There was also a William Lynch, a younger son of John Lynch, the founder of Lynchburg, Virginia. MRS. JULIA M. CABELL, in her *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg* (1858), pp. 20-22, says that "William Lynch was a colonel in the late war, and was stationed at Camp Holly." Camp Holly was near Newmarket, Virginia (F. B. HERTMAN, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 1895, Vol. II, p. 509), and the Mexican war is presumably alluded to. Mrs. Cabell adds that William Lynch was "placed as a student at the University of Virginia." As Jefferson's institution was chartered in 1819, it is obvious that this William Lynch could not have been the alleged Col. William Lynch who drew up the alleged agreement of 1780.

When the 1836 writer spoke of Col. William Lynch of Pittsylvania County, he perhaps confused him with Col. Charles Lynch of Bedford County; but this is mere conjecture.

¹*America*, Vol. I, pp. 203, 204. It need scarcely be said that the name of John Lynch does not occur in the list of Kentucky judges (1792-1847) given in L. COLLINS's *Historical Sketches of Kentucky* (1848), p. 106. There was, however, a John Lynch at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in 1775 (R. H. COLLINS, *History of Kentucky*, 1878, Vol. II, pp. 518, 519). But then there was a John Lynch in Pennsylvania (*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, Vol. XI, p. 214), a John Lynch in Virginia, and doubtless a score of other John Lynches at the same period.

²J. HAYDN's *Dictionary of Dates*, 9th ed., p. 409. The writer adds: "This mode of administering justice began about the end of the seventeenth century." The 7th ed., 1855, does not contain the term lynch law; the 8th ed. I have not seen. Where the editor, B. VINCENT, got the story, I do not know, but perhaps from some English newspaper.

³*Educational Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, p. 162.

terms he attended with remarkable punctuality. His advanced age prevented him from taking the field during the War of Independence, but no man more heartily embraced or more zealously supported the cause of the colonists. . . . Mr. Lynch was a man of enlarged mind, great decision of character, fixidness, almost sternness of purpose, but most eminently a law-loving and law-abiding man. . . . Our flourishing town of Lynchburg received its name in compliment to his worth.¹

On November 25, 1842, Colonel William Martin wrote:

This method of breaking up combinations of rogues was first set on foot by Col. Charles Lynch, of Bedford county, where I was raised. He and my father were acquainted. (The same man for whom Lynchburg was named.) This plan was started some seventy or eighty years ago.²

In 1856 G. D. Brewerton said:

Lynch law owes its title to a certain Squire Lynch—a stern and uncompromising old patriot, who lived during “the times that tried men’s souls,” on his plantation, distant some three miles from the present site of Lynchburg, Va. It was the custom in those stirring days of the Revolution, for his neighbors, when they caught a tory, to bring the unlucky culprit before Squire Lynch, who at once organized a court of his own selection, in which he himself was judge, jury, and counsel for the prisoner. . . . A venerable oak, one of the real old settlers, is even now pointed out to the curious, as the canopy under which Judge Lynch

¹ *Harper's Magazine*, May, 1859, Vol. XVIII, pp. 795, 796. The lynching of the Vicksburg gamblers took place in 1835, not in 1834. It is impossible to say with certainty whom the writer had in mind, but the allusion to Lynchburg shows that either Charles Lynch or John Lynch is meant. Charles Lynch did take the field, while John Lynch, who was a Quaker and so a non-combatant, did not die until 1821. Again we have an allusion to Pittsylvania County, but apparently no Lynches were connected with that county. In 1753 Bedford County was formed out of Lunenburg County; in 1754 parts of Albemarle and of Lunenburg Counties were added to Bedford; in 1766 Pittsylvania County was formed out of Halifax County; in 1776 Washington County was formed out of Fincastle County; in 1782 Campbell County was formed out of Bedford. (HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. VI, pp. 381, 441, Vol. VIII, p. 205, Vol. IX, p. 257, Vol. X, p. 447; *Journal of the House of Delegates*, January 5, 1782, p. 73.)

² *Publications of the Southern History Association* (1900), Vol. IV, p. 464. Col. William Martin, a son of Gen. Joseph Martin, was born in 1765 and died in 1846. He was, therefore, seventy-seven years old when he wrote the passage in the text. Col. Martin says that the practice began between 1762 and 1772—that is, either before he was born or when he was not more than seven years old.

The statement that Lynchburg was named for Charles Lynch is frequently made, but appears to be an error. In 1786 there passed the Virginia legislature “An act to establish a town on the lands of John Lynch, in the County of Campbell” (HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. XII, pp. 398, 399). Forty-five acres of land, the property of John Lynch, were vested in ten trustees for the purpose of establishing “a town by the name of Lynchburg.” The proper founder of Lynchburg appears to have been John Lynch, and he has been so regarded by Mrs. Cabell and others. John Lynch was a brother of Charles Lynch and died October 31, 1821. Among the trustees were Charles Lynch and William Martin. Whether the latter was the Col. William Martin who wrote the passage in the text, I do not know; but if so, he was then only twenty-one years old.

held his rough and ready court; those who have seen it, say that the notches are still visible upon its moss-grown trunk, which, in "old lang syne," kept the cords from slipping, while the tory got his dose. The town of Lynchburg takes its name from the Judge.¹

In 1870 E. A. Pollard wrote:

Lynchburg . . . was established in 1786 by an Irish emigrant of the name of Lynch. *En passant*, the term "Lynch law" was derived from his brother, a hot-tempered Irishman, who was colonel in the Revolutionary war, and who was in the habit of dealing summarily with the Tories and desperadoes who infested this part of the country.²

In 1875 E. King remarked:

An Irish emigrant gave his name, in 1786, to the town; and the famous term "Lynch law," now so universal, sprang from the summary manner in which this hot-headed Hibernian—a colonel in the Revolutionary army—treated such tories as were caught by him.³

In 1903 Mr. L. P. Summers said:

At the time in question [1779], Captain Charles Lynch, of Bedford County, was manager for the Commonwealth of the Lead Mines on New river, and, as a result of the visit of Captain Campbell to Montgomery in this year, he thereafter adopted Campbell's method of dealing with Tories and wrong-doers; and, ever after, during the war, when any of the inhabitants were suspected of wrong doing or treasonable conduct, they were dealt with according to what was termed "Captain Lynch's Law," and from this man and this occasion originated the term "Lynch Law," as it is practised throughout the nation, under peculiar conditions, at this day.⁴

In Charles Lynch at least a real person has been hit upon, and of the many candidates who have been proposed as the putative father of lynch law, he is the only one whose claims deserve serious consideration. Let us see who he was, for the above accounts are inaccurate and there were at least three of the name. The first

¹ *War in Kansas*, pp. 146, 147. The oak tree of 1856 was later singularly transformed into a walnut tree, for in 1900 MR. H. C. FEATHERSTON wrote: "On the lawn of the old Lynch homestead, two miles from the present flourishing village of Lynch Station, . . . still stands the walnut tree on which lynch law was first administered" (*Green Bag*, Vol. XII, p. 138). It will be remembered that a tree also figured in the "tradition" in the Drake family of North Carolina.

² *The Virginia Tourist*, p. 42.

³ *The Great South*, p. 555.

⁴ *History of Southwest Virginia and Washington County*, p. 293. In reply to an inquiry, Mr. Summers writes me that he can give "no further information in regard to the term 'Lynch Law' than such as is found in" his book and in D. SCHENCK'S *North Carolina, 1780-81, 1889*, pp. 309, 310.

Charles Lynch was a redemptioner who came from Ireland to Virginia about 1725, married Sarah Clark the daughter of the planter to whom he had been sold by the captain of the ship that brought him over, took up large tracts of land, became a member of the House of Burgesses in 1748,¹ and died about 1750.² The second Charles Lynch, son of the first Charles Lynch, was the supposed originator of lynch law. The third Charles Lynch, son of the second Charles Lynch, was governor of Mississippi in 1836 and 1837 and died in 1853.³ Hereafter in speaking of Charles Lynch, it will be understood that the second of the name is meant.

Charles Lynch was born in 1736 at Chestnut Hill, near Lynch's Ferry⁴ across the James River, where Lynchburg was later founded; on January 12, 1755, he married Anne Terrill; between 1769 and 1776 he sat for Bedford County in the House of Burgesses;⁵ in 1769 he signed the non-importation agreement;⁶ in 1774 he was made a justice of the peace under a commission from Dunmore, and retained the position when the county court was reorganized according to the ordinance of the Convention passed July 3, 1776; in 1775 he was a colonel of militia for Bedford

¹ For Albemarle county (W. G. and M. N. STANARD, *Colonial Virginia Register*, 1902, pp. 122, 124),

² Mr. Featherston says that he died in 1753, while Dr. Page states that Sarah Lynch was a widow when she joined the sect of the Quakers at the Cedar Creek meeting on April 16, 1750.

³ C. LANMAN, *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States* (1887), p. 311. R. LOWRY and W. H. MCCARDLE assert that this Charles Lynch "was bred to the business of a merchant, and for a number of years he was a successful merchant in the ancient town of Monticello" (*History of Mississippi*, 1891, p. 278). The name of Charles Lynch does not occur in JAMES D. LYNCH's *Bench and Bar of Mississippi* (1881). Yet in 1880 J. F. H. CLATBORNE said that in 1835 Mr. Plummer carried Gallatin County "for his friend, Judge Lynch, the opponent of Runnels" (*Mississippi*, Vol. I, p. 426). This shows how easily the title of "Judge" is attached to any man who bears the name of Lynch. In a message to the Mississippi legislature, GOVERNOR LYNCH said: "However we may regret the occasion, we are constrained to admit, that necessity will sometimes prompt a summary trial and punishment unknown to the law" (*Liberator*, April 30, September 24, 1836, Vol. VI, pp. 72/2, 155/2). It is perhaps singular that the commentators should not have associated Governor Lynch with lynch law.

⁴ For allusions to Lynch's Ferry, see *Journal of the House of Delegates*, January 1, 1785, p. 102; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 1.

⁵ W. G. and M. N. STANARD, *Colonial Virginia Register* (1902), pp. 180-208. Dr. Page says that Charles Lynch became a Burgess in 1767, but this is an error for 1769.

⁶ J. BURK, *History of Virginia* (1805), Vol. III, p. 349.

County;¹ in 1777 he sat for Bedford County in the House of Delegates;² during and after the revolution he was employed at the lead mines and in the manufacture of saltpetre;³ in 1781 he took part in the battle of Guildford Court House; in 1786 he was one of ten trustees appointed to establish the town of Lynchburg; and he died October 29, 1796.⁴

It is clear from this outline that Charles Lynch was a man of note in his local community, but in what has thus far been said there is nothing to warrant the association of his name with lynch law. There was, however, one episode in his career which perhaps justifies such an association. There is proof that in 1780 he illegally fined and imprisoned certain Tories.⁵ Had Charles

¹ DR. PAGE writes: "We find, in 1778, that the court of Bedford 'doth recommend to his Excellency, the Governor, Charles Lynch as a suitable Person to exercise the Office of Colonel of Militia in this County.'" This would seem to be an error, as, under dates of November 7, 1775, and January 14, 1777, these entries are found: "Lynch, Colo. Charles, Waggon hire, Diets, &c., to Bedford Militia, 62.13.—. . . Lynch, Col. Charles, for sundry Persons, Acco^t, 1089.7.8" (*Virginia Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 295, 419).

² *Journal of the House of Delegates*, October 22, 1777, p. 3. Charles Lynch was apparently not a member after this session.

³ *Journal of the House of Delegates*, November 17, 1779, pp. 60, 61; November 16, 1780, p. 19; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 28, 372, 394; Vol. V, p. 108.

⁴ This account of Charles Lynch is largely taken from Dr. T. W. PAGE's admirable article on "The Real Judge Lynch" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1901, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 731-43, and from Mr. H. C. FEATHERSTON's article on "The Origin of Lynch Law" in the *Green Bag* for March, 1900, Vol. XII, pp. 150-58. Dr. Page assumes but does not prove the connection between Charles Lynch and lynch law. I am indebted to Dr. J. E. Cutler for calling my attention to Mr. Featherston's article. The statements of Dr. Page and of Mr. Featherston are somewhat at variance, and, in such cases, as neither is apt to give his authority, it is impossible to determine which is correct. Allusions to Charles Lynch will also be found in the following works: B. TARLETON, *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781* (1787), p. 272; C. STEDMAN, *History of the American War* (1794), Vol. II, p. 338; H. LEE, *Memoirs of the War* (1812), Vol. I, pp. 330, 341, 345; C. CALDWELL, *Memoirs of N. Greene* (1819), p. 233; W. JOHNSON, *Sketches of N. Greene* (1822), Vol. II, p. 3; W. G. SIMMS, *Life of N. Greene* (1858), p. 186; G. W. GREENE, *Life of N. Greene* (1871), Vol. III, pp. 184, 196; F. V. GREENE, *General Greene* (1893), pp. 213, 217, 219, 220; *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 296, 297; T. JEFFERSON, *Writings* (ed. FORD), Vol. II, p. 487.

Mr. Featherston says: "Under his [Charles Lynch's] direction, suspected persons were arrested and brought to his house, where they were tried by a court composed of himself, and the gentlemen above named [W. Preston, R. Adams, Jr., J. Callaway] the latter sitting as associate justices. From this circumstance he was afterwards often called 'Judge Lynch.'" Charles Lynch may have been called "Judge" by his contemporaries, but as yet no proof of the fact has been adduced. The only title I have found given him by his contemporaries is that of "Colonel."

⁵ On December 2 and 20, 1780, a petition was presented and considered from Harry Terrill, representing that "in the month of September last, he received orders from the commanding officer of Bedford county to summon a guard for the purpose of conveying to the public jail, a number of men on suspicion of treason," and praying for a farther allowance (*Journal of the House of Delegates*, pp. 35, 36, 60). On November 21, 1780, John Meade-jailer of Bedford County, presented a petition asking for compensation "for the main, tenance of prisoners confined in the said jail." On December 5 "Mr. Richard Lee reported

Lynch been the only person who resorted to illegal acts in dealing with Tories, there might be strong presumptive evidence that to his connection with such illegal acts we owe the term lynch law. But the fact is that many others were equally concerned in such illegal acts. In 1777 "the Governour and Council, and others" were indemnified "for removing and confining Suspected Persons during the late publick danger."¹ In 1779 "William Campbell, Walter Crockett, and others" were indemnified for illegal acts committed "in suppressing a late conspiracy."² In 1782 "William Preston, Robert Adams, junior, James Callaway, and Charles Lynch, and other faithful citizens" were indemnified for measures (taken in suppressing a conspiracy in 1780) not "strictly warranted by law, although justifiable from the immi-

. . . as followeth: It appears to your committee, that during the last summer, there were committed to the petitioner's care as keeper of the jail of the county of Bedford, the following persons, as well on suspicion of treasonable practices against the State, as other offences, to wit: . . . It also appears to your committee, that the said persons remained in the petitioner's custody and keeping, the term of eighteen days, during which time they were furnished with good and wholesome food, to procure which put the petitioner to great expense and trouble. . . . It also appears to your committee, that upon application being made to the auditors of public accounts, for a warrant for the amount of the said account, they refused to grant the same; and would only allow the petitioner the ordinary fees for criminals." Meade was allowed £6,480, but on December 21 this was cut down to £5,400. (*Journal*, pp. 23, 37, 38, 64.) Dr. PAGE writes: "Tradition says that Colonel Lynch was made aware of the conspirators' plans by one of their own number. He had them all arrested, and found among them some of the leading men of the county; two of them, indeed, Robert Cowan and Thomas Watts, had formerly been his fellow justices on the bench of the county court. . . . Robert Cowan, who seems to have been the ringleader, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £20,000." The persons who spent eighteen days under the care of Meade were seventy-five in number, their names are given in the *Journal* (pp. 37, 38), and among them were Robert Cowan and Thomas Watts. Dr. Page and others write as if Charles Lynch was solely responsible for the arrest and illegal punishment of these Tories, but this is a mistake.

¹ HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. IX, pp. 373, 374. The preamble recites: "WHEREAS, on the late appearance of a hostile fleet in the bay of Chesapeake, . . . it become [sic] necessary for the governour and council, for the publick safety, to remove and restrain, during the imminence of the danger, . . . certain persons whose affections to the American cause were suspected, . . . and it may happen that some of the said persons so removed and restrained may be disposed to vex with actions at law those who were concerned in advising, issuing, or executing the orders for that purpose," etc.

² On October 22, 1779, it was "Resolved, That William Campbell, Walter Crockett, and others, concerned in suppressing a late conspiracy and insurrection on the frontiers of this State, ought to be indemnified for any proceedings therein not warranted by law" (*Journal of the House of Delegates*, p. 21). A bill was presented by Thomas Nelson, Jr., and under dates of November 26, 27, December 11, 13, 15, 18, the bare facts are recorded in the *Journal*, pp. 71, 72, 85, 87, 90, 97. In the act itself it was recited that "the necessary measures taken for that purpose may not be strictly warranted by law, although justifiable from the immediate urgency and imminence of the danger," etc. (HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. X, p. 195). It may be added that Walter Crockett was a member of this legislature for Montgomery County (*Journal*, p. 4).

nence of the danger."¹ In 1784 all persons were indemnified who committed "any insult or injury against the person of a certain Joseph Williamson" on October 10, 1783, "which was previous to the ratification of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and America."² It is seen, then, not only that Charles Lynch was one of many who resorted to illegal proceedings, but that it was not he who "set the first example" of such proceedings.³

Wherever we find a term containing a proper name, there seems to be an ineradicable tendency in the popular mind to explain the term by referring it to some person or thing of the same name. *Uncle Sam*, *Brother Jonathan*, and other examples of this process will readily occur to the reader. To this tendency we may without hesitation attribute the dragging in of James Lynch of Galway, of Stephen Lynch of Jamaica, and of other real or imaginary persons named Lynch. With Charles Lynch of Virginia, however, the case is different. The accessible facts have been given in this paper, and each reader will draw his own conclusions. Charles Lynch was one of many, and by no means the first, who committed illegal acts against the Tories,⁴ and for sixty

¹ HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. XI, pp. 134, 135. The wording of the act follows closely that of 1779. The bill was presented by J. Talbot, November 29, 1782, and allusions to it will be found under dates of November 25, 29, 30, December 2, 4, 24, in the *Journal of the House of Delegates*, pp. 36, 43, 45, 47, 52, 79. Dr. Page says: "To avoid the trouble of a lawsuit, Lynch had the matter brought up before the legislature, of which he was still a member." This is an error, for Charles Lynch was not a member at that time. John Talbot and Robert Clarke were the members for Bedford County, and Robert Adams, Jr., and William Brown for Campbell County (*Journal*, p. 4).

In his *North Carolina, 1780-81, 1889*, p. 310, D. SCHENCK wrote: "In Judge Lynch's court there generally sat as associates Robert Adams and James Calloway, and an old song commemorating their judgments ran thus:

'Hurrah for Colonel Lynch, Captain Bob and Calloway,
They never turned a Tory loose
Until he shouted liberty.'

This song clearly points to the measures of 1780, but there is in it no suggestion of the term lynch law.

² HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. XI, p. 373. It seems fair to assume that this Williamson was a Tory. On May 30, 1783, Arthur Lee presented a bill "to indemnify all officers of the army of the United States, and others, for acts necessarily done in execution of military orders" (*Journal of the House of Delegates*, p. 27).

³ If the practice of lynch law had its origin in the measures taken to suppress Tories, we should logically expect such a term as "Campbell's law" or "Crockett's law" rather than "Lynch's law." Nevertheless, as logic often plays an unimportant part in the springing up of new words and phrases, it may be that in these illegal acts against the Tories the true origin of the term lynch law is to be found.

⁴ That, as has frequently been stated, Charles Lynch illegally punished desperadoes, may be true; but as yet no proof has been adduced.

years he has been generally regarded as the person from whom the term lynch law took its name. On the other hand, the term itself is not known to have been in existence until 1817, or twenty-one years after the death of Charles Lynch;¹ not until 1842, or forty-six years after his death, were his name and lynch law associated together; and there is no contemporary evidence connecting Charles Lynch with lynch law.² In the opinion of the present writer, so far as Charles Lynch is concerned, the Scotch verdict of "not proven" must be rendered; and the true origin of the term lynch law has yet to be determined.

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¹Writing a quarter of a century after the event, Judge Roane spoke of suits which were brought in 1792. Granting that his memory was good and that such suits were brought, it by no means follows that the term Lynch's law was known in 1792. In short, it has yet to be proved that the term was in existence in the lifetime of Charles Lynch. An attempt on the part of the present writer to obtain further information in regard to these suits has proved fruitless.

²John Lynch (the founder of Lynchburg) died October 31, 1821, and Capt. John Lynch (a son of Charles Lynch) died in 1840. Contemporary obituary notices of these two were given by Mrs. CABELL in her *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg*, pp. 13, 17, but there is in them no allusion to lynch law. Could an obituary notice of Charles Lynch be found, it might yield some pertinent facts; but my search for Lynchburg newspapers of 1796 has been unsuccessful, and in other Virginia papers of that date I have not found a notice of Charles Lynch.

THE SPANISH PARTICLE *HE*.

THE following observations are in the main intended to contribute to our knowledge of the Spanish language previous to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Similar to *he* in sense and syntax are *e*, *ahe*, *ae*, *fe*, *afe*.

A. *HE*.

1. Diez, *Et. Wb.*⁴, p. 458 s. v. *He*, observes: "*He* in *he-me*, *he-te* . . . sp. adverb, sieh, *ecce*; statt *fe-me* u. s. f. und dies aus *ve-me* = lat. *vide me*" The semasiological side of this etymology is unimpeachable, but not so the phonetic side. For as Mod. *h-* does not necessarily proceed from *f-*, it was to be proved and not to be taken for granted that *he* is later than *fe*. Judging merely from the evidence of the MSS, just the opposite is the case. *He* occurs already in a MS of the beginning of the thirteenth century (*Reyes Magos*), *he*, *e*, *ahe* appear in a MS of the last third of the same century (*Est. God.*), while *fe*, *afe* are found for the first time in a MS of the beginning of the fourteenth century (*P. Cid*). I shall admit the objection that in the latter case the spelling of the scribe may be that of the author, which would make *fe* a form of the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹ I shall not yield, however, to the objection that the MS of the *Reyes Magos* reads vss. 12 *prohio*, 26 *hata*, 116 *ata*, and that vs. 127 *he* likewise presupposes an earlier *fe*. As for *prohio*, the history of medial *f* in compounds seems as obscure as that of initial *f* of other than Lat. origin, and, after all, we are in this case not dealing with initial *f*. *Ata* (instanced very early, cf. F. Avilés 9) seems to me an earlier form than *fata*; cf. also Baist, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, p. 365. At any rate, I insist that *he*, of uncertain etymology, may be just as well a primary form. Such an opinion is supported by the fact that *he*, *e*, *ahe* are used

¹ BAIST in GRÖBEE'S *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 397, dates the *P. Cid* "um die Mitte des 12. Jhs. oder kurz nach ihr." I cannot agree with him. Cf. BAIST, op. cit., p. 338, and BEEB, *Zur Überlieferung asp. Literaturdenkmäler*, 1898, p. 28.

exclusively in some of the earliest texts, e. g., *Est. God.*, Berceo, and that *he, e, ahe* are altogether too numerous before the end of the fourteenth century¹—my collectanea show forty-five forms with or without *h* over against forty-two forms with *f*—to be accidental spellings of *fe, afe*. Now, it is very remarkable that, of the *f*-forms, *afe* is almost limited to the *P. Cid* (only two out of twenty-three cases occur elsewhere; cf. p. 26), and *fe* is found about as many times in the *P. Cid* as in all the other texts together (eight times out of eighteen, cf. p. 25). The difference between *he* and *fe* is therefore one of dialect,² and not one of chronology.

Further, *fe* < *ve* is not utterly impossible, but should be resorted to only after all other attempts at a more satisfactory etymology have failed. Of the Span. instances of initial *f* < *v*³ given by Diez, *Gramm.*⁵, p. 236 (= ³Vol. I, p. 288), *fisca*(?)—*hisca* has been eliminated by Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, Vol. III, p. 462; *fampa*(?) (not known to Hidalgo—in Mier, *Origenes*—nor to Covarrubias (1673), Salvá¹¹, the Dict. of the Academy¹³)—*hampa* (also *ampa*, e. g., Nov. ej., p. 97; Quevedo, Vol. III, p. 116b) is a *Germania*-word; finally, *femencia*—*hemencia* may be a case of popular etymology (influence of *fe, fermentido*).⁴ As for Lat. *fitiatus* for *vitiatu*s Samsonis Abbatis Cordub. Apologeticus Lib. II, cap. viii. —*Esp. Sagr.*, Vol. XI², p. 412 (referred to by Diez, loc. cit.); *fi* for *vi* Flor. Dig. XVIII, vi, 9 and other examples in Schuchardt, *Vokal. d. Vulgärl.*, Vol. I, p. 183; Sp. *Fanegas* for *Vanegas* S. Teresa, Vol. II, p. 80a; *fisitas* for *visitas* p. 273b, granted they are mispronunciations, are those of individuals and not of com-

¹ Cf. BAIST, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, pp. 351, 381.

² According to Cornu (cf. BAIST in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 397 n. 3) and LIDFORSS, *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*, p. vii, the dialect of the *P. Cid* is Asturian.

³ Final *e* after *v* is sometimes dropped contrary to the rule. Final *v* then generally becomes *f*: P. Cid 40 *nuef*. FÉROTIN, p. 234 (1260) *claf*. Jonas [1, 3] (MS Esc. I. j. 6—first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *naf*. Act. 28, 11 (same MS—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 399) *naf* (but S. TERESA, Vol. I, p. 486b *nav*). J. RUIZ 671 *nief*.

In the same way final *v* (= *b*) > *f*: P. Cid 3320 *off* < *ove*. 3321 *of*.

In *ahuelo* Corvacho, p. 126 (V. L. *avuelo*); J. RODRÍGUEZ, pp. 224, 232; LUCAS FERNÁNDEZ, pp. 9, 202; *ahuela* J. RODRÍGUEZ, p. 224, *h* does not represent intervocalic *v*, but is epenthetic. *Avuelo*—*auuelo*—*auelo* (cf. J. RODRÍGUEZ, p. 232 *avelo*)—*ahuelo*.

In *hueco*, if from *vocuu* (CORNÜ in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 767), *h* is prosthetic.

⁴ Especially, if the Latin basis was *vementia* and not *vehementia*. A rather late example of the first is given by DUCANGE (Favre), s. v.; better attested is *vemens* GEORGES, *Lex. d. lat. Wortf.*, s. v. *vehemens*. A different view will be found in MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. I, § 427. Cf. also CORNÜ in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 766.

munities. They show, however, that the possibility of *f*- < *v*- cannot be denied.

2. Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, Vol. X, p. 7 n., expresses his opinion about the etymology of *he* as follows:

He è nella sua più antica forma: *afé*. . . . Vi veggo io un' affermazione sacramentale che si è ridotta a mera espressione risolutiva o eccitativa (cfr. il lat. *hercle* o l' it. *gnàffe* = *mia fé*): *affé* che vengo = eccomi pronto a venire.

Ascoli, therefore, connects the *afe* of the *P. Cid*, for there it appears earliest, with *fe* < *fide*. The original meaning of *afe* then would be *profecto*, i' *faith*.

Unfortunately an *afe* (generally *a fe*) = *profecto* is not found until Encina, cf. p. 5, in other words, three centuries after the *P. Cid*. The usual form before this time is *a la fe*, thus Alex. 320 (+1); 596 (*A la fet*); J. Ruiz 743; 768; 873; 1328; 1494; 1623; (with the latter also *ala he*: 930; 961; 1492); Lucanor, p. 160. The *afe* of the *P. Cid*, however, means, no doubt, *ecce* and is a dialectal form of *ahe*.

A construction like the one mentioned by Ascoli, i. e., *a fe* (!) followed by *que*¹ and a finite verb and meaning *profecto* is very frequently met with since Encina; e. g., Encina, p. 288 *Á fê que es bella!* Diego Sanchez, Vol. I, p. 91 *Mas si culpa ella tenta, Á fe que bien lo pagó.* Autos, Vol. I, p. 9, 217 *A fee, que no seria malo!* Vol. II, p. 268, 125 *A fee, que tal no estara.* Vol. III, p. 224, 346 Ypocresia. *Hija, soy la Ypocresia.* Alma. *A fe, que lo paresceis.* D. Quix. II, 40 *pues a fê que no teneis razon.* Tirso, p. 64c *¿A fe que se casaria?* Before this time I know of *afe* (!) *que* only in the *P. Cid*: vs. 2140 *Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz,"* and three other instances, cf. p. 27. But though the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* and the *á fê que* of Encina resemble each other very much, I cannot believe that they are of the same meaning and origin. The total lack of *afe* = *profecto* in the *P. Cid* as well as in early literature is decidedly against the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* = *profecto*. On the other hand, during all the time I have no trace of *afe que*, I find *he que*, *ahe que* translating *ecce* (a) and *en* (b):

¹ Cf. TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. I³, p. 57.

a) Is. 7, 14¹ *Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium.* MS Esc. I. j. 6 (first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *He que concibra una virgen e parra fio.* MS Esc. I. j. 4 (fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 406) *Ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo.* Biblia Alba,² p. 25 *ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo.*

Cant. 1, 14³ *Ecce, tu pulchra es, amica mea, ecce tu pulchra es, oculi tui columbarum.* 15 *Ecce, tu pulcher es, dilecte mi* Biblia Alba, p. 43 *ahe que tu fermosa eres, la mi querida, ahe que tu fermosa tu eres e los tus ojos palomos: ahe que tu eres fermoso, el mi querido*

Cant. 2, 8⁴ *Vox dilecti mei, ecce, iste venit saliens in montibus.* Hohelied, p. 2 *Voz del mio amigo. he que este viene saliendo los oteros.*

b) Cant. 2, 9⁵ *En, ipse stat post parietem nostrum.* Hohelied, p. 2 *he que el esta tras nuestra paret.*

Cant. 3, 7⁶ *En, lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel.* Biblia Alba, p. 44 *ahe que la su cama de salomon sesenta barraganes la circundan de los fortissimos de israel.*

The MS containing the *Hohelied*, Esc. I. j. 6, is dated by Berger, *Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 560, from the first half of the fourteenth century, the language itself by Cornu from the thirteenth century. Under the circumstances, it will be safe to conclude that the *afe que* of *P. Cid* means *ecce* and is a dialectal form of *ahe que*.

¹Cf. MS Esc. Y. j. 8 (fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 380) *Evad, que concebira virgen y parira fijo.* MS Esc. I. j. 3 (fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 514) *Ahe la virgen prennada e parira fijo.* Biblia Ferr. (1553—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 539) *he la alma concibien* (cf. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Poema de Yúçuf*, 1902, p. 41 § 4) *y parien hijo.* Biblia Ferr. (Ed. of Vienna, 1832—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 539 n. 2) *He la moça ençentada y parira h.*

²I see no reason why Mosé Arragel, in this and the following quotations, should have deviated from the Latin text, but I have no means of controlling the matter. Cf. BERGER, *Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 523.

³Cf. Hohelied, p. 2 *O que fermosa eres mi amiga o que fermosa. tos oios de palomas. 15 O que fermoso eres mio amigo.*

⁴Cf. Biblia Alba, p. 43 *la voz del mi querido es este que viene, que salta sobre los montes.* Paraphrasia caldaica; En los cantares de Selomoh, . . . Anno 5424=1664 (GRÜNBAUM, p. 30) *Boz de mi querido, hé este vinien: saltan sobre los Montes.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 32) *Voz de mi amado . . . , helo viene atravancando por los montes.*

⁵Cf. Biblia Alba, p. 43 *este es el que esta tras la nuestra pared.* Paraph. cald. (GRÜNBAUM, p. 30) *hé este están detras de nuestra pared.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 32) *Helo . . . tras nuestra pared.*

⁶Cf. Hohelied, p. 3 *El lecho de Salomon. sesenta arzeziados le guardan de los mas fuertes de Israel.*

It is also clear that, if *afe* and *á fé que* = *profecto* (< Lat. *fide*) cannot be found before Encina, the *afe* and *afe que* = *ecce* of the *P. Cid* must have some other origin than Lat. *fide*.

Even if earlier instances of *afe* = *profecto* could be adduced, and it could be made probable that the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* means *profecto*, i' faith—the line between *ecce* and *profecto* in this case is, I admit, difficult to draw—even then I should doubt whether the *afe* = *ecce* of the *P. Cid* has anything to do with *afe* = *profecto*, i. e., with *fe* < *fide*. For *afe* = *profecto* differs entirely in syntax from *afe* = *ecce*. *Afe* = *profecto*, as a rule, appears in sentences with a finite verb; *afe* = *ecce* I know only in sentences without a finite verb. *Afe* = *profecto* serves to modify all kinds of sentences, including negative and interrogative sentences: Encina (*Antología*, Vol. VII, p. 28) *Ni yo soy tan bouo afé, Que no sé* Autos, Vol. I, p. 341, 310 *No lo hiziera yo, a fee.* Salamantina 901 *Pues, a fe, no la* (sc. la morzilla) *lleueys.* Autos, Vol. II, p. 55, 194 *Mas, a fee, no soy hermosa?* Vol. III, p. 185, 154 *Que no me conoçe, a fee?* *Afe* = *ecce* is restricted to positive, declarative sentences. *Afe* = *profecto* is never followed by a pronoun or noun in the acc., nor does Italian or any other Romance or Germanic language offer an analogon. Yet this is the primary and prevailing use of *afe* = *ecce*. *Afe* = *profecto* is never accompanied by an ethical dative of a pronoun of the 2. pers., while *afe* = *ecce* frequently is.

Finally, I reject *afe* = *profecto* as the source of *he* = *ecce* for the further reason that neither in Italian nor in Spanish such an *afe* has become merely *fe*. In Spanish we find in dialectal and popular use a *he*: Lucas Fernandez, p. 18 *Dilo, dilo, dilo á hé;* Autos, Vol. III, p. 314, 548 *Cata, cata, digo, a he, que*, but not *he*. And it exists still as a *fe*.

3. Ford, following a suggestion of Bello (in his edition of the *P. Cid*, p. 350,—*hé* < *fé* < *afé* < *habete*) has tried, in this journal, Vol. I, pp. 49–53, to put the latter etymology on a scientific basis. His own words (p. 51) are:

If . . . with Ascoli and Bello we believe that *afe* was an earlier form than *fe*, and if we assume, as the facts adduced may indicate,¹ that

¹ Refers to Ford's restoration of *afeuos* for *afe* in a number of "imperfect" hemistichs

afe was in the inception accompanied by *uos*, which was first dropped, perhaps, in the more rapid interjectional use, then we may be safe in deriving the form from *habete* plus *vos* (*a*). From this would come (*h*)*abedvos*, of which the *h* was phonetically valueless, the *b* not distinguishable in value from the *v*, and the combination *dv* one that could not long persist (*b*). We see a partial assimilation of the *d* in the *auello* of [Cid] 496 (*c*); it is completely assimilated, that is absorbed, in the *Crónica rimada*, vs. 345: Rey, dueña so lasrada, ð *avéme* piedat (*d*). Before the retained *v* of Old Spanish *vos*, we may suppose a disappearance of the *d* similar to that in *avéme*. Then, by a process of dissimilation in the resulting *avevos* we should obtain the form *afevos* (*e*) and with a dropping of the *vos*, which still retained its identity, we should have the independent *afe*.

My objections to this theory are the following:

The semasiological part of the etymology is not discussed at all.

a) Even if we base our consideration wholly on the *P. Cid*, the primary use of *afe* in the form *afeuos* is not free from doubt. Over against nine instances of *afeuos* in the MS (152. 262. 476. 1255. 1431. 1499. 1568. 2230. 2368), we have twelve of *afe* without *uos* (505. 1317. 1597. 2088. 2101. 2135. 2175. 2222. 2381. 2947. 3393. 3407). In order to change¹ in three of the latter instances (2175. 2222. 3393) *afe* to *afeuos*, Ford avails himself of the opinion that the verse of the *P. Cid* is the *verso de romance*. But, in the first place, this is still a matter of discussion. In the second place, if a change is to be made, it must not needs be that of *afe* to *afeuos* (cf. for vs. 2222, Cornu, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXI, p. 502). For the same reason I decline to accept the change of *fe* to *afeuos* in vss. 1335. 1452. 2647. 3534. 3701.

b) The combination *dv* did persist. Cf., e. g., Cuervo, *Notas*⁶, p. 108 and Gessner, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XVII, p. 4:

Bei *vos* [wenn es hinter den Imperativ tritt] lag für die Beseitigung des *d* kein Grund vor, und demnach ist *amadvos* die überall angetroffene Bildung, so lange überhaupt *vos* im Gebrauche blieb.²

It is unnecessary to give instances when, e. g., pp. 91–93 of *Boc. Oro* offer a dozen. Ford's etymology is, therefore, impossible.

c) As for the "partial assimilation" of the *d* in *P. Cid* 496

¹If the "imperfect" *afe*-lines were to be changed, why have not the imperfect *afeuos*-lines (476. 1499. 2368) deserved the same treatment?

²Cf. GESSNER, loc. cit.: "Mit dem Beginn des 16. Jahrh. kann *vos* so ziemlich als erloschen gelten." He means, of course, the oblique case.

auello for which phenomenon Ford, p. 50 n. 2, refers to P. Cid 2136 *Prendellas con uuestras manos e daldas alos yfantes* and Crón. rim. 375 *Al rey que vos servides, servillo muy sin arte*, Ford might have quoted also, e. g., P. Cid 887 *Honores e tierras auellas condonadas, Hyd e venit . . .* Bello, *Poema del Cid*, p. 316, in discussing *prendellas*, leaves the question open whether *ll < dl* or *< rl*, i. e., whether we are dealing with the form of the imper. or with that of the inf. Damas Hinard, *Poème du Cid*, pp. 38 n., 145 n., lxxxvii n., 63 n., sees in the first part of the combinations *auello*, *prendellas*, *servillo*, *auellas* the inf. and calls (p. 38 n.) the use of the inf. instead of the imper. a "licence grammaticale fort usitée au moyen âge, et dont nous retrouverons plus d'un exemple dans le Poème." Cuervo, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 261, says with regard to P. Cid 2136 *prendellas* and Alex. 920 *tenellos*: "asimilación extraña, si no es que deba tomarse como errata, *prendetlas*, *tenetlos*, ó como aplicación del infinitivo en sentido de imperativo." Lidforss, *Los Cantares de myo Cid*, p. 129, note to vss. 1356, 7, considers P. Cid 887 *auellas* = *avedlas*. So does Cornu, *Literaturbl.*, 1897, c. 331, note to vs. 1357. I myself have come to a *non liquet*.

We are not compelled to regard P. Cid 496 *auello* as resulting from *auedlo*. The inf. is, indeed, frequently employed for an imper., cf., e. g., Cuervo, *Notas*, p. 62, and *rl > ll* is common, cf. Cuervo, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 252. Nor must P. Cid 2136 *prendellas* presuppose *prendedlas* because it is co-ordinated with an imper. Cf. J. Ruiz 762 *señora, dexar* (sic) *duelo e faset el cabo de año*. Torres Naharro, Vol. II, p. 119 *Mas pagadme mi soldada Y dexar de castigar*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 430, 114 *y prended y maniar* (:) *a quantos xpianos son*. Vol. III, pp. 443, 482 *Andad, y servir a Dios; y estad en la compañía de los vuestros padres dos*. 497, 425 *Yglesia, madre y señora, doleros de mi gran caída, y rremediad esta vida*.—S. Emper., p. 534, 52 *Tomat el salto: ó ledamente et de grado fazet todo nuestro talante, ó beber de la agua salgada*.

On the other hand, *auello* may be *auedlo*—*aueldo*, for apparently there are cases of *ld > ll*. *Alcalde*,¹ *alcall* has been pointed

¹ An instance of *alcalde* as early as the year 1125 will be found in FÉROTIN, p. 54.

out by Diez, *Et. Wb.*, p. 417 s. v. *Alcalde*; rollo by Baist in Gröber's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 706, § 50. I would add *cabillo* and *humille*. Cf. for *cabillo*, Milagr. 310. 546. 552. 714; F. Juzgo, *Glos.*, s. v.; Férotin, *Index général*, s. v. (from documents dated 1317 and 1338). *Humille* is met with in Rim. Pal. 1331 *A los vmilles ensalça*; Biblia Alba, p. 67 *E al tu marido humille seras*; Iosaphat, p. 343 *sabedes a que cosas son estas semejables ? a los homilles, los quales eran cubiertos*. . . . More frequent is perhaps *humil*: J. Ruiz 463 *estando delante ella, sossegado e muy omyl*(:). 1096 *Estaua delante del su alferes homil*(:). Rim. Pal. 1192 *O el humil que es susio*. . . . Crón. D. Pedro, pp. 162 *con homil reverencia*, 163 *item*, 459 *con humil reverencia*. Corvacho, pp. 187 *Thu Xpo, fijo de la humil, graciososa e abogada nuestra*. 302 *eres falsa, bygarda*, . . . *vmil aparte de fuera*. Valdés, *Diál. de la lengua* (Boehmer), p. 385, 18: "Humil por humilde se dize bien en verso, pero pareceria muy mal en prosa." *Humilmente* occurs Rim. Pal. 240 (l. *humilment*), 385, 631 (*vmilmente*), 1453, 1487 (*omilmente*), 1521, 1601 (*Vmilmente*), and still more often later, especially in poetry but also in prose: e. g., S. Juan de la Peña, p. 24; J. Rodríguez, pp. 215, 305. *Humillad* I find once Iosaphat, p. 351.—In *humille*, *humillar* may not have been without influence, as in *humil*, *fácil*.

d) Concerning the "complete assimilation" of *d* to *m* in Crón. rim. 345 *avéme piedat*, I believe it to be impossible. Loss of *-d*,¹ however, is extremely improbable for the Crón. rim. I find in the poem a great number of imperatives in *-d* (*-t*), but no case of loss of *-d*. The difficulty is easily solved, if we read with the MS and Duran (against Michel and Damas Hinard) *aueme*; or, if an accent is thought necessary, *áueme*.

The early existence of *ave* is assured.²

¹ For the loss of inflectional *-d*, BELLO, *Gram.*⁸, § 614, gives instances from the classics. VALDÉS, *Diál. de la leng.*, p. 389, rejects the apocopated forms. They are already frequent in the early dramatists (Encina, etc.), the apocope affecting here also the nouns in *-d*.

² To the instances of *ave* earlier than the sixteenth century, given in my *Prelim. Notes on . . . the Disticha Catonis*, n. 16, I would add: Est. God., p. 42 *et perdona á los que tú quisieres, et ave dolor de la tierra*. SANCHO IV, pp. 125a *Habe paciencia en tí*. 176b *E cree en Dios que es sobre todo, é habe buena fianza en él*. 187a *é piensa siempre de las aventuras que pueden acascer, é habe providencia en las cosas de aventura*. 216a *Aremiémbrate, Señora, del servicio que en algund tiempo te fice, é habe merced de mí*. 221b *Habe misericordia de mí, fijo de David*. Plácidas, p. 155 *ayúdales e ave dellos mercet*. Rrey Guill., p. 186

The fact that an inferior might address the king by *tu* is attested, e. g., by Crón. rim. 466 "*Cata,*" dixo (sc. Rodrigo), "*buen rey, que te trayo, magüera non so tu vassallo: de cinco lides que te prometi el dia que tú me oviste desposado, vencido he la una . . .*" 500 *Sopolo el conde . . . e fuésse para el rey: "Señor, pessete del tu daño; Calahora e Tudela forçada te la ha el buen rey don Fernando . . .*" 625 Dixo (sc. Rodrigo): "*Rey, mucho me plase, porque non so tu vassallo. Rey, fasta que non te armasses, non devias tener reynado; ca non esperas palmada de moros nin de christianos; mas ve velar al padron de Santiago . . .*"

It is true that Ximena Gomez later (vss. 349 ff.) in speaking to the king uses the plur. rev. But change from *tu* to *vos* and vice versa is not rare.¹ Cf. Crón. rim. 570 "*¿Dormides, Rodrigo de Bivar? tiempo has de ser acordado . . .*" 864 *Vey la seña sin engaño, que en tal lugar vos la pondré antes del sol cerrado, do . . .* 953 *e dixo* (sc. el rey): "*Rodrigo, pues en mill e novecientos fesistes grand daño, de los tuyos ¿quanto (!) te fncaron, sy a Dios ayas pagado?*" Further, P. Cid 409 *Mientra que visquieredes bien se fara lo to* (in assonance). Maria Eg., p. 317b *Senyor, diz, tornat uos ent. Agora me quiero partir de tt, Por Dios te ruego hora por mt.* Boc. Oro, p. 68 *e preguntole: "Dime, omne bueno, si Dios te salve, esta tierra*

omne bueno, por Dios, ave mercet. Rim. Pal. 84 *E Sennor piadoso ave merced de mt.* CLIM. SANCH. (Morel-Fatio), p. 518 *Ves aqui, este omne te do por el e ave piedat de mi.* Id. (Gayan-gos), pp. 447b *Señor Dios, habe misericordia et sálvame.* 479b *é habe misericordia de mí como yo hobe de ti.* Ibid. *¡Oh, señor hermano, por Dios habe agora misericordia de mí . . . !* 480b *Habe paciencia fasta que yo te dé venganza.* Iosaphat, p. 350 *Pues asy es, ave fyuzia, mucho amado, e non te enristezcas.* Iosep, fo. 275 vo. *sennor dios, ave mercet a este peccador.* Corvacho, p. 252 *Señor, ave merced de mí segund la Tu grand misericordia.* J. RODRÍGUEZ, pp. 207 *No lo hagas asy, y ave ya, sy quiera cobdicioso, nombre de amante.* 221 *ave merced dela tu donzella.* Finally LEBRIZA who, in his Grammar (1492—VIÑAZA, c. 437), under Imperativo en el presente writes: *Ave tu. aia alguno. aiamos. aved. aian.*

Here I may cite also the instances I have noted of *aved* previous to the fourteenth century: P. Cid 3600 *Aved uestro derecho, tuerto non querades vos.* Alex. 1449 *Aved uestro conseio.* S. Dom. 496 *Aved unos con otros amor e caridat.* Sacr. 75 *dormit, avet folgura.* 83 *Avello por iantar, esperat la merienda.* App. 193 *avet-lo atorgado.* S. Ildef., p. 327a *Madre de tu (l. su) alma habet le cuidado.* Later instances need not be quoted. In J. RUIZ alone *aved* occurs at least six times (668, 703, 822, 880, 889, 892).

¹ Cf. EHRLSMANN, "Duzen und Ihrzen im Mittelalter," *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Wortforsch.*, Vols. I, II, IV, V; SUCHIER, *Denkmäler*, p. 535; COHN, *Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache*, Vol. XXV, 2, p. 163; BERNHARDT, "Über *du* und *ir* bei Wolfram von Eschenbach, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried von Strassburg, und über *tu* und *vos* in den entsprechenden altfranzösischen Gedichten," *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 380, and the literature referred to in these articles.

en que morades (V. L. *moras*) *¿en qual de las partidas del mundo es . . . ?*" Crón. gen. M., p. 238, 4 *et dixol* (sc. la *mora*): "*esforçad, sennor don Gonçaluo, et dexad de llorar et de auer pesar en uos, ca yo otrossi oue doze fijos . . . , et assi fue por uentura que todos doze me los mataron . . . , mas pero non dexe por ende de conortarme et de esforçarme; et pues yo, que so mugier, me esfuerçe, . . . [10] ¿quanto mas lo deues fazer tu, que eres uaron? . . .*" Florençia, pp. 440 *Dios, dixo ella, por la vuestra grant virtud que uos vengastes de Lucifer, el traydor que sse uos quiso equalar en parayso, et lo derribastes de allá ssuso con cuantos se con él touieron, que ante eran ángeles et fueron perdidos: glorioso rey espiritual, tú que te asy vengaste, non sufras que . . .* 461 *¿Cómo, hermano, dixo Macayre, tú dizes que á Belrepaire vá tan grant gente de dolientes, et que y todos guareçen? . . . ¿Dezideslo por escarnio?* Merlin, fo. 292 ro. (Merlin to the judge) *e yo te lo prouare e dexa mi madre estar en paz e bien sepades que non ha culpa.* Primavera, Vol. I, p. 264 *Por Dios te ruego, el obispo, que no pasedes el vado.* D. Quix. I, 30 *Pues no lo penseys, vellaco descomulgado, que sin duda lo estas, pues has puesto lengua en la sin par Dulzinea. Y no sabeys vos, gañan, faquin, belitre, que . . . ?*

If it was intentionally that the poet in Crón. rim. 345 *aveme piedat* used the address in the sing., it may have been his purpose to reflect the emotion of the speaker. "*Leidenschaftliche, bewegte rede achtet der sitte nicht, und entzieht bald traulichs du, bald höfliches ir*" (J. Grimm, *Gramm.*, Vol. IV¹, p. 306).

e) A dissimilation *v-v > f-v* is nowhere else alleged. Grammont, *La dissimilation consonantique*, mentions no case. G. Paris, *Journ. des Savants*, 1898, p. 82 n., quotes two (Old.) Fr. and Prov. instances, but they are of the kind *v-v > v-()*, i. e., the dissimilation is progressive and results in the suppression of the second sound.

4. Of Spanish grammars, e. g., those of Bello⁶, § 581,¹ and of Salvá¹², p. 76, have treated *he* (*he aquí*) as the imper. sing. of *haber*. Such seems to be also the opinion of Meyer-Lübke,

¹ CUERVO, however, in his *Notas*, p. 87, denies the existence of any connection between *he* and *haber*.

Gramm., Vol. II, § 242. After having considered carefully, as I believe, some other possibilities and having hesitated for a long time between Old. French *hē, hai* (cf. Godefroy, *Dict.*, Vols. III, pp. 334 b, 335 a, b, IX, p. 751 b) and the etymon advocated by the Spaniards, I have finally decided for the latter. I start from a situation like the following:

A. *Dame el espada.*

B. *Hela.*

Hela = "have it, take it,¹ see it there,² there it is." The occasional meaning "see (it) there" became the usual meaning; very likely in order to differentiate *he* from *ave*. However that may be, a number of analoga, imperatives or subjunctives (cf. Diez, *Gramm.*, p. 916 = Vol. III, p. 210³) of verbs signifying "to have, to hold, to take," which have all developed the meaning of *he* = *ecce*, prove to me that the semasiological part of the etymology is well supported. I compare:

Sp. *evas* < *habeas*; *evades* < *habeatis*.

Sp. *avad* < **avades* < **habatis*.

Germ. *hei, heits*. Cf. Schmeller, *Bayer. Wörterb.* (Frommann), Vol. I, c. 1028: "hei! heits! (o. pf.; hē, hēts, b. W.) nimm! nehmet! franz. *tiens! tenez!* Vermuthlich der Imperativ von haben; s. Gramm. 954"

Further: Fr. *tiens; tenez*. Cf. *Dict. gén.*, s. v. *Tenir*, I. 1^o: "Pour avertir de prendre garde à ce qu'on dit. Tenez, le voilà qui vient. Tiens! c'est vous!"

It. *tieni*. Cf. Petrocchi, *Novo Diz. univ.*, 1891, s. v. *Tenere*: "§ imperat. . . . offrendo: Tieni la penna. Tenete il vostro onorario. Tieni un bacio. . . ." Michaelis, *Diz.*,² s. v. *Tenere*: "tieni, nimm! hier! da!"—*te'*. Vockeradt, *Lehrbuch*, § 139, 4: "*te'* (gekürzt aus *tieni*) da nimm."

E. *behold*. "To behold" was used in the sense of "to have, to hold" as late as 1525: Ld. Berners *Froiss.* II. lxiv. [lxix] 222 Euery man behelde the same oppynyon (Murray, *Dict.*, s. v.).

¹ Cf. LOTTNER in KUHN'S *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XI, p. 203: "Man weiss aus dem slavischen, wie nahe sich 'haben' und 'nehmen' berühren (altsl. *imā* ich nehme, *imami* ich habe)." Also GRIMM, *Wörterb.*, Vol. IV, 2, cc. 56: "habe dank, drückt aus 'nimm dank an, empfang' dank' . . . " 57: "nhd. hab dir's, nimms für dich hin, *habe tibi*, Maaler 203b."

² For "to take" > "to see," cf., e. g., *percibir*, (*comprender*), *catar*.

³ The subjunct. of the 2. pers. was used in Old Sp. instead of the positive imper. to a larger extent than one would conclude from Diez.

Germ. *halt*. Cf. Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterb.*, s. v. *Halten*, 4: "halt, wer kommt da?"

Finally: Lat. *em*. Cf. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, pp. 617: "*Em* seems to be the Imperative of *ēmo*, lit. 'take,' a sense which suits well in phrases like *em tibi*, 'take that!' 'there's for you!' (in giving a blow)" 600. 518.¹

Em I consider the most valuable analogon, not only with regard to form and semasiology, but also, to a large extent, with regard to syntax.

Sp. *toma*. Especially in *tómate ésa* = *em tibi*.

It. *to'* (from *togli*). Cf. Petrocchi, s. v.: "*To'* e *Toh!* § escl. di meraviglia. *To'* chi ci trovo? *O to'* sarebbe bella! *To'* *to'* chi viene!"

The form of *he*, if phonetic, presupposes monosyllabic **hai* < **hae*. Corresponding to the short-forms of the pres. ind., the short-form of the imper. sing. should be perhaps only *ha*. Whether such a form has existed at all, I cannot say. But while the *e* of the endings *-es*, *-et*, *-ent* was dropped in the short-forms of the pres. ind., because *-s*, *-t*, *-nt* indicated sufficiently the person and the number of the verb, it may have been considered a necessary inflection in the imper. The development of **hae* has, at any rate, its exact parallel in the development of another short-form, **vae* > **vai* > *ve*. It seems further to be substantiated by the short-form **vait* > *ve(t)* (Asturian): Fernandez-Guerra, p. 73 (1249) *ve al longo enna casa que fo* (*va á lo largo en la casa que fué*); Vigil, pp. 61a (1269) *camino que ue de Oliuares*; *ibid.* *camino queué* (1. *que ue*) *de trobano* (= *Truébano*); 86a (1286) *et delante camjno publico que ue para sant Cloyo*; 87a (1286); 100a (1288); Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 51 *bei*, i. e., *be* + analogical(?) *i*. I may perhaps adduce also the short-form **vais* > *ves*.² Clim. Sanch. (Gayangos), p. 456b *si monje quieres ser*,

¹Since the above was in type, I have received BRUGMANN, *Kurze vergl. Gramm. der indogerm. Sprachen*. On p. 611 I read: "*em* vermutlich aus *eme* 'nimm'." My own conclusion was reached independently of Lindsay.

²Asturian? Of the three authors quoted, Valdés is an Asturian by birth, Alfonso Martínez came from Castilla la Nueva, Clemente Sanchez from Castilla la Vieja. But both the *Libro de Enxemplos* and the *Corvacho* show certain peculiarities of the northern language. These may be due to scribes from the North (Alfonso de Contreras, the scribe of the *Corvacho*, may have come from the Contreras near Burgos), or, in the case of the *Libro de Enxemplos*, to the fact that its author, when engaged in writing it, was "arcediano de Valderas en la iglesia de Leon."

ves,¹ *echa ese tu fijo en el rio*; Corvacho, p. 165 *Françisquiv, alles a casa de mi señora la de Fulano, que me preste sus paternostres de oro*; Valdés, José, XII *¡Anda, pícara, ves á reunirte otra vez con la sacristana!* Munthe, loc. cit., *beis*, i. e., *bes* + analogical (?) *i*. The full-form *vade*, on the other hand, has developed to **vae* and *vai* (*vay*)² just as **trage* to *trae* and *trai* (*tray*) (originally dissyllabic). The full-form *vadit* has given **vae* and *vai* (*vay*) (originally dissyllabic) just as **tragit*—*trae* and *trai* (*tray*), *cadit*—*cae* and *cai* (*cay*) etc.

5. As a short-form, *he* belongs essentially to colloquial language. My opinion is confirmed by the statements of Valdés,³ *Didl. de la leng.*, p. 385, 22: "Muchos dizen *he* aqui por *veis* aqui, yo no lo digo;" of Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, s. v. *He*: "He, palabra barbara zafia, *he* aqui, *veis* aqui;" s. v. *Hele*:

Hele, adverbio demonstratiuo, *Ecce illum*. Dize el Romance viejo.

Hele, hele por do viene

.....

El adverbio es *he*, y assi dezimos: *Hele* aqui. *Heos* aqui, y *hele* alli. Por otro termino no menos barbaro se dize: *Heos* me aqui, donde viene fulano.

Furthermore, it seems that in works of higher style it is avoided. The fate of *he* has then been unlike that of the short-forms of the pres. ind. which, with the exception of 2. plur.,⁴ soon prevailed over the full-forms and all became literary forms. The reason may lie partly in the fact that an imper. is so much less

¹ To the ind. in the function of an imper., a special article will be devoted.

² The form *vai* (*vay*) < *vade* or *vadit* will be treated in a special article.

³ CUERVO, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 263: "Valdés, que como nadie ha tenido el instinto del buen lenguaje, distinguiendo lo permanente de lo pasajero y adivinando en cierto modo el uso moderno. . . ."

⁴ *Hedes* occurs only as an auxiliary to form the future. *Heis* is used in the same way, but also with *de* and a following infinitive (a) and finally to form the past indefinite (b):

a) DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, pp. 230 *Vuestro mal eis de aclarar*. 236 *Anda, anda, que eis de pagar*. Autos, Vol. III, p. 255, 300 *a que prescio lo eis de dar?*

b) Primavera, Vol. I, p. 143 *Traidores heis todos sido*. TORRES NAHARRO, Vol. I, p. 269 *á la par heis estudiado*. DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, pp. 33 *El mejor que nunca eis visto*. 69 *Qué gran pena nos eis dado* [1]. 94 *Eis notado la conseja*. 243 *¿no eis oido Que debajo mala capa?* Autos, Vol. I, p. 123, 209 *y pues tan bien heis senbrado, Dios os salve*. For examples from Lope and Tirso, cf. CUERVO, *Notas*, p. 88.

A remarkable form is *hais* instead of *heis* in DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. I, pp. 184 *Yo os digo que hais de sudar*. 295 *Haisme de hallar de puntas*.—142 *¿Hais mirado Qué ceño se le ha colgado?* Ibid. *¿Hais quizás encornudado?* 167 *Hais ambos buscado modo Para* . . . 196 *¿Hais notado El aviso que os he dado?* Probably on account of *han*, *ha*, *has*.

frequently used than a pres. ind. Moreover, in the case of *haber*, the pres. ind. serves as an auxiliary. But I attach equal and even greater importance to the fact that the short-form of the imper. had very early developed a different meaning from the full-form.

As a Sp. imper., *he* will be limited to positive, declarative sentences.

As a form of a transitive verb, *he* will require an object, noun or clause, in the acc.

6. Was there a plur. *hed*, corresponding to the sing. *he*? Foerster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, § 514, mentions *hed* (< *fed* < *ved*) and *afed*.¹ He adduces no instances, nor have I any. If *hed* ever existed, it was certainly short-lived and has not come down to historical times. The reason seems to be apparent. We address far oftener a single person than a plurality, and for the colloquial language of the times of which we are speaking, only the singular *tu* comes into question, not the *pluralis reverentiae vos*.² It is noteworthy that other original imperatives, similar in function to *he*, have been equally restricted to the singular. Cf., e. g., Sp. *calla, toma* which have as concomitant forms only *calle, tome*. Originally, perhaps, the latter were forms for polite address, though *calla, toma*, I feel sure, have been used as well in polite address as in the case of address of a plurality. Cf. further Lat. *em*; Fr. *voici*, in which, if *voi* is felt at all as a verb-form, it is felt as being in the sing., yet it is used for *tu* sing., *vos* plur. rev., and *vos* plur. Finally, Germ. *halt*; Grimm, *Wb.*, Vol. IV, 2, c. 280:

Dieser bedeutung (sc. stille stehen) fällt zu der imperativ halt! der nicht immer als verbalform mehr gefühlt wird und einen plural haltet! seltener und in mehr gemäßigter rede entwickelt; häufig ist er vielmehr zur interjection abgeblaszt und formell so erstarrt, dasz er auch mehreren personen zugerufen wird. . . .

¹ SANCHEZ, *Col.*, Vol. I, p. 376, reads: "[Afe] admitia muchos afixos que hacian veces de acusativos, como *afedos*, veis aqui a dos." I suppose this to be the source of Foerster's *afedos*. The same carelessness is betrayed in other places of the same paragraph, especially where *ecvos* in *ecvos l'emperador* is made an Old Sp. form. It is, of course, Provençal (Boeci 44).

² Cf. EHRESMANN, *Zeitschr. f. d. Wortf.*, Vol. I, p. 126: "Im gewöhnlichen Leben bei den spätromischen und romanischen Nationen ist die einfache Wechselrede zwischen Ich und Du gewiss weithin üblich geblieben."

Still, in such instances as Alex. 1090 *Otro día manñana heuollos apellidos Que era Alexandre e los griegos uenidos*, or Sancho IV, p. 149a *é el ángel les dijo: "Non hayades miedo; Jesucristo Nazareno que vos demandades, que fué crucificado, resucitó é non es aquí, é hé aquí el lugar* (Marc. 16, 6 *ecce locus*) *do le posieron*," it might be claimed this time that *he* is *hed* with loss of the final cons. as in the monosyllabic *fe*, *pie*, etc. But *fe*, *pie* are nouns and besides not primary forms;¹ in the monosyllabic imperatives the *-d* was probably kept on account of the other imperatives in *-d*, cf. *id.*²

He serving then, since about the time we know it, as well in addressing a single person as a plurality, must be considered a particle. Its function is that of an adverb.

7. The usage of *he*, once established, was continued also after *he* was no longer felt as a verb-form. In the same way the prevailing use of *ecce* with an acc. has been continued by its Romance derivatives, cf. Lat. *ecce* (Köhler, *Arch. f. lat. Lex.*, Vol. V, pp. 16 ff.), It. *ecco* (Vockeradt, *Lehrb.*, § 175, 1), Old Fr. *ez* (generally with acc.—Godefroy, *Dict.*, s. v. *Es*), Port. *eis* (Diez, *Gramm.*, p. 900 = Vol. III, p. 189).

By analogy of the demonstrative adverb, the interrogative adverb *do* is accompanied by the acc. of a pronoun or noun. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, Vol. II, p. 1322b, quotes M. de Chaide, *Magd. serm. de Oríg.* (R[ivad]. 27. 412²) *Halladles, Maria; mirad que se correrán; y vuestra cortesanía ¿dóla?* There is another instance in Menéndez Pidal, *Notas acerca del Bable de Lena*, § 37, with the following statement:

Nótese la elipsis del verbo *estar*, con el adverbio *u* = *unde*, en las interrogaciones *ulú? ulá?* como *ul sombriru?* dónde está el sombrero? El gallego y el portugués conocen este giro, y acaso el castellano antiguo

¹ *Fet* subsists in the phrases *á bona fet sen (mal) enganno* VIGIL, pp. 45a, 77a (1279), 81b (1282), 83a (1282), 109b (1297), 126b (1306), 150b (1314) and *fazer fed* VIGIL, pp. 156a (1315), 185a (1332), 188a (1334).

² The earliest instance of *i* I find in J. RUIZ 1582 (MS T, written c. 1389) *¡al ynfierno y vos: catyuos: esquiutos: biuos* where MS G reads *yd vos*. Later examples are: Primavera, Vol. II, p. 224 *vos tos de aquesta tierra y en ella no parezcais mas*. HOROZCO, p. 156 *Hermanos, con Dios os i: aquí: así: mi*. Ardamisa 374 *Yos vuestro camino*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 520, 558 *Dejame un poquito, yos: Judios: mios*. Vol. IV, p. 61, 434 *No nos hagais mas el buz, ydos presto, yos de aquí!* (For the sake of completeness, I may add from the same MS Vol. I, p. 193, 332 *Hora ydvos caminando por las pisadas desotros, e ydme . . .*) CUERVO, *Notas*, p. 109, has instances from Fray Luis de Granada and Lope.

lo conocía también; un precioso romance popular que comienza "yo me levantara, madre, mañanica de San Juan" contiene un cantarcillo que dice:

¿ Do los mis amores, do los ?

¿ Do los andaré á buscar ?

(Durán, *Romancero* II pág. 497)

y bien pudiera ser que el primer verso fuera independiente del segundo (como opina Durán al ponerle una interrogación final) y hubiera que interpretarlo *dó están los mis amores?* lo cual encierra más vigor y poesía que si entendemos *do los mis amores andaré á buscar*.

I may add: J. Ruiz 1568 (¿) *mi leal vieja*, [¿] *dola?* Barahona de Soto (*Flores*, Vol. II, p. 74) *¿Dó está vuestra presencia, dola? dola?* J. Ruiz 1331 *enbie por mi vieja; ella dixo: "ado lo?"* Corvacho, p. 116 *¿A do le (V.L. lo) este hueuo?* Encina, p. 351 Suplicio. . . . *Qu'está solo Mi compañero*. Gil. *¿Y adólo?* Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, p. 44 *¿Adó los? ¿Dónde van? ¡Mueran los traidores!*

Should the verbal origin of *he* not be accepted, how then shall we explain the accompanying acc.? A reference to the *accusativus exclamationis* will hardly do, for a *nom. exclam.* is more in order for Spanish than an *acc.* But it will be time enough to discuss this question, when, as I hope, it shall be taken up by others. I may, however, call attention beforehand to one fact, viz., that the demonstrative adverb *aquí* is at times accompanied by the *nom.* of a pronoun or noun (denoting a person), e. g., Núñez de Arce, *El Haz de Leña*, IV, 10 Carlos. (*Observándolos*, sc. Felipe and Catalina) (*¡El Rey con ella! . . . ¿Qué es esto?*) *¿Aquí vos?* . . . IV, 9 Catalina. *Aquí el Rey . . . ¡si me atreviera á suplicarle! . . .*

8. *He* is used:

a) With the acc. of a personal pronoun of the 1. (*a*) or 3. pers. (*β*),¹ sing. or plur.

a) I. Reg. 3, 4 (MS Esc. I. j. 8—fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 387) *Et clamo Dios a Samuel, el recudio: Hem*

¹ Why not also of the 2. pers.? I have not a single sure instance of such a construction. In RODRIGO COTA (*Antología*, Vol. IV, p. 19) (Amor speaking to El Viejo) *Hete aquí bien abraçado; Dime, ¿que sientes agora?* I consider *he*=*habea*. There are other cases of *he*, followed by the acc. of a personal pronoun and the past part. of a transitive verb where it is equally difficult to decide whether *he*=*ecce* or =*habeo*. Cf., e. g., GARCILASO, p. 10b *Héme entregado, héme aquí rendido, (Hé aquí vences . . .)*.

aquí (Vulg. *Ecce ego*), *et fue apresso a Ely et dixol: Hem aquí* (Vulg. *Ecce ego*), *car me clamest*. (The meaning of *he* is frequently strengthened or modified by such adverbs as *aquí*, *acá*, etc.) Gil Vicente, p. 89 *Héme aquí en otra muerte*. (*He* points forward to a more definite locative phrase.) Torres Naharro, Vol. I, p. 272 *Con mi hato y garabato Hem' acá* (:). Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, pp. 95 *Jesús, héme aquí; ¿que manda?* (*He* is also employed in polite speech.) 177 *Si, señora, héme aquí, ¿qué manda?*—Reyes Magos 127 *Rei, qqe te plaze? he nos uenidos*. Gil Vicente, p. 47 *He nos aquí levantados*.

β) J. Ruiz 1502 *diz mi coraçon: ¡hela* (V. L. *ela*)! *fuyme para la dueña*. . . . Celestina, p. 111 *Hela aquí* (sc. vna tajada de diacitron), *señor*. Primavera, Vol. I, p. 175 *Hélo, hélo, por dó* (l. *do*) *viene¹ el moro por la calzada*. (Note the repetition of the phrase for the sake of emphasis.) Torres Naharro, Vol. II, pp. 161 *Helo alla* (sc. the Escolar) *por vida mia*. 196 *Hela abaxo* (sc. la prima?) *y hela encima, Hela acá y hela acullá*. 197 *Hela aquí sale cubierta La señora*.² Lope de Rueda, Vol. I, p. 139 *Sigüença. ¿qués de la espada?* Sebastiana. *Héla*. Vol. II, p. 200 *Héla héla* (sc. Lelia), *señor*.—Celestina, p. 141 *Helas aquí* (sc. las coraças), *señor*. Primavera, Vol. I, p. 62 *Hélos, hélos* (sc. los siete infantes de Lara) *por do vienen, con toda la su compaña*. Diego Sanchez, Vol. I, p. 337 *Hélos* (sc. the alguacil and the escribano) *vienen mano á mano*. Lazarillo, p. 51 *De que esto me oyeron, van por vn alguazil y vn escriuano; y helos do bueluen luego con ellos*. Lope de Rueda, Vol. I, p. 85 *Hélas ahí* (sc. las manos).

b) If used with a noun, we may suppose the latter to be the acc. All the more so because a noun denoting a person often takes the preposition *á*. Sancho IV, pp. 149a *é hé aquí el logar* (Marc. 16, 6 *ecce locus*) *do le posieron*. 172a *Tullio dice: "Hé aquí el dolor"*. Hohelied, p. 2 *He el mio amigo que me fabla* (Vulg. *En, dilectus meus loquitur mihi*). J. Manuel, p. 299a *Hé*

¹ A predicative verb, expressing state (*ser, estar*) or motion (*venir, llegar, salir, volver*), and referring to the object of *he*, appears, in the earlier period, ordinarily as the finite verb of a relative sentence introduced by *do, por do*, etc. Cf. for O. Fr. examples, TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. III, p. 67.

² Parataxis. Cf. the preceding note.

aquí la sierva de nuestro Señor Dtos (Luc. 1, 38 *Ecce, ancilla Domini*). *Coronica Esp. I, fo. 117 ro.b esta es la mi yantar, e he aquí vuestra parte, e parad bien mientes si vos engañe: he aquí vna mano del niño, e he vn pie e la meytad de todo el otro cuerpo.* Anon. Sahagun, p. 317a *Ya estas cosas pasadas, he aquí otra vez retornados los daños, é peligros.* Lucas Fernandez, p. 179 *He aquí yesca y pedrenal.* Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, p. 213 *hé allí á Fabricio.* Autos, Vol. I, p. 265, 406 *He aquí el sueño y la soltura.* Vol. III, p. 397, 103 *He aquí el rrefran cunplido.* Gil Blas, Vol. I, p. 169 *Y hé aquí á todos mis pobres actores atónitos* (Lesage III, 12 *Voilà mes acteurs déconcertés!*).

c) In connection with *he*, a personal pronoun of the 2. pers. appears only as an ethical dative, sing. and plur. The phrase, as a rule, is accompanied by the acc. of a personal pronoun or noun. Encina, p. 69 *Y hételo aquí cada dia.*—Alex. 1090 *Otro dia manana heuollos apellidos Que era Alexandre e los griegos uenidos.* Est. God., p. 133 *todas las demas fortalezas dió á tener á los Aragoneses, e hé-uos-los sennores de toda Espanna.* The place of the noun may be taken by a relative clause: J. Mena, p. 168 *hevos do venian nueve Donas.* Or, with parataxis: Encina, p. 91 *Héte viene un escudero.*

d) *He (aquí)* may be followed by a clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun and stands to *he* in the relation of a direct object. D. Quix. I, 20 *He ay lo que yo dixé, que tuuiesse buena cuenta.* Echegaray, *Ó Locura ó Santidad*, I, 9 *donde estaba oculto* (sc. el pliego), *he aht lo que ignoraba.* (The construction is comparatively modern.)

Or the clause may be introduced by a relative or interrogative adverb. Salamantina 2509 *He allí, juro a sant Juan, donde viene el alguazil.* Gil Blas, Vol. II, p. 14 *Hé aquí como los hombres mas rígidos templan su severidad cuando média el interes propio* (Lesage VII, 3 *C'est ainsi que les hommes les plus sévères rabattent de leur sévérité quand . . .*). (The first construction is old. It is restricted to those cases where the verb of the relative clause is an intransitive verb of state or motion. It is found also after verbs of seeing, but hardly later than the sixteenth century. The second construction is of modern date.)

Lastly, the clause may be introduced by *que* (relative adverb or conjunction?). Hoheliéd, p. 2 (II, 8) *Voz del mio amigo. he que este viene saliendo los oteros. traspassando los collados* (Vulg. ecce iste venit saliens in montibus). Ibid. (II, 9) *he que el esta tras nuestra paret. catando por las finiestras* (Vulg. En, ipse stat post parietem nostrum). Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 6—first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *He que concibra una virgen e parra fio* (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet). D. Quix. I, 31 *Y bien, prosiquio don Quixote, he aqui que acabó de limpiar su trigo y de embiallo al molino.* Gil Blas, Vol. I, p. 5 *No bien habia comido el primer bocado, hé aqui que entra el mesonero* (Lesage I, 2 *Je n'avais pas encore mangé le premier morceau, que l'hôte entra*).

e) *He (aquí)* is rarely followed by a finite verb. Garcilaso, p. 10b *Hé aquí vences; toma los despojos De un cuerpo miserable y afligido.* Nov. ej., p. 225 *Hé aquí tenemos ya á Aven- daño hecho mozo de meson.* (A comparatively modern construction.)

B. E.

1. Diez, *Et. Wb.*, p. 125 s. v. *Ecco*, asserts:

[Von *eccum*] sicher auch sp. *ele, elo, ela* (für *ec-le, ec-lo, ec-la*), *étele* (=it. *eccotelo*), nicht etwa für *hele* oder *fele* aus *vele*, da der abfall des anlautenden *h* für *f=v* minder leicht vor sich geht, niemals z. b. *emencia* für *hemencia, femencia=vehementia* gesagt wird.

But Lat. *eccu+ille* has given *aquel*, and Sp. *ec-le*, if it ever existed,¹ would not have developed to *ele*. The difference between *e* and *he* is merely graphic.

My earliest instances belong probably to the thirteenth century; the latest are from D. Quix. II (1615).

2. The same classification will be followed as for *he*.

a) a) Autos, Vol. II, p. 287, 253 *Eme aquí, santa vision.* Vol. III, p. 158, 288 *Eme aquí.*—Vol. I, p. 100, 80 Eliazer.

¹ Curious is the Judeo-Spanish form *hec*. Gen. 37, 25 (Pentateuchübersetzung, Constantinopel, 1547—GRÜNBAUM, p. 11) *y alzaron sus ojos y vieron y hec* (הֵיך) *caravana de moros.* 29 *Y torno יראובן a el pozo y hec non ירסה en el pozo y rompio sus paños.* Grünbaum, in a note, remarks: "*Hec* (הֵיך) ist in den mit hebräischen Buchstaben gedruckten Büchern die gewöhnliche Form für 'he,' das die ferrarensische Bibel hat. . . ." An edition of 1873 (GRÜNBAUM, pp. 12-14) reads in the same passages *ek*. In this connection, one is naturally reminded of Prov. *hec, ec*. I have no desire to discuss this equally complicated question.

Ola! moços. Donde estais? Moço. Enos aqui un monton de ellos, por es[o] ved que mandais.

β) Autos, Vol. I, pp. 33, 326 *Ele alli, mi corderito*. 81, 432 *ela aqui* (sc. Delbora) *con brevedad*. Vol. II, p. 508 *Ela aqui* (sc. Avigail) *do viene*.—Vol. II, p. 440, 73 *Señora, elas aqui* (sc. las sillas).

b) S. Oria 128 *E aqui la reyna, de esto* (l. *desto*) *sei segura*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 212, 366 *E aqui los niños do estan*. Vol. II, p. 325 *E aqui otro*. (Cases in which the object of *e* is a pronoun other than a personal pronoun, are classified here.) Vol. III, p. 207, 214 *Padre, e aqui la vianda que en estotra alforja esta; sacalda . . .* D. Quix. II, 25 *e aqui mis dos reales*. II, 73 *E aqui, señor, rompidos y desbaratados estos agujeros*.

c) Alex. 961 *Euos un cauallero, Areta fue llamado*. Est. God., p. 47 *Eues* (l. with V. L. *Euos*) *Flauio Egica, .iij. annos ante que muriese, puso á su fijo U[i]tiza . . . en el regno (!) Gallazia*.

d) Autos, Vol. I, p. 422, 412 *A, señora Galaditta! e alli do viene su padre*.

C. AHE.

1. The form *ahe* stands to *he* in the same relation as, e. g., *aht* to *i* (*hi, y, hy*) < *hīc*.

If the *afe* of the *P. Cid* is only a dialectal form of *ahe*, and if, further, the *afe* belongs to the author of the *P. Cid*, then *ahe* dates at least from the last quarter of the twelfth century. My earliest examples occur in the *Est. God.*, written after 1243, the MS belonging to the last third of the thirteenth century. The latest examples I have noted appear in the *Corvacho*, written in 1438, the MS dating from 1466. In 1534, Valdés, *Diál. de la lengua*, p. 382, 33, writes: "Ahe, que quiere dezir ecce, ya no se usa, no sé porque lo avemos dexado, especialmente no teniendo otro que sinifique lo que el."

2. The same classification will be followed as for *he*.

a) Cronica Esp. IV, fo. 280 vo. a *ahelo* (sc. el casamiento) *en las manos de Dios, e faga y la su merced*.¹ (The only instance I have found of *ahe*+pronoun! It is, moreover, rather late.)

b) Est. God., p. 51 *Ahé Espanna . . . tornado* (l. with

¹ Corresponds to *P. Cid* 1942.

V. L. *tornada*) en discordia. Plácidas, p. 125 e cada vno atendiendo su caça, ahe aquí vn ciero grande á marauilla. Florençia, pp. 410 En todo esto ahé aquí Miles en medio de la priesa, et fué ferir vn buen cauallero. 424 Et atanto ahé aquí Agrauayn et Clamador, et Ibid. Atanto ahé aquí Sinagot que encontró Esmere. 445 et ella llorando asy, ahe aquí á Macayre. 447 A tanto ahé aquí Macayre. Seuilla, pp. 345 é do la reyna dormia asy sin guarda, ahé aquel enano que entró. 364 A tanto ahé el rey do viene. Ps. 51, 9 (MS Esc. I. j. 8—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 389) Ahe el varon que non puso a Dios por su fortaleza (Vulg. Ecce homo, qui). Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 3—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 514) Ahe la virgen prennada e parira fijo (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet). Is. 40, 9 (MS R. Ac. Hist.—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 535 n.) Ahe el vuestro Dios! (Vulg. Ecce Deus vester). Iosaphat, p. 362 Ahe çinco razones por las quales traemos las rreliquias de los santos.

c) Est. God., pp. 39 Hahéuos (!) con toda essa companna don Paulo con su bando cuydó uenir bien seguro en Espanna. 42 Ahéuos don Paulo en cuyta en [a]quela su fortaleza de Arenas. Crón. rim. 172 Ahevos aquí su previllejo como lo trayo otorgado. Gatos, p. 552a Et él estando y ahe-vos las bestias que se juntaron á cabildo so aquel árbol.—Florençia, p. 434 Entre tanto aheuos aquí do viene Agrauayn corriendo por el campo. J. Ruiz 1089 Non avia acabado desir byen su verbo, ahe vos ado viene muy lygero el çieruo.

d) Florençia, pp. 403 En todo esto ahé aquí do vienen los infantes d'Ongria. 409 Atanto ahé aquí do vien Eleame. 412 Et asy estando, ahe aquí ô viene el enperador Ottas. 419 Vn dia aveno que seyendo Garsyr á la mesa, ahé aquí dó (l. do) viene Sinagot su conestable.

Est. God., p. 10 Ahé que don Hérculos con los Griegos así ganó Espanna. Cronica Esp. I, fo. 104 vo.a e dizoles a he (!) que yo el vuestro Dios ya me muero. Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 4—fourteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 406) Ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet). Anon. Sahagun, p. 330 é como ya rezase el Evangelio, ahe, que

súpitamente comenzamos á oír grandes estruendos. Is. 40, 10 (MS R. Ac. Hist.—fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 535 n.) *Ahe que Adonay Elohim fuerte verna e con el ssu braço ssennoreara por ssy. Ahe que (!) el su merescimiento con el e la ssu obra delante del* (Vulg. ecce Dominus Deus in fortitudine veniet, et brachium ejus dominabitur: ecce merces ejus cum eo, et opus illius coram illo). *Biblia Alba*, pp. 25 *ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo* (Is. 7, 14 Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). 39 *dixo el señor: ahe que vos yo di toda herua* (Gen. 1, 29 Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam). 43 *ahe que tu fermosa eres, la mi querida, ahe que tu fermosa tu eres e los tus ojos palomos: ahe que tu eres fermoso, el mi querido* (Cant. 1, 14 Ecce, tu pulchra es, amica mea, ecce tu pulchra es,¹ oculi tui columbarum. 15 Ecce, tu pulcher es, dilecte mi). 44 *ahe que la su cama de salamon sesenta barraganes la circundan de los fortissimos de israel* (Cant. 3, 7 En, lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel). 49 *ahe que entenderá el mi siervo* (Is. 52, 13 Ecce, intelliget servus meus). *Corvacho*, pp. 241 *Señor, ¡ahe que medidos posyste los mis dias* (Ps. 38, 6 Ecce mensurabiles posuisti dies meos)! 306 *ahe* (V. L. *aha*), *doña loca engrosada, que non es tiempo de burlar.*

e) *Ahe* is frequently found in sentences with a finite verb, but, to judge from the material on hand, only in translations from the Latin.² *Est. God.*, pp. 11 *Ahé toda la tierra de Lonbardia destruyda et los omnes subiugados á su seruicio, don Hércules uino en Grecia, et destruyó Troya.* 63 *Ahé Toledo non fué destruida.* *Quatro Dotores*, pp. 358, 7 *ahe puse las mis palabras en la tu boca* (Foerster, p. 20, 7 Ecce posui . . .). 361, 24 *ahe has los sueldos que demandaste* (F., p. 38, 18 Ecce habes . . .). 362, 21 *ca ahe, las gallinas que cria, comellas el*

¹Cf. Cant. 4, 1 *Quam* pulchra es, amica mea, *quam* pulchra es! Hohelied, p. 3 *Que fermosa eres amiga mia que fermosa eres.* *Biblia Alba*, p. 44 *ahe que tu fermosa eres, la mi amiga; ahe que tu fermosa eres.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 33) *¡Ay que hermosa tu eres, amiga mia, ay que hermosa!*

²In the examples from the *Est. God.* I can only suppose Lat. ecce as the original of *ahe*. The Lat. text published by SCHOTT, *Hispania illustr.*, offered no help. The *Quatro Dotores* and the *Iosaphat* are translations from Vincentius Bellovacensis. An ed. of the latter not being accessible to me, I have used, for the examples taken from the Dialogues of Gregory (only this part of the *Quatro Dotores* was examined by me) the text published by FOERSTER, *Le Dialogue Gregoire le Pape*, and for *Iosaphat*, the text published by MIGNE, Vol. LXXIII.

rraposo (F., p. 40, 20 *Ecce enim gallinas quas nutrit uulpes comedit*). 371, 28 *ahé vo a los frayres a dar les axarope* (F., p. 96, 5 *Ecce ad fratres uado . . .*). 373, 27 *ahé rroquete, e non me quisiste oyr* (F., p. 101, 16 *Ecce te rogavi . . .*). 377, 29 *ahé rremedas las bestias, como eres digno* (F., p. 118, 6 *ecce, ut dignus es, bestias imitaris*). 381, 17 *ahé tomadlas e vestildas* (F., p. 135, 6 *ecce tollite . . .*). 383, 29 *ahé, matestelas, señor* (F., p. 140, 16 *Ecce illos occidisti, Domine*). 397, 28 *ahé vengo, ahé vengo* (F., p. 208, 14 *Ecce uenio, ecce uenio*). 409, 25 *yd uos, yd uos; ahé dado so a tragar al dragon* (F., p. 251, 7 *Recedite, recedite, quia draconi ad deuorandum datus sum*). 410, 4; 6; 23. 421, 25 *e ahé, como estudiése en medio el mar, paresçíome vno, el qual . . .* (F., p. 278, 12 *et ecce in eodem medio mari me posito quidam apparuit, qui . . .*). Iosaphat, pp. 338. 343 *Ahé rreprehendiendo la tu non sabiduria use desta manera* (Migne, Vol. LXXIII, p. 463 *En igitur ut tuam dementiam coarguerem, hac ratione usus sum*). 345 *Ahé en pocas cosas te manifieste el mi señor* (M., p. 469 *Et tibi Dominum meum . . . paucis verbis declaravi*). Ibid. *Ca ahé luego que tome estas palabras, lumbre muy dulce entro al mi coraçon* (M., p. 469 *Ecce enim ut hæc verba auribus excepi, suavissima lux pectus meum subiit*). 375. 381. 387. 389.

The more marked the pause between *ahé* and the finite verb, and the farther the latter gets from the former by inserted parts of the sentence, especially by an inserted dependent clause, the nearer comes *ahé* to being an interjection. This is decidedly the case when *ahé* is accompanied by an interrogative or exclamatory sentence. Quatro Doctores, p. 364, 6 *o ahé, que fizo el varo[n] santo Furtunato obispo* (F., p. 43, 11 *O uirum sanctum Fortunatum episcopum! ecce quid fecit!*)! Iosaphat, pp. 355 *Ca ahé quanto tienpo ha el çielo e non es denegrado* (M., p. 509 *Ecce enim quantum jam temporis fluxit, ex quo cœlum est, nec tamen obscuritatem contraxit*). 381 *Ahé loco como non aduzes al seso de la verdat* (M., p. 572 *Quin¹ te vis veritatis sensu afficit?*).

¹I should not omit mentioning that the translator (or translators?) of Vinc. Bellov. have also in at least two cases rendered Lat. *heu* by *ahé*. Quatro Doctores, p. 360, 16 *ahé, ahé, muerto es este mesquino* (F., p. 37, 2 *Heu, heu, mortuus est miser iste*). Iosaphat, p. 350 *ahé a mi, que primeramente llantearé, o que mas llorare* (M., p. 495 *Heu me miserum, quidnam prius deflebo ac lamentabor?*)?

D. HAE.

1. *Hae*—by the side of which very likely *ae* will also be found—is a graphical variant of *hahe* (cf. Est. God., p. 39—*Ahe* § 2, c) or *ahe*.

2. The few instances at my disposal show the particle followed by an ethical dative and a noun. Est. God., p. 48 *Haéuos el regno de los Godos . . . tornado á mal*. Crón. rim., p. 2 *haevos aqui los poderes del rey don Sancho*. Gatos, p. 551a *haevos las bestias que se ayuntaron todas á cabildo so el árbol*.

E. FE.

1. I have claimed that the *fe*-forms of the *P. Cid* belong to a dialect different from that to which the *he*-forms belong. That dialect has been said to be the Asturian. Besides the eight cases of *fe* in the *P. Cid*, I count ten in other texts. At least four of these are found in MSS with northern peculiarities, viz., the MS S of J. Ruiz (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Rom.*, Vol. XXX, p. 435) and the *Corvacho*.

That, among Spanish dialects, the Asturian dialect alone has preserved Lat. initial *f* is well known. A predilection for that sound seems thereby to be proved. Quadrado (in Canella Secades, *Estudios asturianos*, p. 250) says:

La *f* sustituye (sc. el bable) á la *h* aspirada; v. g.: falar por hablar, fer por hacer, y aun encabeza palabras que en castellano carecen de *h*; v. g.: fola por ola.

Fola is unfortunately of obscure origin. But perhaps *finchir* could be cited in this connection. In this word the *i* instead of *e*, on account of a following *n*, might also point to northern origin. Further *finojo*, Vigil, *Glos.*, and *farrear*, *Corvacho*, *Glos.* Whether the latter is = *arrear* < **arredare* or = *arrear* < *arre*, I cannot say. In either case the quotation serves the purpose. But *farrear* = *arrear* < *arre* would at the same time support *farre* = *arre*, J. Ruiz MS S 517. Baist, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, p. 347, observes:

Farre steht nur einmal in einer Hs. des Juan Ruiz, die beiden andern bieten *h*; *harre* erscheint als eine willkürliche Verstärkung des Zurufs, die arabisch,—*harr* bei Freytag—ebenso belegt ist wie im Spanischen.

Nevertheless I would advocate *farre* not only because it stands in a MS which contains a "multitud de leonesismos" (Menéndez Pidal) and is therefore in keeping with the general linguistic character of the MS, but also for the reason that there seems to be a natural tendency to aspirate interjections (especially when they are monosyllabic). Cf., e. g., Nyrop, *Gramm. hist.*, Vol. I, § 484:

Le *h* aspiré se trouve enfin dans plusieurs interjections de caractère onomatopéique: Ha, haie, hallali, hare, hein, hem, holà, hou, houp, huan, hue. Rappelons aussi les verbes: haleter (pour aleter, proprement "battre de l'aile," ala), hennir (hinnire). . . .

Thus then I would also explain *fa* in *fadeduro*, J. Ruiz MS¹ S 389 (MS G *hadeduro*); *fade maja*, J. Ruiz MS S 959 (MS G *hade-duro*) in contrast with *ha* (cf. Sanchez, Vol. IV, p. 307), and *fe* in contrast with *he*.

2. Cf. for the classification of the following examples, *he*.

a) a) P. Cid 269 *Fem ante uos yo² e uuestras fñjas*. J. Ruiz 1458 *fe me aqui presto; non temas, ten esfuërço*. Corvacho, p. 302 *Pues, Pobreza, di a quién me dards por fianças e luego fême* (V. L. *veeme*) *presta para te fazer conosçer que*. . . . Pero Gonçalves de Useda (*Canc. Baena*, p. 403) *Ffeme fecho conde, vo me para Francia*.

ß) Boc. Oro, p. 302 *Ayer apremiava este a los otros omnes, e felo* (V. L. *afelo*) *ado esta oy apremiado*. Ibid. *Este es el que andudo toda la tierra del un cabo del mundo al otro, e felo puesto entre dos braças*.—P. Cid 485 *Fellos en Casteion, o el Campeador estaua*. 1452 *Felos en Medina las duenas e Albarfanez*. 2647 *Felos en Molina con el moro Avengaluon*. 3534 *Felos al plazo los del Campeador*. 3701 *Felos en Valençia con myo Çid el Campeador*.

¹ In copla 967 the same MS reads *hadre duro* (MS G *hadeduro*).

² Cf. P. Cid 1597 *Afe me aqui, señor, yo uuestras fñjas e amas*. *Yo* is appositive to *me*, a case of nom. instead of acc., not mentioned by MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. III, § 62. He gives, however, § 58, an Italian example of *io* appositive to *ci*. As after *mas-que* (MEYER-LÜBKE, op. cit., § 62 and GESSNER, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XVII, p. 10), the nom. is also found after *fuera*: *Duelo 21 Ca fuera io, de todas ella maes lo querie*. S. Catalina, p. 279 *Aqui non ha otro fueras yo e vos*. (Cf. TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. I², p. 273.) After *fuera de*: Autos, Vol. IV, p. 83, 520 *Fuera de yo no ay ninguno que*. . . . After *sino*: DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, p. 183 *No hay otro Dios sino yo*. (Cf. for the nom. after 'but' etc., JESPERSEN, *Progress in Language*, p. 193.) Finally, in *desdichado de yo*, Autos, Vol. I, p. 174, 142; D. Quix. I, 26, we have contamination of *desdichado yo* and *desdichado de m.*

b) Maria Eg., p. 315a *Que fe aqui huna doliosa Que por ell yermo va rencurosa*. Lucanor, p. 125, 3 *Ea, don sobrino, fe aqui* (V. L. *he; vedes donna; he aqui do viene*) a donna Vascunnana que nos partira nuestra contienda. J. Ruiz 1331 *fe aque* (l. *aquí*) *buen amor qual buen amiga buscolo*.

c) P. Cid 1335 *Feuos aqui las señas, verdad uos digo yo*. 3591 *Feuos dela otra part los yfantes de Carrion*. Maria Eg., p. 310a *Feuos aqui mio tesoro*.—Corvacho, p. 285 *E la Pobreza asy estando, feuos* (V. L. *he vos*) *aquí donde viene por el camino adelante la Fortuna*.

F. AFE.

1. *Afe* proceeds from *fe*, as *ahe* from *he*.

2. Cf. for the classification of the following examples, *he*.

a) a) P. Cid 1597 *Afe me aqui, señor, yo uuestras fijas e amas*.

β) P. Cid 505 *Todo lo otro afelo en uuestra mano*. Reyes de Or., p. 320b *Afelo alli don jaz gafo*.—P. Cid 2088 *Afellas en uuestra mano don Eluira e doña Sol*. 2101 *Afellas en uuestras manos los yfantes de Carrion*. 2175 *Afelos en Valençia, la que mio Cid gaño*. 2947 *Afelas sus fijas en Valençia do son*. (If one reads *Afe las sus fijas*, the instance belongs to the following division.)

b) P. Cid 1317 *Afe Minaya Albarfanez do lega tan apuesto*. 2135 *Respondio el Rey: "Afe aqui Albarfanez. . . ."* 2222 *Affe amas mis fijas, metolas en uuestra mano*. (The punctuation of the editor is correct, if *amas mis fijas* is the object of *affe*. It is wrong, if *amas mis fijas* is the object of *meto*. Such a possibility is not excluded. Cf. S. Dom. 38 *Evangelios, epistolas aprisólas* (l. *aprisolas*) *privado*; 377 *Ladrones de la tierra movieles el pecado*; Gessner, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 20 ff. In such a case there is hardly any difference between *afe* = *ecce* and *a fe* = *profecto*. And in that way *a fe* = *profecto* might have become *afe* = *ecce*. It would then still remain for Ascoli to explain the early *h*-forms.—A similar difficulty arises in one or another of the following instances.) 2381 *Afe los moros a oio, yd los en sayar*. 3393 *Affe dos caualleros en traron por la cort*. 3407 *Afe mis fijas, en uuestras manos son*.

c) P. Cid 152 *Afeuos los ala tienda del Campeador contado.* 262 *Afeuos doña Ximena con sus fijas do ua legando.* 476 *Afeuos los CC. iij. enel algara.* 1255 *Afeuos todo aquesto puesto en buen Recabdo.* 1431 *Afeuos Rachel e Vidas alos pies le caen.* 1499 *Afeuos aqui Pero Vermuez e Mũno Gustioz que uos quieren sin hart.* 1568 *Afeuos todos a questos Reçiben a Minaya.* 2230 *Alos yfantes de Carrion Minaya va fablando: "Afeuos delant Minaya, amos sodes hermanos."* 2368 *Afeuos el obispo don Iheronimo muy bien armado.* Maria Eg., p. 312a *Afeuos María en el camino E encontró vn pelegrino.*

d) P. Cid 1942 *Afe Dios del çielo que nos acuerde en lo miior.* 2140 *Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz."* 2155 *Afe Dios del çielo, que lo ponga en buen lugar!* 2855 *Affe Dios delos çielos que uos de dent buen galardon!*

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN QUOTING SPANISH TEXTS.

- Alex. = [Berceó] *El Libro de Alexandre*. In Janer, *Poetas castellanos anteriores al Siglo XV*, 1864, pp. 147 ff.
 Anon. Sahagun = *Historia del Monasterio de Sahagun*. In Escalona, *Historia del R. Monasterio de Sahagun*, 1782, pp. 297 ff.
 Antologia = Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antologia de Poetas líricos castellanos*, 1890-.
 App. = *Libre de Appollonio*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 283 ff.
 Ardamisa = Diego de Negueruela, *Farsa llamada Ardamisa*; réimpression p. p. L. Rouanet, 1901.
 Autos = Rouanet, *Coleccion de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del Siglo XVI*, 1901.
 Biblia Alba = Paz y Melia, *La Biblia puesta en romance por Rabi Mosé Arragel de Guadalfajara (1422-33)*. In *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Vol. II, 1899, pp. 5 ff.
 Boc. Oro = *Este Libro es llamado Bocados de Oro*. . . . In Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, 1878, pp. 68 ff.
 Canc. Baena = *El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, 1851.
 Celestina = *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*; réimpression p. p. R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1900.
 Clim. Sanch. (Gayangos) = *El Libro de los Enxemplos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores en Prosa anteriores al Siglo XV*, 1884, pp. 447 ff.
 Clim. Sanch. (Morel-Fatio) = Climente Sanchez, *El Libro de Enxemplos* por A. B. C. In *Rom.*, Vol. VII, pp. 481 ff.
 Coron. Esp. = *Las quatro Partes enteras de la Coronica de España*. . . .; vista y emendada mucha parte de su impresion por el Maestro Florian Docampo, 1604.
 Corvacho = Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, *Arçipreste de Talavera (Corvacho ó Reprobación del Amor mundano)*, 1901.
 Crón. D. Pedro = Pedro Lopez de Ayala, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla Don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan I, Don Enrique III*; t. I. que comprende la crónica del rey D. Pedro, 1779.
 Crón. gen. M. = *De la Crónica general que mandó componer el Rey Don Alfonso X. In Menéndez Pidal, La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, 1896, pp. 207 ff.
 Crón. rim. = *Crónica rimada de las Cosas de España*. . . . y mas particularmente de las Auenturas del Cid; p. p. D. F. Michel. In [Wiener] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1846, Anzeige-Blatt, pp. 1 ff.
 D. Quix. = Cervantes, *El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, 1605-15 (Facsimile).
 Diego Sanchez = Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilacion en Metro*; reimpressa por D. V. Barrantes, 1882-86.
 Encina = Juan del Encina, *Teatro completo*, 1893.
 Est. God. = Arçobispo Don Rodrigo, *Estoria de los Godos*. In *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos*. . . .; t. LXXXVIII, 1887, pp. 1 ff.
 F. Avilés = *El Fuero de Avilés*; discurso leído . . . por D. A. Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, 1865.
 Fernandez-Guerra = Fernandez-Guerra, *Muestra del Lenguaje asturiano y leonés durante el Siglo XIII*. In F. Avilés, pp. 67 ff.
 Férotin = Férotin, *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos*, 1897.
 F. Juzgo = *Fuero Juzgo*, 1815.
 Florencia = *Agui (l. Agui) comiença el Cuento muy fermoso del Enperador Ottas de Roma et de la Infante Florencia*. . . . In Rios, *Hist. crit.*, Vol. V, pp. 391 ff.

- Flores = Pedro Espinosa and Juan Antonio Calderón, *Primera [y segunda] Parte de las Flores de Poetas ilustres de España*; ed. por D. J. Quirós de los Ríos y D. F. R. Marín, 1896.
- Garcilaso = Garcilaso de la Vega, *Poetas*. In A. de Castro, *Poetas líricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII*; t. 1, 1872, pp. 3 ff.
- Gatos = *Libro de los Gatos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 543 ff.
- Gil Blas = *Historia de Gil Blas de Santillana por Le Sage*, traducida al castellano por el Padre Isla, Leipzig, 1883.
- Gil Vicente = Gil Vicente, *Ocho Representaciones*. In [Böhl de Faber] *Teatro español anterior á Lope de Vega*, 1832, pp. 39 ff.
- Grünbaum = Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, 1896.
- Hohelied = *Das Hohelied in castilianischer Sprache des XIII. Jahrhunderts . . .*; von J. Cornu.
- Horozco = S. de Horozco, *Cancionero*, 1874.
- Iosaphat = *La Estoria del Rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam*; von F. Lauchert. In *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. VII, pp. 331 ff.
- Iosep = *Este Tratado se llama el Libro de Iosep ab Arimatia e otrosi Libro del sancto Grial . . .* MS Bibl. Part. de S. M. 2-G-5.
- J. Mena = Juan de Mena, *Obras*, 1804.
- J. Ruiz = Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen Amor*; texte . . . p. J. Ducamin, 1901.
- Juan Manuel = Don Juan Manuel, *Obras*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 229 ff.
- Lazarillo = *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes . . .*; restitución de la ed. princ. por R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1900.
- Lope de Rueda = Lope de Rueda, *Obras*, 1895-96.
- Lucanor = Juan Manuel, *El Libro de los Enxemplos del Conde Lucanor e de Patronio*; Text und Anmerkungen aus dem Nachlasse von H. Knust h. v. A. Birch-Hirschfeld, 1900.
- Lucas Fernandez = Lucas Fernandez, *Farsas y Éplogas*, 1867.
- Maria Eg. = *Vida de Santa Maria Egipciaca*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 307 ff.
- Merlin = *Aquí comienza la Estoria de Merlin . . .* MS Bibl. Part. de S. M. 2-G-5.
- Milagr. = [Berceo] *Milagros de Nuestra Sennora*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 103 ff.
- Nov. ej. = Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, Leipzig, 1883.
- P. Cid = *Poema del Cid*; nueva ed. por R. Menéndez Pidal, 1898.
- Plácidas = *De vn Cauallero Plácidas . . .* In Knust, *Dos Obras didácticas y dos Leyendas*, 1873, pp. 123 ff.
- Primavera = Wolf and Hofmann, *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, 1856.
- Quatro Doctores = *La Estoria de los quatro Doctores de la santa Iglesia*; h. v. F. Lauchert, 1897.
- Quevedo = Quevedo Villegas, *Obras*, 1876-77.
- Reyes de Or. = *Libro de los Reyes de Oriente*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 319 ff.
- Reyes Magos = *Auto de los Reyes Magos*. In Menéndez Pidal, *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo y Auto de los Reyes Magos*, 1900.
- Rim. Pal. = *Este Libro fizo el honrrado Caballero Pero Lopez de Ayala . . . e llámase el Libro de Palacio*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 425 ff.
- Rrey Guill. = *Aquí comienza la Estoria del Rrey Guillelme*. In Knust, *Dos Obras didácticas*, pp. 171 ff.
- Sacr. = [Berceo] *Del Sacrificio de la Missa*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 80 ff.
- Salamantina = Palau, *La Farsa llamada Salamantina*; p. p. A. Morel-Fatio, 1900.
- Sancho IV = Rey Don Sancho, *Castigos é Documentos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 79 ff.
- S. Catalina = *De Santa Catalina*. In Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca*, 1890, pp. 232 ff.
- S. Dom. = [Berceo] *Escomenzia la Vida del glorioso Confesor Sancto Domingo de Silos*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 39 ff.
- S. Emper. = *Aquí comienza un muy fermoso Cuento de una santa Emperatriz . . .* In [Wiener] *Sitzungsber.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 508 ff.
- Seuilla = *Aquí comienza vn noble Cuento del Enperador Carlos Maynes de Rroma é de la buena Enperatriz Seuilla . . .* In Ríos, *Hist. crit.*, Vol. V, pp. 344 ff.
- S. Ildef. = *El Beneficiado de Ubeda, Vida de San Ildefonso*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 323 ff.
- S. Juan de la Peña = *Historia de la Corona de Aragon . . . conocida generalmente con el Nombre de Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, 1876.
- S. Oria = [Berceo] *Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 137 ff.
- S. Teresa = Santa Teresa, *Escritos*; añadidos é ilustrados por D. V. de la Fuente, 1877-79.
- Tirso = Tirso de Molina, *Comedias escogidas*; juntas en coleccion por D. J. E. Hartzenbusch, 1886.
- Torres Naharro = Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*; reimprimela D. M. Caffete, 1880-1900.
- Vigil = Vigil, *Coleccion histórico-diplomática del Ayuntamiento de Oviedo*, 1889.

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BRITISH MUSEUM.

A GUIDE TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE BRONZE AGE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIÆVAL AN- TIQUITIES.

(WITH TEN PLATES AND 148 ILLUSTRATIONS.)

[Printed by Order of the Trustees¹ (London, 1904). 8vo, pp. xii + 159.]

THIS shilling volume has its preface signed by a well-known archæologist, Charles H. Read, of the British Museum, whose work I take the volume to be; and though it is intended merely as a guide to a portion of the treasures housed in the British Museum, its interest to all those who have tried to understand the prehistory of the British Isles cannot be easily exaggerated, though some of them may possibly never have set foot within any of the Museum buildings. Among other things, Mr. Read is one of the first archæologists to try to correlate the results of his science with those of the ethnology of the Celts and their precursors in the occupation of Britain and Ireland. It does not come to much, it is true, but that is not the author's fault so much as a result of the intrinsic difficulties of the case; and it may prove useful to have those difficulties clearly pointed out from the archæological side.

There is also the advantage to the philologist of seeing his questions regarded from a different point of view from his own. Before coming to the instance here in point I may mention that the author alludes to movements in the Celtic world of the continent in the sixth and fifth centuries before our era, and suggests that they did not leave the British Isles unaffected; "but it was probably long before that date," he goes on to say, "that a branch of that widespread family settled in these islands." He alludes to the Goidel or Gaoidheal whose national name English orthography simplifies into Gael, and he thinks that the Goidel

¹ It is a pity that the author has allowed the Trustees an opportunity of showing their hopeless incapacity to give his book a brief and quotable title: perhaps after all a publisher might have been useful.

once occupied most of Britain south of the firths of Forth and Clyde. He would probably not have erred in dating his advent nearer to the year 1000 B. C. than to the sixth or fifth century. At all events, it was a long time before the next Celtic invasion of Britain took place, and here what has usually been regarded as one group of invasions is treated with evident advantage as two. Mr. Read's own words will best explain what I mean (p. 22):

The new-comers are known as Brythons, and it is from them that the name Britain is derived. A chronological limit for this second wave of Keltic immigration is possibly afforded by the express mention of Britain in the record of the voyage of Pytheas, a Greek of Marseilles who explored north-west Europe about the time of the philosopher Aristotle, towards the end of the fourth century B. C.; but the name may have been merely put into his mouth by Strabo, who quotes from a lost original. Some time before Cæsar's invasion a third conquest of this island by people with a similar language had taken place, and as he found the Belgæ in possession of the south, it is evident that by that time the Brythons, who had been steadily driving their predecessors, the Goidels, to the extremities of Britain and probably into Ireland, were themselves being pressed northward by more recent invaders who have left their name to Belgium.

Now, the name of Britain, ἡ Βρεττανικὴ (better ἡ Πρετανικὴ), is not the only name of importance here which Strabo puts into the mouth of Pytheas, for there is also that of Cantion, which survives in English as Kent and cannot have been, so far as I can see, derived in its form of Cantion from any Goidelic source. This and other considerations to which I had not given due weight make me accept with all the less hesitation Mr. Read's treatment of Brythons and Belgæ as forming two distinct groups of invasions of Britain. The early populations of the island would accordingly stand as follows: (1) the Aborigines, consisting of a dwarf race of mound-dwellers commonly called Fairies and invested with all kinds of impossible attributes belonging to obscure divinities; (2) the Iverno-Pictish population; (3) the Goidelic invaders; (4) the Brythons, and (5) the Belgæ.

The following paragraph as to Ireland (p. 146) is similar in its suggestiveness to the one already cited as to Britain, and it

agrees with conclusions which I have drawn from different data in a paper read some time ago to the British Academy:

The greater part of the gold ornaments exhibited comes from Ireland, but very few pieces have any history, and the archæological value of the series is thereby impaired. It is significant that many of the gold-finds in England have been in the south-west, while Wales, also within easy reach of Ireland, has also been productive. The metal was not confined to any one district in Ireland, but was found or traded all over the island, which has been regarded as the El Dorado of the ancient world. According to M. Salomon Reinach, this industry of the Iberian population was ruined by a foreign invasion about 1000 B. C., and some Keltic-speaking barbarians (possibly the Goidels) arrested the development of Ireland till the advent of more invaders some time before 200 B. C., when the Late Keltic culture was introduced.

The early populations of Ireland may be classified as follows: (1) the Mound-Dwellers, living apart in the mountains and other remote parts of the country, resembling in some respects the reservations marked out for the Red Man in the United States of America; (2) the Iverno-Pictish populations, who were variously called Érnai or Ivernians, Cruithni, and True Ultonians, and gave to Ireland its name of Eriu, Hiberio, Juverna, and kindred forms; (3) the Erimonian Goidels, of Milesian descent, or the invaders led by the Sons of Mil, for whose seizure of Meath—called after them *Mide mac Míled*, “Meath of Mil’s Sons”—the year 1000 B. C. will do provisionally well enough; (4) a miscellaneous group of invaders, consisting of Galeóin, Fir Bolg, Fir Domnann, Lagen, and others introduced by an early Dermot whose name was Labraid Longsech, or Labraid the Exile, in order to establish him in power in Leinster. Some of these were probably Brythons or Belgæ, and may have been mere mercenaries; at any rate, they failed, so far as is known, to perpetuate a Brythonic or Gaulish language in any part of Ireland. Labraid the Exile’s return with his foreign auxiliaries took place, no doubt, before 200 B. C.; the Four Masters date it so far back as the sixth century before our era. It is possibly to Labraid’s auxiliaries that we are to trace the cluster of small tribes placed by the geographer Ptolemy on the coast of Leinster between the Liffey and Carnsore Point. Some of these, though Celtic, were non-

Goidelic, such as the Brigantes of the southeast corner, and the Belgæ whose town, called Manapia, was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Arklow in the county of Wicklow. It is remarkable also that one of these tribes was called Cauci, which reminds one of the Germanic people of the Chauci somewhere between the Rhine and the Elbe.

Thus the early populations of Britain and Ireland may be said to have consisted of the same racial elements; but the difficulty of associating the introduction of metal-working with any of the waves of invasion is at once apparent. Mr. Read produces excellent authority for the opinion that the Phœnicians were acquainted with the mineral fields of Britain between 1500 and 1200 B. C., and that the use of tin in Britain, probably also of copper, dated still earlier (p. 23).

The Phœnicians [he goes on to say], or those who traded with them, would not land in Britain and discover tin spontaneously; it must have been a knowledge that the inhabitants of Britain were already producers of this valuable metal that originated the commerce.

That is sound common-sense, but M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, in his recently published volume entitled *Les Celtes*, advances the opinion that it was the metal which induced the Celts first to invade Britain. Mr. Read is content to say (p. 71), that

the existence of moulds in this country, together with an ample supply of the constituent metals, shows that bronze was from the first manufactured on the spot. It is in fact likely that foreign traders in metal were first attracted to Cornwall and other parts by the knowledge that bronze was already in use among the natives, who had discovered the ores and the secret of smelting and combining them.

Accordingly, it would seem that the people who worked the metals here were either the Iverno-Picts or the Moundsmen, or both; but what our folk-lore always says about the Fairies is that they could not stand the touch of iron, which is not equivalent to affirming them to have been fond of working in bronze; so we seem to have to associate metallurgy with the pre-Celtic Picts.

This question is approached here from another point of view also; for Mr. Read refers to the map prepared by the Hon. John Abercromby for his paper entitled *The Oldest Bronze-Age Ceramic*

Type in Britain; Its Close Analogies on the Rhine; Its Probable Origin in Central Europe, published by the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Among other things, he notices how Abercromby's map represents the "drinking-cup," the earliest well-defined type of barrow pottery in this country, as occurring regularly on the east coast of Scotland and north England, with clusters also in Derbyshire and Wilts. He infers "that these vessels were introduced from Scandinavia or the Netherlands by a people scarcely acquainted with metals." Whether that people can be racially identified he leaves as a matter of doubt, but he thinks it the most probable hypothesis that they arrived before the Aryans. On the other hand, he goes on to make the following statement of his opinion (p. 25):

The Aryans who are credited with the introduction of cremation into Europe are now thought to have found the art of metal-working already established in certain parts, and to have actually retarded civilisation in the districts they appropriated. Such a view would suit the conditions in our island very well; and if 1000 B. C. be taken as a central date for the earliest cremation urns in the barrows, we may assign the "drinking-cups" and those "food-vessels" found with unburnt burials, and frequently with bronze objects, to the pre-Aryan population, in part descended from our remoter neolithic ancestors.

It is needless to say that I have not attempted to review Mr. Read's book: that would be far beyond my competence; but I hope that I have said enough to show the interest which attaches to some of the questions on which the author touches.

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THE NEWLY DISCOVERED CHANÇUN DE WILLAME.

II.

THE analysis given of the poem shows that the two redactions of the battle of the Archamp differ not only in their geography, but in their personages as well. The two central heroes are of course common to both; aside from them, however, the lists of heroes present various differences and discrepancies which are doubtless highly significant. A fitting discussion of these points would lead us too far afield, and would at the same time offer several problems insolvable at this stage of our knowledge. A brief statement of one or two of these difficulties will serve to show what a fruitful source of inquiry is disclosed in this part of the *Chanson de Willame*.

Among the solemn injunctions sent by Vivien about to die is one to his brother Guiot, *sun petit frere*, bidding him to hasten to his rescue.¹ We are certainly warranted in expecting that Gui will accompany the expedition of relief, but he nowhere appears until the "second" expedition, the one which has been called B.² There is something suspicious in his introduction here, for his appearance in l. 1435 interrupts a passage which is almost verbatim from A. To speak more clearly, there is a passage beginning in l. 1400 and extending to 1435 which is practically identical with one occurring earlier: 1041-58. The episode beginning in l. 1435 ends at l. 1482, and is immediately followed by twenty-five lines, which, in almost identical form, occur at the close of the earlier passage mentioned. In other words, B contains about sixty lines which are found, in somewhat briefer compass it is true, in A. In A, however, these lines are continuous, while in B they are divided (at l. 1435) by the intercalation of an episode treating of Gui. At least two subsequent passages

¹ Ll. 678 ff. (cf. this JOURNAL, Vol. II, p. 5) and 998 ff.

² Ll. 1435 ff.

show something analogous in connection with this young hero. One seems obliged to admit either that B has inserted here a development of the original story, or that A, which is visibly abbreviated, formerly contained the episode.

Several other things combine to make the presence in B of Gui appear an innovation. In the passage beginning at l. 1508 we read that Gui weeps at being detained at home, while his uncle goes away to battle without the company of a single member of the family. It looks, however, from ll. 1720-22 as if he must have been accompanied by several relatives, for five of his nephews are here taken prisoners. Again, an examination of the names of the nephews who are captured shows that Gui and Guichart are never mentioned in the same list; where the one is mentioned, the other is omitted. Another point of value: Guibor says after the battle, in inquiring for the welfare of Gui, that she had intrusted him with the standard of King Mabon (the pagan enchanter?), the horse of Oliver the Gascon, and the hauberc and helm of Tibaut l'Esclavon (ll. 2357-61). Not one of these indications fits Gui, whose *adoubement* has already been described (ll. 1540-49).

The supposition that Gui figured in A and lost his life there originally is strengthened by the fact that *Foucon* and N, which here preserve an ancient version, name him as one of the three nephews who are captured. There is little doubt that these three prisoners are the three nephews who evidently all perished in the source whence A came.

The contradictions and difficulties surrounding the appearance of Gui in the *Willame* are an almost infallible sign of awkward "editing." The necessity for this may have arisen from the fact that his name occurred, under circumstances hard to reconcile, in the originals of both A and B.

The passage, ll. 1720-25, which announces the taking prisoner of the five nephews or cousins is certain to be one of the most frequently discussed in the entire epic. We are told all at once in this passage that the five heroes—Bertram, Guielin, Guischard (evidently supposed to be a different hero from the one of this name in the preceding part of the poem), Galter de Termes, and

Reiner—are seized and made prisoners by the Saracens.¹ The surprising thing about this is that not one of these heroes, as far as we are aware, has been mentioned up to this time. If any of them are originally the same as those of similar or identical name in A, the *remanieurs* certainly do not want us to suspect the fact. How can the presence of the five cousins be explained? Evidently all was clear and logical in the original sources. The apparition of these personages surprises us, not alone by its suddenness, but by the fact, already cited, that Gui has just spoken of his uncle's departing unaccompanied by any relative.² Furthermore, ll. 1671–75 certainly give the impression that Guillaume is unaccompanied by other relatives than Gui, for at the beginning of the battle he bids Gui take his position at his right hand, saying that with him he fears no treachery.³ We can with difficulty justify this language if the hero is accompanied by the faithful Bertram, not to mention the other nephews. With regard to the sudden introduction of the nephews, it stands to reason that the sources must have contained a passage or passages mentioning their presence. The omission of such passages is easily understandable, in view of the condensation which is apparent in all this part of the poem, and in view of the soldering together at this point of two redactions. We already know, in fact, that something has been lost at this point, because of the strange transfer of the action from Barcelona to Orange; we have seen Guibor at the former city, and have seen Guillaume flee thither after his defeat; we naturally suppose that he sets out

¹ This passage, the second line of which should read, *Et Guielins et Guischars li vaillans*, is as follows:

1720 La fu pris le neveu Willame Bertram,
Et Guielin, et li vaillant quons Guischard,
Galter de Termes, et Reiner le combatant;
Estreit les unt liez sarazins et persant.
Veant le cunte, les meinent as chalans.

1725 Que unques de rien ne lur poet estre garant.

² Ll. 1508 ff. The three most important lines of the passage are here given:

1520 Par mi cel tertre vei mun seigneur aler.
Vilment chevalche a bataille champel,
Od lui n'ameine nul sun ami charnel.

³ It should be said that this passage occurs almost verbatim in A (ll. 465–72), where the words are directed by Vivien to Girart, and where they fit much better. The mention of treachery would be especially fitting in view of the betrayal of Tedbalt and Estormi. Several things in this scene remind one of the admirable tableau in the closing lines of the *Covenant*.

from Barcelona on his second expedition, and that he will return thither, but we learn all at once (l. 2054) that he is, in this second flight, going to Orange! It seems clear that the beginning of what we have called B has been lopped off, and that the lines cut away contained a statement that the five young heroes went with the second army, which, by the way, must have started from Orange.

The question is perhaps more complicated than is here indicated. To be sure, if B is simply derived from A, nothing seems more reasonable than to say that the three nephews who perished in A are represented in the derived poem as being taken prisoners, and that their number has increased to five. Such an increase would be thoroughly in keeping with a decadent change in the legend. But it is at least possible that some of these heroes were the companions of Guillaume in the victorious expedition which may be supposed to have closed the primitive epic. Of course, nearly everything relating to the conclusion of this poem is a matter of conjecture, but there is no doubt that the poem ended with a victory of the Christians, and it is almost equally certain that this victory was won on the very site of the defeat, in the Archamp. The primitive poem appears to have consisted of these events: the attack against Vivien in the Archamp, and his death; the tardy arrival of Guillaume; his defeat and flight to his city, where he finds that preparations have already been made for a new army, among whose leaders is Bertram and perhaps one or two other nephews; this second expedition leaves immediately, and gains a complete victory on the site of the defeat; the body of Vivien is found and buried with Christian rites.¹ The sequence of these events, even as to their

¹Strangely enough, the sequence of events here outlined is found in Orderic Vital's account of the attempt of Alfonso of Aragon to take Fraga, 1135 A. D.; *vide* LE PREVOST, "Orderic Vitalis," *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. of the Soc. de l'Hist. de Fr., Vol. V, pp. 19-23, and *Prise de Cordres*, pp. xlvi-xlviij, where M. Densusiannu calls attention to the resemblance between this narration and the story of *Aliscans*. This resemblance, be it noted, is much greater in the light of the *Willame* and of the reconstruction of the battle of the Archamp which imposes itself. This battle, as the writer of these lines has for some years asserted, was fought near Tolosa, on or near the Ebro, and the battle of Fraga took place not far from this spot, near the confluence of the Ebro and the Segre. The real events of the battle as fought by Alfonso were not as given by Orderic. The supposition must be that he altered them, and made them resemble the story of the defeat of Guillaume as we have outlined it, his flight, his return, his victory. Let us note, too, that the name of the Saracen chief, Alzobeyr, may have passed later into *Aliscans* as Aucebier.

conclusion, has left profound traces in *Aliscans*. In this epic, to be sure, as in the *Willame*, the primitive *dénouement* has been cut away and replaced by that of an independent poem, the *Renoart*. The main events of this latter poem, and especially its conclusion, took place at Orange, yet we find on all sides in the second part of *Aliscans* the statement that the battle that is imminent is to be fought in the Archant or in *Aliscans sur mer*; *vide* ll. 3313, 3365, 3995, 4478, 4485, 5269, etc. The ancient conclusion of the original epic is still so powerful that it drags away from the walls of Orange the triumphant Saracens, and transfers them against all rime or reason to the Archant.¹ Similarly, evidence that in one form at least of the legend the army which was to win the victory set out from Orange is seen in the absurd lengths to which the *remanieurs* have gone in making the army start from this city in *Aliscans*. These two points—the inexplicable departure of the enemy, and the incredible entry into and setting out from Orange of the Christians—go hand in hand, and both bear witness to the stubborn mold in which the ancient epic was cast.² This tenacity of the old legend, thus making itself felt through sources independent and entirely foreign, is an object-lesson in epic fusion. The circumstances indicate oral tradition acting as a conservative force, tending constantly to restore the familiar outlines. In view of the many traces of the *dénouement* of the primitive epic preserved in the conclusion of *Aliscans* and the *Willame*, what more likely than that several of the young nephews so suddenly taken prisoners are among those who accompanied Guillaume in the victorious expedition which ended the ancient poem? It may be, indeed, that all five of these heroes come from that source. The presence of the nephews being a familiar trait of the victorious expedition, their retention in some way was almost imperative. The glory of the new hero, *Renoart*, was heightened by ascribing to him the liberation of the prison-

¹ *Vide* "Messenger in *Aliscans*," *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, Harvard University, Vol. V, p. 130.

² It is perfectly apparent, for a number of reasons, that the Christian army did not enter Orange until after the battle.

ers, who, thus set free, played, as originally, a part in the victory of the Archamp.¹

In the light of the above statements it becomes clear that what has been called B is something more than a later version of A. It appears rather to be a combination of such a later version and retainable traits of the victorious expedition which formed the solution of the primitive epic.

It will be well at this moment to mention briefly the more important episodes and events of B which seem to be derived from others in A.

One of the first things that strike us in reading the first seventeen hundred lines of the *Willame* is the repetition of whole lines and passages.² If we examine these closely, we shall find that there are more than sixty lines of what has been called A which are found again, frequently verbatim, in B. These passages concern the departure of Guillaume for the Archamp and the battle. The passages in the latter division are longer, and are at times separated into two or even three parts by the apparent insertion of an extraneous episode.³

The place of the battle (the Archamp), the spot where the engagement is joined (Terre Certaine), the name of the Saracen commander, the number of soldiers in the Christian army—all these are identical in the two expeditions which have been called A and B.⁴

The death of Vivien in A finds a pendant in B, with all of the signs characteristic of a later version.

¹ In the original story of *Renoart* there were no prisoners. The episode of the captured nephews, then, can come only from a version of the battle of the Archamp, in which, as in N and in *Foucon*, there were prisoners. As to the events of the *Renoart*, scholars will at last probably admit that they are shown with rare fidelity in N, Vol. II, pp. 481 ff. The major part of the poem is, as has been here said, preserved in the *Willame*, necessarily with many slight changes. The beginning of the poem, to the extent of about two hundred lines, is lacking in Old French, save as it is preserved at the conclusion of the *Enfances Vivien*, MS, 1448; vide the edition of WAHLUND AND FEILITZEN, pp. 257 ff.

² Vide II, 465-72, 1671-78; 772-76, 912-18, 1211-15; 1041-81, 1400-81, 1483-1503; 1082-1106, 1504-7, 1561-63, 1679-1702.

³ The appearance of Gui is often the occasion for one of these interruptions, and this fact has been taken, with other things, to indicate that his rôle belonged to A.

⁴ As to the city whence the Christian armies march, in the first case it is Barcelona; in the second case the presumption is that the departure takes place from the same city. We are surprised later to learn that the hero is fleeing to Orange. If we are dealing with two redactions of the same events, one being placed after the other, the city from which departure is made in the later one is probably Orange.

The carrying back to Barcelona of the body of Guibor's nephew, Guichart, whom Guillaume had promised to bring back dead or alive, is evidently the source of the attempt of Guillaume in B to carry the body of Vivien to Orange.¹

The nephews slain in A correspond to the nephews imprisoned in B.

In both accounts the hero loses his entire army and flees alone.

Barcelona in A corresponds to Orange in B—a change highly significant in itself.

A number of minor points might be added to the above, all looking in the same direction. Similarly, an examination of the character of the hero and heroine in the two parts of the poem in question offers valuable evidence tending to show that B is, to a considerable extent, derived by natural descent from A.²

¹The awkwardness and almost grotesqueness of the attempt of the hero to carry the body of a grown man, clad in armor, from the Archamp to Orange, in the midst of thousands of enemies, has not been sufficiently noticed. The fact that such an attempt was ascribed to the hero by the *remanieurs* at a time when there was still current knowledge that the Archamp was in Spain only makes clearer the derivation of this episode from that of Guibor's nephew. Its unreasonableness is significant.

²In a few points one may suspect that omissions and alterations have destroyed further parallels. Indeed, there must have been some slight effort at editing in the combination of the two redactions. It is likely, for example, that Guibor aided in gathering the army with which the hero first sets out, as she does in the second expedition. Again, among possible changes—the result of accident or of conscious editing—the death of Deramé may have been transferred from A to B. The death of Alderufe seems an interpolated imitation of that of Deramé.

The above considerations concerning the supposed two redactions are offered as a tentative solution of what must be recognized as one of the most difficult problems of the *Chanson de Willame*. There are two strong objections against the hypothesis that B is merely a later redaction of A. In the first place, if this is the case, why is not the list of captured nephews a simple extension of the list of A? Is it sufficient to say that such is, in fact, the case, but that the second list has been "edited" for the occasion? Another objection, and one more grave: external and internal evidence indicates that the *Chanson de Guillaume* was sung for considerable time with the reduplication seen in the *Willame*—the reduplication which has been here called two redactions. It is hard to believe this possible. We can see that a given scribe might have had before him an ancient manuscript and a "contemporary" one derived therefrom through a considerable number of intermediaries. We can understand how one of these, with its center of action near Barcelona, may have seemed to the scribe a different poem from the other, whose center seemed to be at Orange. So far, so good; but how can we believe that the product of the unskilful "editing" of our scribe should obtain such vogue as to become the accredited form of the legend, for such it became? A brilliant and successful *remaniement*, the result of so careless a blunder, would be without example in the epic history of the language. *Aliscans*, be it said in passing, is derived from the reduplicated form of the legend (although *Foucon* is not), and traces of it are perhaps to be seen in the recital of Raimon Feraud, who speaks of a second defeat of the Christians in Aliscamps—which for him means at Arles—on the spot where Vivien fell, and in the *Roman d'Arles*, where the Christians are defeated and reduced to flight several times in "Aliscam, davant Arle le Blant;" *vide Revue des Langues Romanes*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 523, 496 ff. Note 1, p. 118, and p. xxvii, of ROLIN's ed. of *Aliscans*, are interesting here.

A number of passages of the *Chanson de Willame* will now be passed rapidly in review, either for elucidation or to draw attention to their importance for the development of the legend.

The first few hundred lines of the epic were destined soon to be lost, or, rather, as we see them in the poem, they are in the process of disappearing. Beyond doubt, in the *Chanson de Guillaume*—a title which may be taken to indicate the French original of the Norman French *Willame*—these lines existed in much clearer and more logical form. They certainly set forth the circumstances which brought on the Saracen invasion, and the episode of the cowards who abandon the young hero must have been more rationally unfolded. It is not until we reach l. 465 that we are at all on firm ground.

L. 2: The mention of Deramé as the leader of the enemy indicates that Tibaut, the legendary antagonist of Guillaume, may have disappeared from the epic stage. This point will be considered in connection with ll. 665 ff.

L. 5: At the very threshold of the poem it is stated that the scene of the invasion is the Archamp.¹ There is no escaping the overwhelming testimony of the *Willame* as to the name of the battlefield and as to the country in which this field is located.

The fact that the epic, as is evinced by the opening *laissez*, is in assonance brushes away the assertions of a certain school of critics that *Aliscans* never existed in assonance. The same critics have in general been equally unfortunate in asserting that *Aliscans* was a literary unit, the work of a single poet, and that no older form of it ever existed.²

¹ A brief statement of most of the arguments showing that this region is near Tortosa has been already given: MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. II, pp. 13-15. Let it be added that a valuable indication of the geography of the Archamp is to be found in the rhymed *Roland* manuscripts of Châteauroux and Venice, VII; vide *Das altfr. Rolandslied*, edited by W. FÖRSTER, Vol. VI of the *Altfr. Bibliothek*, p. 228. The Saracen fleet is approaching Spain and is to go up the Ebro (called Sebre) to Saragossa. The pertinent lines read: "Perse constoient, l'Archant et Balaguer, Et Portpalart, Orabloi et Belcler." The enemy go up the river past Tortelose, which is the usual name in Old French for Tortosa. Nearly all these names are known to us among the Catalanian conquests of Vivien and Guillaume. Orabloi is the Arrabloi of *Foucon*, evidently near Candie, as is, according to the same poem, Belcler. Candie is Gandia, to the south of Catalonia, in Valencia.

² C. GADE, *Ueber Sprache u. Metrum v. Aliscans* (Marburg, 1890); E. WIENBECK, *Aliscans*, I, Dissertation (Halle, 1901), p. 3; P. RASCH, *Aliscans*, III, Dissertation (Halle, 1902), pp. 22 (cf., however, pp. 9, 10), 25; PH. AUG. BECKER, *Altfr. Wilhelmsage*, 1896, pp. 48, 103; *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XIX, p. 114. On the other hand, JONCKBLOET, as the date

L. 15: *Entred que si mal des cunorted* is manifestly corrupt, as is shown by its obscurity, and by the fact that there are three variations of the line: *vide* 41, 962. The line probably contained a geographical name which was not understood, such as Terrascone. The epic contains a number of cases where a name has been thus altered.

L. 292 sets at rest the discussion as to whether Vivien's vow is primitive; cf. ll. 586, 597, 810, 903, 2018 ff. The usual opinion has been that the vow was not primitive.

Ll. 297-99 are of the utmost importance, giving the earliest version extant of the family descent of Vivien:

Ja fustes fiz Boeve cornebut al marchis,
Nez de la fille al bon cunte Aimeris,
Nefs Willame al curbnies le marchis.¹

Before the discovery of the *Chanson de Willame* it was admitted by all except one or two critics that the father of our young hero was not Garin, but that he was a nephew to Guillaume by a sister, thus furnishing another example of sororal nepotage. This relationship is assigned him in the *Willehalm*, in *Foucon*, and in the chronicle of Alberic des Trois Fontaines. According to the *Enfances Vivien*, the *Covenant*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, and *N*, his father was Garin. *Aliscans*, in reality, makes him the son of a sister, as is indicated by l. 39 in Rolin's edition (l. 34 of the new edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch), *Et a Guillaume le fil de sa soror*, one of the most valuable lines in the entire poem.² The *remanieurs* of this epic evidently knew the Garin legend, however, and endeavored to observe it, as will appear later.

which he assigns to *Aliscans* indicates, believes that the epic was first written in association: *Guill. d'Orange*, Vol. II, p. 168; similarly GUESSARD AND MONTAIGLON, in their edition of the poem, pp. xxviii, lxxvii; ROLIN, *Aliscans*, *statim*.

¹ This genealogy is repeated here of Guiot later on:

1435 Del feu se dresce un suen neven, dan Gui.
Cil fud fiz Boeve cornebut le marchis,
Neez de la fille al prunz cunte Aemeris,
Neven Willame, al bon cunte marchis,
Et fud frere Vivien le hardiz.

² It is certainly a question here of the death of Vivien. MR. ROLIN, p. viii, n. 2, says that Milon is meant, who in the *Willehalm* is slain by Deramé. The author, however, says on p. 2, n. 6, that one must read the line: "Et dan G. Vivian, son nevolt." These passages contradict each other, but the latter has the true idea. *Foucon* contains a passage like this: *Et dit qu'il li a mort le fil de sa seror*, meaning Vivien. It may be observed, in passing, that this l. 34 shows that the nephew was already dead when the action begins. In other words, it bears witness to the same sequence of events as is found in the *Willame* and in *N*.

In the *Willame* the father is called "Boeve cornebut al marchis" (or "le marchis"). M. Meyer prints: "marquis Beuve Cornebut."¹ We have rather to do with a vitiation of the word Comarcis. A good deal of confusion is seen in the proper names, especially in the first part of the poem. Beuve de Comarcis appears by name several times: "Boeves de Somarchiz, quons la cité" (l. 2560), "quons Boeves de Cormarchiz sun frere" (l. 2930), "li quons Boeve de Comarchis le ber" (l. 2985). The *Willame* makes Vivien and Guiot sons of Beuve de Comarcis by a daughter of Aymeri. It is implied, further, that Beuve is dead (l. 297), which not only explains how the sons could be brought up by Guibor, but lends a fuller meaning to l. 827 of *Aliscans*, where Guillaume says to his dying nephew: *Je suis tes oncles, n'as ore plus prochain*. The mention of Beuve in the *Willame* is the earliest in the French sources. This hero does not appear in either the *Fragment de la Haye* or in the *Pélerinage*. In the opinion of Mr. O. Densusianu, Beuve was not admitted to the epic family of Guillaume until the twelfth century.² The mention in the first part of the *Willame* offers a redaction which goes back to the eleventh. In the second part Beuve is a brother of Guillaume.³ We thus see going on before our eyes in the *Willame* the formation of an epic family.⁴ Beuve is first said to have married a sister of the great hero; he is then called a brother. Just why Beuve was replaced by Garin is not clear at this stage of our information, but the explanation may be wrapped up in the history of Beuve and his two alleged sons, Gui and Girart.⁵

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 609.

² *Romania*, Vol. XXV, p. 495; *Prise de Cordres*, p. xxxvi, n. 1.

³ Beuve says, l. 2561: *Jo sui sun frere, se ne li puis faillir*. Cf. l. 2930.

⁴ Cf. G. PARIS, *Romania*, Vol. IX, pp. 38, 39.

⁵ M. A. JEANROY, *Romania*, Vol. XXVI, p. 198, n. 4, speaks of the late ascription to Vivien of Garin as father. He rightly says also that *Aliscans* does not state this relationship. He commits an oversight, however, in his table, p. 207, where the epic in question is said to ascribe to our young hero Garin. It is not impossible that at one time Ernaut was said to be the father of Vivien. This would explain the strange Viviano della ciera grifagnia mentioned as a son of Ernaut. For this name vide O. DENSUSIANU, *Prise de Cordres*, p. viii. A second son is named Guidolino, which is an equivalent for Guiot. Andrea may have found sources setting forth this relationship, and he may not have understood that the heroes were the same. It may be observed, in passing, that Beuve d'Aigremont has a son Vivien, and that Vivien's brother, Guichart, is called in *Foucon* G. de Montagu: p. III, ed. TARBÉ.

Ll. 349 ff.: We see here Tedbalt and Estormi, his nephew, who abandon Vivien. Girart is following them, why we know not, nor did we know him to be present. Can he be fleeing with the others? The circumstances of a scene in the *Enfances Vivien*—a scene evidently derived from this one—enlighten us somewhat.¹ Girart is here replaced by Bertran (*vide Enfances*, ll. 3562 ff.), who has not yet been armed knight. He sees all about him preparations for a battle, in which, not being allowed to bear arms, he can take no part. His request to be armed knight is refused, and a few moments later he sees, among those who are to have the honor of fighting, Estormi, *le plus coart chevalier de Berri*. His sense of justice runs away with him, he knocks Estormi from the saddle, and seizes his arms and horse. These events in the newer poem explain why Girart is following the cowards in l. 349 of the *Willame*. It is Tedbalt and not Estormi whom Girart throws from his horse and disarms, according to the latter poem. As soon as Tedbalt is able to rise, he springs on the pack horse, which Girart has left instead of his mount, and is forced, in his mad flight, to dash through a flock of sheep, one of which is caught in his stirrup. When he reaches the bridge at Bourges, the head of the sheep alone remains in the stirrup. This comical scene is immediately followed by another, in which the young hero inflicts somewhat similar indignities upon Estormi.

It will be noted that in the *Enfances* the hero of the sheep is Estormi, not Tedbalt. Furthermore, in the *Enfances* there is only one episode, that of the seizure of the arms. At its close the statement is made that Estormi later, *En la bataille Vivien lou vaillant*, in the sight of thousands of knights, fled on horseback, dragging a sheep at his stirrup.² The *Enfances* are probably right in ascribing the episodes to Estormi, and the older poem wrong in its mention of Tedbalt. A number of points indicate this. The two episodes did not occur originally in the same poem. The seizing of the arms occurred probably in the primitive *Enfances Vivien*, and the other scene in the *Bataille de*

¹ M. MEYER draws attention to the relationship between these two scenes: *loc. cit.*, p. 604, n. 3.

² *Enfances*, V, ll. 3805 ff. *Destrier*, in l. 3810, should be *estrier*.

l'Archamp. The present poem places them side by side. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Estormi to be the actor in both, as a moment's reflection will show.¹

Ll. 370 ff.: It is a question here of a famous shield which Vivien took in the battle *as prez de Girunde*, spoken of later (ll. 635 ff.) as the *champ del Saraguçe*. He boasts of having slain in that fight Alderufe, and the twelve sons of Borrel. The epic in which these events were sung has been lost. The mention of Borrel is to be placed by the side of that in the *Fragment*, and offers an unexpected support of the suggestion of G. Paris that the siege and battle of the *Fragment* were drawn from a poem, the *Prise de Girone*.² H. Suchier has recently tried to prove that the battle of the *Fragment* was probably at Narbonne, but his learned argument failed to carry conviction before the discovery of the *Willame*, and is now indefensible.³ The only thing which could make one hesitate to see in the passage under discussion a reference to the battle of the *Fragment* is the mention in l. 635 of the site of the struggle as the *champ del Saraguçe*. If we have to choose between Girone and Saragossa, we shall have to incline in favor of the former, in view of the evidence offered by G. Paris. Again, considering the alterations in proper names which mark the first part especially of the poem, the words

¹ A number of minor points help out this reasoning, showing that Estormi, and not Tedbalt, fled, *a son estrier un mouton traînant*. The two *laissez* in -i are perhaps suggestive; the matter of the *gunfanum* (ll. 262, 278, 280, 286), reminds one of the passage in the *Enfances* where they say to Estormi that henceforth he is to bear the olifant, that they will witness his prowess, and later that of the one who took his arms (ll. 3793-3800); we note precisely this sequence in the *Willame*, for, after having seen the cowardice of Estormi, we read the excellent lines where Vivien, abandoned by Estormi and the cowards, bids Girart take position at his right hand, wave his *gunfanum*; with him Vivien has no fear of treachery; it is to be noted, too, that references to the gentle birth and wealth of the actor in the scene with the sheep (*vide* ll. 402-4, 464) favor Estormi: cf. *Enfances*, ll. 3813-15; finally, it is likely that the puzzling l. 3053 of *Aliscans*—*Est ce la fable du tor et du mouton*—should read: *Est ce la fable Estormi al mouton*. This is not the occasion to discuss the question whether the major part of the episodes where Tedbalt and Estormi appear are not drawn from the lost *Enfances*; there are constant reminders of the present *Enfances* and of the expeditions for the relief of Vivien in Galicia, in N; cf., for instance, ll. 449 ff. with N, Vol. I, pp. 481 ff., and *vide*, for the expedition of relief in the modern *Enfances*, W. CLOETTA, "Die Enf. Viv.," *Romanische Studien*, Heft IV (Berlin, 1898), pp. 50-59. These episodes of the cowards in the *Willame* were really of a fine literary quality, as their present defaced condition still allows us to see. Ll. 240 ff., for example, are of an excellent comic effect, while ll. 402-4 afford a distinct glimpse into the social conditions under which the *chanson* was sung.

² *Histoire Poétique*, pp. 50, 51, 84-86; *Romania*, Vol. IX, pp. 39, 40.

³ *Les Narbonnais*, Vol. II, pp. lxvi ff.

champ del Saraguce may possibly be an echo of the French for *campi strigilis*, the mysterious appellation of the fields near the city in the Latin of the *Fragment*.

The shield taken is evidently that of Alderufe, and we find here the earliest mention of the famous armor of Aeroffe.¹ It is now apparent that the legend which makes this hero fall by the hand of Guillaume, and which has passed, in what some scholars have accepted as authoritative form, into the *Moniage*, I,² does not possess the ancient value frequently ascribed to it. We shall find this account, however, in a subsequent passage of the *Chanson de Willame*.

Ll. 473: This scene seems to be that of a column of relief, rather than that of a division of Vivien's army. Note, too, that ll. 452 ff. are the first of a series in which the young hero seems to be expecting immediate aid.

Ll. 479, 480: A corruption of the name Willame Ferebrace.

Ll. 622 ff.: These lines begin one of the most valuable passages in the entire epic, for in the charge which Vivien gives Girart occur a number of references to past events, several of which are unknown to us from the existing *chansons de geste*. One of these allusions (ll. 635 ff.) has already been mentioned. With regard to the horse of Girart (l. 630), N shows us that Vivien had just enabled his cousin to mount a captured horse.³

L. 633: *Que par la lune me alasses a Willame*, a somewhat striking line in its present form, contains a corruption of a proper name, and should read: *a Barzelune* (cf. ll. 931, 932). There is no moon whatever in the recital of Girart's journey. He sets out at once, by day. What city is meant by "Limenes" in l. 650

¹ Before the appearance of *Willame* the author had gathered the material for an article on this hero, and had decided that the celebrated episode of *Aliscans* was spurious, in that Aeroffe had originally been slain by Bertran or, possibly, by Vivien, and not by Guillaume. We now see that Alderufe is probably the legendary enemy of Vivien, called in N Maltribol. The disappearance of the poem in which Vivien slew him, as above said, allowed him to be depicted in a series of passages as living and as Vivien's great enemy. One of these later, yet very ancient, legends represented the two heroes as killing each other in battle (cf. N and the *Willehalm*). The legend of *Aliscans* is relatively modern. See later for this event in the *Willame*.

² W. CLOETTA, "Die beiden altfranzösischen Epen von Moniage Guillaume," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. XCIII, p. 434. MR. PH. A. BECKER rightly judges this passage: *Altfranzösische Willehalm*, p. 102.

³ Vol. II, p. 156.

(cf. l. 988) is not clear. M. Meyer suggests as a possibility Luiserne, but this is inadmissible, being a late legend and a conquest made for Vivien himself, not for his uncle. It will be noticed that he mentions no battle fought in his own interest. Nismes would be a better venture than Luiserne, in spite of the newness of the legend ascribing to Guillaume the conquest of that city.¹ The references in ll. 651, 652 are obscure, as is the strange name *Turlenlerei* (l. 655), written *Turleislerei* in l. 978. One thinks at once of the episode at Tours, in the *Couronnement*, where Louis was present, but there was no pitched battle on that occasion, and no Saracens. According to MS C, however, Vivien was with his uncle. The faithful friend Raher (l. 662; Rahel, l. 984) may be Rabel, considered a cousin of Vivien. The ll. 665-75 are among the most important in the poem.² They contain an account of a battle fought with Tibaut under the walls of Orange. This battle is nothing less than the one which closed the long siege of the city, and as described in the eleven lines of this passage the events are almost exactly as related in N.³ The passage tells us: that the battle took place at Orange; that the leader of the enemy was Tedbald l'Esturman; that the French were victorious, largely through the efforts of Vivien, who arrived with his uncle Bernard de Bruban, and who had as his companion Bertram, one of the bravest of heroes; that Vivien was aided by the Normans; and that he slew there Tedbald. The account of N differs in the following points: Vivien comes to join the Christian army at its rallying-place, Pierrelate, in company with Bertram, Aimer, and others. (The entire army then proceeds to Orange, hence it is possible that Vivien and Bertran arrived with Bernard, as above.) We know that *Aliscans* preserves evidence that Bertran conducted his father's troops.⁴ Nothing is said in N of the Normans.⁵ Vivien wounds Tibaut, thus closing the

¹ Perhaps the earliest ascription to our hero of the conquest of this city is in the *Codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, pub. by F. FITA AND J. VINSON (Paris, 1882), p. 27. The date of this compilation is about 1130.

² Quoted by M. MEYER, *loc. cit.*, p. 606.

³ Vol. I, pp. 499 ff.

⁴ Ll. 4929-31. Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 127, 128; *Origin of the Cov. Viv.*, p. 29.

⁵ It is interesting to note, however, what is said of the arrival at court of Bernard and the other brothers: "tutti si ritrovarono a la corte, con molti altri signori di ponente" (*loc. cit.*, p. 456). This, of course, does not in any way indicate that Bernard had with him a division of Normans.

battle, but does not kill him. It will be seen that this last is the only divergence of importance between the two stories.¹

This priceless passage thus bears out the account of the battle which ends the long siege in N, and bears it out with a fidelity which inspires confidence in the remainder of the story as given by Andrea da Barberino. A more complete justification could hardly be looked for. With the siege thus established in its main lines, with accumulating evidence to prove the expedition of Vivien to Galicia and his conquest of the Catalonian cities, the critical worth of the *Storie Nerbonesi* is shown beyond peradventure, and a new era in the studies on Guillaume has indeed arrived.²

L. 787 shows that Vivien slays the one who has given him his death wound. This, as has already been said, is a very ancient version, and appears in N and in the *Willehalm*.

L. 932: *Li quons Willame ert a Barzelune*. This line and

¹ Few additions to our knowledge brought by the *Willame* are more significant for the development of epic legends in Old French than this, that Tibaut originally perished in the battle which closed the siege. The fact that later legends brought him to life again testifies not only to the value of his personality from the literary standpoint, but to a temporary decadence in the poems which sang of Guillaume, for, if these poems had been continuous in their popularity, it would have been more difficult to accomplish his revival. As it was, he was so effectually revived that the only trace of his original demise in existence today in Old French is a single line of the *Chanson de Willame*. A glance at *Foucon*, N, and the *Willehalm*, to mention no other sources, indicates the use made of him in later poems. The language of the *Vita*, interpreted literally, would, as JONCKBLOET (*Guill. d'Orange*, Vol. II, p. 69) rightly observes, allow us to suppose that Tibaut perished in the battle before Orange: "Willelmus . . . ad urbem Arausicam agmina disponit et castra, quam illi Hispani cum suo Theobaldo jampridem occupaverant, ipsam facile ac brevi caesis atque fugatis eripit invasoribus." PH. A. BECKER, *Südfranz. Sagenkreis*, p. 36, does not think that Tibaut perished at the siege, and such has always been the author's opinion. MR. BECKER, however, in his *Altfranz. Sagenkreis*, p. 50, places correctly Deramé as the leader of the Saracens in the Archamp; cf. also his fuller statement, *Südfranz. Sagenkreis*, pp. 57, 58, an analysis whose only errors are the insertion of Garin and Hunaut.

This is not the occasion for a summary of the evidence that establishes fully the account of the siege in N, nor for a discussion of the presence or absence of Tibaut in *Aliscans*. Let it be said, however, that the continued existence of this hero was facilitated by the fact that a portion of the *Siège d'Orange*, in which he played the great rôle among the Saracens, was combined with other elements to form the conclusion of *Aliscans*. The first part of this epic came from the battle which opens the *Willame*; Tibaut was dead, and is not mentioned. He does, however, appear in the conclusion of *Aliscans*, and is among those who escape.

² The comment of PH. A. BECKER on the account of N, *Quellenwert der Storie N.*, pp. 32 ff., is instructive reading, and inspires melancholy thoughts as to literary research. See also the concluding sentence of the volume, p. 50: "Wir haben die Frage aufgeworfen, welchen Wert die *Storie Nerbonesi* als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte der altfranzösischen Heldendichtung haben mögen. Ich antworte: Keinen!" One is reminded of Jeffrey's "This will never do!"

the preceding, which also mentions Barcelona, establish the statement of N.¹

L. 935: The hero is said to have just returned from a severe battle at Bordeaux, where he lost a large part of his men. He mentions this loss in l. 1017. We know, in fact, that there figured anciently in the career of Guillaume an expedition to this city.² The *Covenant* may show a knowledge of this expedition, if we are to judge by ll. 837-40 of that poem.

Ll. 960 ff.: These lines repeat the message as given at the beginning of the epic, and present the form in which the first announcement of the invasion may have reached the hero at Orange, according to N.

L. 962: This line has already been shown to be corrupt. No authority whatever attaches to the word *France* here.

Ll. 1010-12: This passage is important, indicating a stage of the story at which the heroine had recently assumed allegiance to the family of the hero. L. 994 (cf. l. 684) offers no objection to this supposition, since it presents a mere commonplace.

L. 1073: *I dunc a primes fu Girard adubé* squares with what has preceded. We have seen him seize the arms of Estormi, and have shown by the *Enfances* that he was not yet a knight. Two other passages are to be cited in this connection: l. 459, where Vivien says to him, seeing him arrayed in his stolen armor, *Cosin Girard, des quant ies chevalier?* and l. 928, where he is qualified as *esquier*.

L. 1107: *Les sarazins de Segune tere*: "Segune tere" may be a corruption for *Terrascone*, *Terragone*, the name for Terragona. If we examine the passage in question, we shall see that the Saracens of or from "Segune tere" attack Guillaume first, and that they inflict on him fatal injury. If we turn to the story as told by N, we find that the enemy landed in several detachments, and that the one which landed at Terragona arrived later than the others, hence took no part in the defeat of Vivien, but

¹ Vol. II, p. 160: "Passato Guicciardo [Girart] tutta l' oste per virtù del buon cavallo, la notte vegniente giunse a Barzalona, e raccontò tutta la imbasciata al conte Guglielmo." In a number of articles the author has asserted that the account of N was correct; *vide*, for instance, *Origin of the Cov. Viv.*, p. 40.

² *Couronnement L.*, ll. 2020 ff.; cf. *Charroi*, l. 158, *Chrestom.*, of P. MEYER. p. 244.

that it came fresh to the field at the very moment of the approach of Guillaume. The text says: "costò il loro tardare caro a Guglielmo, come seguirà."¹ In fact, they attack the Christian army, and are one of the main causes of its destruction. The words just quoted are to be compared with ll. 1117 ff.: *Par icels orrez dolereuses noveles*, etc.

Ll. 1211 ff.: These lines, which have a fine epic ring, have already been applied to Vivien: ll. 772 ff., 912 ff.

Ll. 1228 ff.: In her husband's absence Guibor has raised a new army—an act which may be of value in determining the matter of two redactions. Before his first departure, we were told that he had lost a large part of his men, yet he goes away with thirty thousand, and we do not know how he has obtained them. It is likely that Guibor is there, as here, the means of procuring fresh troops. We may well infer also from a subsequent passage (ll. 2379 ff.) that, after his second defeat, she has made some preparation for a new army. She plays the same rôle in a familiar passage of the *Covenant*.²

L. 1254: The mention of Louis as a possible participant in the battle is of great value, and reminds us at once of the first three lines of the epic, where it is said that Deramé made war on Louis, *nostre empereur*.

Ll. 1257–68, cited by M. Meyer (*loc. cit.*, p. 608), are of the greatest importance, as showing what epics were sung at the time; they treated of Clovis (whose baptism is mentioned), Floovent, Pepin, Charlemagne, Roland, Olivier, and Girart de Vienne—a refreshing and inspiring list.

L. 1288, *Ja Vivien le cunte vif mes ne verras*, like all the passages announcing the death of the young hero, cannot be too closely examined, for they touch vitally the question of two redactions. We have apparently been present at Vivien's death: ll. 912–27—a passage which has double weight because it repeats ll. 772 ff., which we have already seen to contain the traditional death scene. His death is mentioned in other passages of

¹ Vol. II, p. 151.

² Ll. 1124 ff. The proprietary interest which she manifests in the troops of her husband is clearly seen in *Aliscans*.

"redaction A": ll. 1311, 1372; ll. 1469 and 1596, 1597 should be mentioned also in this category.

Ll. 1321-23 offer good evidence that the epic traditions of the family of Guillaume were well established, and that various poems must have been known for a long time previous to the date of the composition of the *Willame*. Indeed, there is evidence on every side which indicates that the *geste* had long since attained a bountiful development.

Ll. 1351 ff.: Guibor asks permission to deceive the assembled knights: *Ore me laissez mentir*, etc. It is interesting to note that Guichart, her nephew, shows a similar aptitude: *Jo sai mentir* (l. 1533). Is it going too far to say that there is here some slight evidence of *la nouvelle convertie* of whom we have already spoken? In the case of Guichart, as the events prove, there can be no doubt; he has received merely a varnish of Christianity. The portrait of Guibor which the poem offers deserves to rank among the celebrated ones of Old French literature. What an admirable scene, for example, occurs in ll. 1361 ff., where, immediately after the terrible news of disaster and death, she mounts the stairs singing, charms the knights, and persuades them to enlist under the banner of her defeated lord, flashing before their eyes the prospect of easy victory, of gold and silver, rich lands and beautiful brides! Small wonder that many a one yielded

Qui en l'Archamp perdi puis la teste!

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"DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD" AND ITS RELATION TO SHAKESPEARE'S "HAMLET."¹

It is well known that a German dramatization (D) of the Hamlet story has been preserved, which H. A. O. Reichard first published in the form of an abstract in 1779 and two years later in full. It was based on a MS of the year 1710 which is now lost and which was entitled *Tragoedia Der bestrafte Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark*. In the main outlines of the action as well as in many details it agrees with Shakespeare. Most of the characteristics which D has in common with Shakespeare are found in the quarto edition of *Hamlet* of the year 1604 (B), containing practically the current text, and also in the quarto edition of 1603 (A), based, as is well known, on a very careless copy that an unscrupulous bookseller had ordered someone to prepare during a performance. D has, however, also some characteristics found only in B and others which appear only in A.

There is no doubt whatsoever, nor has anyone ever denied, that D is one of those dramas which during the florescence of the English theater were taken from England to Germany by traveling companies of actors, and there subjected to all sorts of changes, chiefly distortions. But there is still a great divergence of opinion as to the nature of the English drama upon which the German is based.

Some assert that D is based on the lost pre-Shakespearean tragedy of *Hamlet*, now usually ascribed to Thomas Kyd (Z), although perhaps many special features of Shakespeare's tragedy may have been introduced into the German adaptation of the older drama. This view I shall not discuss in detail in the following paragraphs, as its erroneousness must be at once evident to anyone competent to judge. Although those parts of D which diverge from Shakespeare can be proved to be additions such as the

¹In this article I confirm and defend my views on *Der bestrafte Brudermord* which I discussed in detail in *Berichte der philol.-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1887, pp. 1 f., and in *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, Deutsche National-literatur*, Vol. XXIII (1889).

traveling players in Germany inserted in other stock pieces coming from England, those scholars who see traces of the pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet* in D claim that they can show in the parts of D not agreeing with Shakespeare traces of Kyd's taste. The falsity of their arguments I have exposed elsewhere;¹ here I wish to point out only that the prologue of the Furies upon which the adherents of this view lay especial emphasis does not belong originally to D, but was added later by the actors in Germany, as is evident from several passages which are absolutely out of accord with the play itself.²

Still more erroneous of course is the assumption of the adherents of this view that Z is the source of the parts of D which agree with Shakespeare, thus making of Shakespeare a plagiarist and of the author of Z one of the greatest poets of all time. Schick, for example, concludes unhesitatingly from D that the traditional legend had been so altered in Z that *Hamlet* does not reach his goal by means of clever simulation, but meets a tragic end. I think there can be no doubt that when Shakespeare, during his gloomy period, created a new *Hamlet* tragedy, he treated the traditional story in the same manner as he did the legend of *King Lear* about that very time. In both instances he changed the happy ending to a tragic one, and at the same time modified the traditional character of the main persons in such a way that the tragic outcome seems like an inherent necessity.

I may limit myself, then, to a discussion of the views of those who derive D from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

A typical peculiarity of A, found again in the *dramatis personae* of D, namely that Polonius is called Corambus (in A Corambis), caused formerly several superficial observers to assume that D is based on A. Some there were, however, and Dyce among them, who noticed certain points of agreement between D

¹ Cf. *Berichte*, pp. 23 f., and *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*, pp. 131 f. I may add here that *kronsüchtig* (D, I, 5) is a catch-word used in Dutch tragedies and thence transplanted into Germany about the middle of the seventeenth century.

² If there is in D, as some suppose, an allusion to Drake's return from his ill-starred expedition to Portugal—i. e., to an event that was ostensibly contemporary with the appearance of Z—I must add to what I have already said that Drake returned in June, 1589, and that on August 23 GREENE's *Menaphon* was entered in the Stationers' Register. In NASH's preface to this work is found the oldest known allusion to Z. The event, the allusion in Z, and Nash's reference must have followed one another with remarkable rapidity.

and B. Dyce surmised therefore that the author of the German version used the current text (B) as well as A. Genée expressed a similar view, and the opinion that D is based on A, but includes also some of the peculiarities of B, was shared, so far as I know, by most competent judges until 1887, when I expressed the opinion that D is based on a lost version of Shakespeare's text (Y), which was used in the performances of the Shakespeare troupe and which had the peculiarities of both A and B. Furthermore, I stated that Y was closely related to B which reproduces practically the authentic Shakespeare text, but that Y in view of its stage production had contained some modifications; and that these were also transferred to A, which is based on a copy made in the theater. We know that such copies were prepared at that time in the theaters by the assistants of unscrupulous booksellers. Of course, there can be no doubt that such an assistant reproduced in a very careless way what he heard on the stage, very often abridging and distorting it. But in those instances in which A agrees with D and not B we may suppose, according to my view, that the divergence from B is to be explained not on the basis of arbitrariness or carelessness, but that it goes back to Y, or, in other words, that it is a faithful reproduction of what was heard upon the stage. On this account D is of importance in the history of the text of the Shakespearean tragedy; in some points of D likewise which agree neither with A nor B we may suppose that the old English stage-tradition has been retained by D.

A year after my publication of this view Tanger objected to it.¹ Tanger holds that D is based essentially on A. He thinks that the traits in D which point back to B are not so numerous by far as my compilation would make them appear; and that, as a matter of fact, there are only "exceedingly few traits which remind one of B." Moreover, these characteristics are not to be traced back to their source, he says, but are rather subsequent additions to the German adaptation, due to the stage tradition which was ever and again enlivened by English players.

In the first place, Tanger overlooks this fact: the supposition that the English companies in Germany used A as a basis of their

¹In the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXIII (1888), pp. 224 f.

performances is at the outset very improbable. This edition contains, to be sure, the essential features of the action as does B, but it is improbable that the actors, if they did use a printed edition, would have selected this bad text, which was mutilated beyond recognition in many places, and of which only one single edition was extant, when numerous editions of the better text could be had. On the other hand, the supposition that D is based on a MS written in the theater must seem very plausible from the outset to anyone familiar with the history of the German stage during the period we are discussing. Such MSS must be assumed without any doubt in the case of a large number of stock-pieces played by the English companies. The *Tragoedia von Barrabas, Juden in Malta*, for example, was performed in Dresden in 1626, although the original, Marlowe's *Rich Jew*, was not published before 1633. Machin's *Dumb Knight* was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1608, but Ayrrer, who died in 1605, had rendered it into German. Other English dramas performed in Germany, such as Peele's *Mahomet* and those dramas on which *Tugend und Liebesstreit, Sidea, Julius und Hippolyte* are based, were not printed at all.

Peculiar also is the manner in which Tanger attempts to substantiate his view that the points of agreement with B can be explained through later interpolations of a text based on A. First of all he tries to show that twenty of the many points of agreement between D and B which I enumerated¹ are not conclusive. He can do this somewhat easily, for I said that I would present not only those points of agreement which show an indisputable connection, but also those that may possibly be due to mere chance. After eliminating all the cases which in his opinion belong to the latter class, Tanger himself admits three or rather four cases in which the agreement cannot possibly be attributed to chance.

3. The speech of the king at his first entrance begins as follows in D, I, 7:

Obschon unseres Herrn Bruders Tod noch in frischem Gedächtniss bey jedermann ist und uns gebietet alle Solennitäten einzustellen, werden wir doch anjetzo genöthiget, unsere schwarze Trauerkleider in Carmosin,

¹In the following paragraphs I have numbered these coincidences exactly as in the *Berichte*, pp. 15 f.

Purpur und Scharlach zu verändern, weil nunmehr meines seeligen Herrn Bruders hinterbliebene Wittwe unsere liebste Gemahlin worden; darum erzeige sich ein jeder freudig und mache sich unser Lust theilhaftig.

These words are taken, of course, from the speech of King Claudius, B, I, 2, 1 f.: “Though yet of Hamlet our dear brothers death Taken to wife”—words which are not found in A.

11. In D, III, 9, mad Ophelia cries: “Siehe da, mein Kütschchen, mein Kütschchen;” in B, IV, 5, 70: “Come my coach”—again wanting in A.

20.¹ The name Francisco occurs in D and B, but not in A. In A the soldiers on guard are not called by name; in B they are called Barnardo and Francisco; in D as in A they have no names, but the officer who enters later on is called Francisco, while in A and B his name is Marcellus.

7. In D, II, 7, Hamlet says to the actors: “Ich bin ein grosser Liebhaber eurer Exercitien und meine es nicht übel, denn man kann in einem Spiegel seine Flecken sehen.” This passage is evidently a distortion of Hamlet’s words at the corresponding place in B, III, 2, 23: “Playing, whose end both at the first, and now, was and is, to hold as twere the Mirrour up to nature, to shew vertue her feature,” etc. In A the comparison of the mirror is entirely wanting. Tanger is uncertain whether he should count this point of agreement among the class from which the element of chance is eliminated, but surely there would be no doubt in the mind of anyone else.

Besides these three, or rather four, instances, whose coincidence, as Tanger himself admits, cannot possibly be due to chance, I shall set down a few more, the agreement of which cannot be accidental, as all except Tanger will doubtless admit.

4. When the king hears of Laertes’s journey, he asks Corambus in D: “Ist es mit Eurem *Consens* geschehen?” whereupon Corambus answers with a few puns on “Consens.” In B, I, 2, 58, Polonius answers:

[He] Hath my Lord wroung from me my slowe leaue
By laboursome petition, and at last
Vpon his will I seald my hard *consent*,
I doe beseech you give him leaue to go.

¹ Cf. *Berichte*, p. 36.

In A 162 Corambis answers:

He hath, my lord, wrung from me a forced graunt
And I beseech you grant your Highnesse leaue.

Tanger thinks it is mere accident that *Consens* in D and *consent* in B are in corresponding places, and refers to the fact that elsewhere in D the tendency to use foreign words is manifest—a tendency widespread in Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But why was this particular word used in this particular place? Why is it exactly the same foreign word as in the English text, and not one of the numerous others that might have suited the context equally well, as for example *Permiss*, *Sanction*, *Concession*, *Approbation*? Chance? Believe it who will.

13. In D, IV, 5, the king says to Leonhardus (Laertes) that it is hard to get justice on Hamlet because his mother “backs” him and the common people love him dearly. In the corresponding place of B, IV, 7, 11, he tells Laertes that he has spared Hamlet for two reasons:

The Queene his mother
Liues almost by his lookes, etc.
. . . the other motiue
Why to a publique count I might not goe,
Is the great loue the generall gender beare him.

All this is wanting in A. In order to remove the supposition that there is any connection between B and D at this place, Tanger refers to the great court scene in A where, though in an entirely different connection, Hamlet is designated by the King at the beginning of the tragedy, as “the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother” and as “Denmarkes hope.” In this way Tanger thinks he has demonstrated the possibility of an accidental agreement. Refutation of this argument seems superfluous.

17. In D, V, 6, before the fencing scene begins, Hamlet makes apologies for his deficient practice in the art of fencing. Leonhardus replies: “Ich bin Ihro Durchlaucht Diener, Sie scherzen nur.” Similarly he answers in B, V, 2, 268: “You mock me, Sir.” These words are wanting in A. Here too Tanger says the coincidence is nothing but a matter of chance. The only proof

that he can cite is that in A also Hamlet speaks of his lack of skill in fencing and that “Sie scherzen nur” and “you mock me” do not mean exactly the same thing. Again it suffices to repeat his argumentation, without entering upon any refutation.

19. In D and B Hamlet expresses the wish before dying that Fortinbras (in D Fortempras) may succeed him; in A no such wish is mentioned. Tanger points out that the manner in which Fortinbras is declared successor in D is entirely different from that in B. But this fact no one denies; it is, moreover, easily accounted for in D, which has been considerably remodeled. Tanger cannot prove, then, that this agreement of D and B as against A is a matter of chance.

Besides these eight indubitable cases I shall quote a few more that show agreement between D and B. Though the element of chance may not be absolutely eliminated from them, yet it is in my opinion highly improbable that the agreement is accidental.

1. In B, I, 1, 8, Francisco says:

—tis bitter cold
And I am sick at hart.

In D, I, 1, 11, the first sentinel says:

Ob es gleich kalt ist, so hab ich doch hier einen Höllenschweiss ausgehalten.

In A no mention is made of the cold in the first nor in the later terrace scene, though in the latter place Hamlet comments on the sharp wind.

2. In D, I, 5, the ghost begins his disclosures with these words:

Höre mich, Hamlet, denn die Zeit kommt bald, dass ich mich wieder an denselben Ort begeben muss, wo ich hergekommen.

Similarly the ghost says in B, I, 5, 2:

My houre is almost come
When I to sulphrus and tormenting flames
Must render vp myselfe.

These lines are wanting in A. Again Tanger supposes that it is accidental. He says:

Is it conceivable that the author of D would have neglected the

appeal to popular belief contained in the words "to sulphurous and tormenting flames"?

The omission of this phrase is sufficiently explained by the decidedly North German Protestant tone of D elsewhere evident, which would not have tolerated for a moment such a concession to the Catholic doctrine of purgatory.

6. In D, II, 6, and B, II, 2, 623, Hamlet expresses in a monologue the wish that the actors might perform something similar to the murder of his father. This does not appear in A.

9. After the abrupt termination of the inserted drama Hamlet says to Horatio in D, II, 8:

Sahet ihr, wie der König sich entfärbte, als er das Spiel sahe?
Horatio: Ja, Ihro Durchlaucht, die That ist gewiss. Hamlet: [Er hat]
Eben also meinen Vater getödtet, wie ihr in diesem Schauspiel gesehen.
In B, III, 2, 298, Hamlet says:

Did'st perceiue? Horatio: Very well my Lord. Hamlet: Vpon the
talke of the poysning. Horatio: I did very well note him.

All this is wanting in A.

14. In D, V, 2, and B, V, 2, Hamlet tells Horatio how he escaped the attempts on his life during his journey to England; in A this is told less emphatically in the conversation between Horatio and the Queen. In D and B Hamlet indicates during his talk with Horatio that he owes his escape to God.

Of all these cases let us first discuss the three or four from which Tanger himself eliminates the possibility of chance, and in which he wants to explain the agreement by saying that certain peculiarities of B were subsequently inserted into the text based on A. In regard to No. 11 (Ophelia: "Sieh' da, mein Kütschen!") and No. 7 (the comparison of the mirror, about which Tanger is uncertain) one cannot, of course, exclude altogether the possibility, when these passages are taken from their context, that they were inserted from some other version by the actors for the sake of effect. In regard to No. 3 (the speech of the King in which he recalls the death of the brother and his own marriage, and announces the close of the time of mourning) Tanger thinks that here A had a gap "which, in case of a performance of this text, had to be filled inevitably." This view is altogether erro-

neous. The thought in D is perfectly intelligible without the words which Tanger supposes had to be inserted, especially as the two terrace scenes of D were played consecutively before the great court scene. Thus the audience knew all the facts from the speeches of Hamlet and the ghost. Moreover, mention had already been made of the noisy festivities that the King was arranging. Tanger tries to explain No. 20 (Francisco) in a still easier way. After he has attempted to show that the other points of agreement are later interpolations, he merely says: "The case may be similar in regard to the name Francisco, which occurs in D and B, but not in A." This is going a little too far, for precisely in the case under discussion a subsequent insertion for the sake of a better understanding of the text or for theatrical effect is absolutely out of the question.

If it is found, then, that of the three or four points of agreement recognized by Tanger two cannot be explained except by supposing that parts of B were contained in the copy of D, the number of cases must be increased; for the four other points of agreement will convince everyone except Tanger that they cannot be due to chance. A subsequent insertion by the actors is especially inconceivable as regards 13, 17, and 19.

Tanger's idea in arguing so peculiarly is evident. His theory that D is substantially based on A he tries to corroborate by saying that "D has exceedingly few points which go back to B." But this is really the reverse of the actual facts. We shall see presently that the undisputed points of agreement between D and A are not half so numerous as those between D and B.

We have already noted that agreement between D and A does not necessarily prove D dependent on A, but that the common source Y sufficiently explains all coincidences. Dependence of D upon A could be proved only by showing that D contains traits due to the bookseller's assistant who prepared A for the press: misunderstandings of what was spoken on the stage or arbitrary changes and additions. Such modifications could have gotten into D, not from Y of course, but only from A. Now, Tanger really believes that he has found something in D and A which could not have been derived from Y, but must be due to

the fact that the writer of A misunderstood. In this way Tanger wants to explain the most striking and characteristic coincidence of D and A: Corambis and Corambus. He has hit upon the amusing idea that the writer of A, hearing the name Polonius repeatedly on the stage, mistook it for Corambis, and thus this name got into the first printed edition. It can be readily understood that this assertion, made before the members of the English Shakespeare Society, caused considerable hilarity. There can be no doubt whatever that the agreement between D and A is traceable to Y. The form in D (Corambus) is correct and agrees, we may assume, with that in Y, for the name Corambus occurs also in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*, IV, 3. And that Corambus was changed to Corambis in A owing to a mistake in hearing needs no explanation. But why the name Corambus should occur instead of Polonius, whether there was any covert allusion in the latter name and the actors on that account were afraid to utter it aloud from the stage—this of course we cannot determine now.

One remarkable point of agreement between A and D, occurring in the scene which takes place in the Queen's bed-chamber, may indeed throw a new light on the stage representation of *Hamlet* in Shakespeare's time. In B, III, 4, 18, Hamlet says to his mother:

Come, come and sit you downe, you shall not boudge,
 You goe not till I set you vp a glass
 Where you may see the [in]most part of you.

Ger.:

What wilt thou doe, thou wilt not murther me,
 Helpe how.

Polonius:

What how helpe!

Hamlet bids his mother sit down quietly and listen to him; should such a request make his mother suspect that he intends to kill her? The words of the poet certainly do not make the thought sufficiently clear. As a rule, it is left to the actor to supplement what is lacking by tone and gesture. Tieck demanded that a stage direction be inserted after Hamlet's words, to the

effect that Hamlet lock the door and thus arouse mortal terror in the Queen. In D the corresponding lines are:

Hamlet: Pfui! Schämets Euch. Ihr habt fast auf einen Tag Begräbniss und Beylager gehalten. *Aber still, sind alle Thüren vest verschlossen?* Königin: Warum fraget Ihr das. (Corambus hustet hinter der Tapete.)

Here, to be sure, the thought is distorted, but we are justified in assuming that the words in italics have come from an old stage direction. This supposition is made certainty I think when we compare the corresponding passage in A:

Hamlet:

Mother, mother, O are you here?

How is't with you mother?

Queene:

How is't with you?

Hamlet:

I'll tell you, *but first wee'll make all safe.*

Queene:

Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended.

Hamlet:

Mother, you haue my father much offended.

Queene:

How now boy?

Hamlet:

How now mother! come here, sit downe, for you shall heare me speake.

Queene:

What wilt thou doe? thou wilt not murder me;

Helpe hoe.

When Tanger points to the connection between the italicized words in A and D he is entirely right, but he is wide of the mark in supposing the passage in D occasioned by that in A. Here again the coincidence is traceable to Y. The writer, obliged to work hastily, involuntarily put into words Hamlet's significant movements in this rapidly progressing scene.

But I shall not discuss further the points of agreement between D and A, as I have dealt with them at length in former publications. I only wish to emphasize again that these coincidences are not nearly so numerous as those between D and B; if we consider

only those points of agreement from which the possibility of chance is eliminated, we find that there are eight coinciding with B and three with A, not counting the two mentioned above which I have cited in the *Berichte*, pp. 14 and 32, under No. 10.

The results of my investigations may be summarized as follows: There can be no doubt that (1) D is traceable to a stock-piece of English players traveling in Germany; that (2) the performances of such companies were very often based on stage manuscripts; that (3) in D characteristics of A and B are found that occur in no printed edition; that (4) the Shakespearean troupe must have played a version of *Hamlet* in which again the characteristics of A and B were combined. Therefore the supposition that D is based on the stage text of the Shakespearean troupe is well founded. This conjecture becomes a certainty after a careful comparison of the parts of D which agree with those of A and B.

WILHELM CREIZENACH.

CRACOW.

SERMO DE CONFUSIONE DIABOLI.

WHEN J. C. W. Augusti, early in the last century, was making search in the Royal Library at Vienna for unedited works of Eusebius of Emesa,¹ he was not aware that two manuscripts among its stores offered interesting additions to the material already collected by him. The one of these might have furnished him, in the Greek, a sequel to the *Oratorio in sacrum Parasceues diem* which he had published;² the other contained an early Latin version of both these homilies, made from a text in which they had been combined into a single narrative. To the first of these manuscripts Thilo³ promptly called attention, and re-edited the text, which had already appeared among the spurious writings of St. Chrysostom in the editions of Savile and Montfaucon; the Latin translation, here published for the first time,⁴ is the following *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*.

The Vienna manuscript in which this sermon is found is *Cod. Lat.*, 1370 [Rec. 3324]; it is of parchment, with page size 17.8 × 12.3 cm. The tenth century is the date assigned for the manuscript in the *Tabulae Codicum* edited by the Vienna Academy, 1864 ff., and likewise in the earlier catalogue of Denis.⁵ But Karl Schenkl, who copied a portion of the manuscript for Georg Schepss,⁶ correctly ascribed it to the century preceding. I can find nothing further regarding the previous history of the manuscript, except that it seems not to have been in the library when Tengnagel prepared an autograph catalogue

¹ *Eusebii Emeseni quae supersunt Opuscula Graeca*, Elberfeld, 1829.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ J. C. THILO, *Ueber die Schriften des Eusebius von Alexandrien und des Eusebius von Emisa*, Halle, 1832.

⁴ On this point I have received assurance from Dom Germain Morin, of Abbey Maredsou to whom I would here express my appreciation of his courtesy. My thanks are due likewise to Professor E. von Dobschütz, now of Strassburg, for answering various inquiries.

⁵ Vol. II, col. 2041, No. DCCCXXXI. Denis in his careful fashion, makes characteristic excerpts from the sermon, which he describes (col. 2053) as *narratio conficta ad imitationem spurii Evangelii Nicodemi*. He did not observe, apparently, that the text is a translation of the two homilies of Eusebius. I am indebted to Mr. C. H. Beeson, at present in Munich, for copying the note from Denis, whose work I could not procure here, and for making investigation with regard to Tengnagel's catalogue.

⁶ *Sermo Boetii*, foll. 83-88 v. See *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XXXVIII (1895), p. 270.

of its possessions.¹ The ultimate provenance of the manuscript is undoubtedly France. Professor Ludwig Traube, of Munich, who kindly examined specimens of the writing, was inclined to regard it as a product of the school of Orléans. The volume contains various works of an ecclesiastical character, such as excerpts from Isidore, Prosper, and Gregory the Great, several catechisms and creeds, the *Sermo Boetii* edited by Schepss, and last of all, foll. 107–20^v, the present sermon.

The subject of the sermon, which, as the title partially indicates, is the Harrowing of Hell, at once suggests some sort of kinship between the present narrative and the so-called *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Whether this relation is one of precedence or of imitation is a question which formed the core of the controversy between Thilo and Augusti, and which most scholars today, I imagine, would decide in favor of the former. The authorship of the homilies, to be sure, has not yet been definitely settled; although the name of the writer is clearly Eusebius, and the title Alexandrinus is given him in some manuscripts, it is difficult to identify him further; whether he is Eusebius of Emesa, as Augusti believed, or a writer of Alexandria as Thilo and, independently, Cardinal Angelo Mai² declared, may still be matter for argument. However, the sermons seem rather an elaborated form of the story as told in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* than a source of the same,³ and since this work is now assigned by the best authority⁴ to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, it is probable that our Eusebius is not the Bishop of Emesa, who died about 360.

¹ *Catalogus manuscriptorum . . . Bibliothecae Augustissimae Caesareae Vindobonensis. Descriptus ex autographo Sebastiani Tegnagelii I. V. D. qui ad 1608 praefectus Bibliothecae obiit aō 1636*. This rare volume, in manuscript, was presented to Harvard College Library by Professor C. R. Gregory, of Leipzig. It formed the basis of the classification introduced by Lambecius in 1663. See his *Comment. de Aug. Bibl. Caes. Vind.*, ed. alt. (1776), Vol. I, pp. 121, 152. The system of numbering, however, employed by Lambecius in the above-named work does not tally with that in this catalogue. The latter, apparently, has never been printed.

² *Spicileg. Rom* (1843), Vol. X, pp. i ff.; *Nov. Patr. Bibl.* (1844), Vol. II, pp. 499 f.

³ As Denis observed. See above, p. 1, n. 5.

⁴ VON DOBSCHÜTZ, in HASTINGS's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, p. 545, § iv; A. MAURY, *Croyances et Légendes de l'Antiquité*, 1863, pp. 326 ff. Maury believes, however, with Augusti, that the author of the sermon is Eusebius of Emesa (pp. 219, 313). The ABBÉ MIGNÉ (*Patrol. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 535), after printing Sermon B (Augusti) with those of Eusebius of Alexandria, retracts, on noting the close connection between its beginning and the end of Sermon A, II (Augusti). But Thilo had included *all* the sermons printed by Augusti with the works of Eusebius Alexandrinus.

Probably, then, these homilies were written in the fifth or the sixth century, and as a Eusebius of Alexandria flourished in each of these epochs, we may, with the manuscripts, call our author Alexandrinus, leaving it for further investigation to settle his date. Mai is inclined to put him in the fifth century, Thilo,¹ after some hesitation, in the sixth, and the latter is the date accepted by von Dobschütz.² In either the fifth or the sixth century, then, Eusebius of Alexandria wrote two sermons, one for Maunday Thursday, the other for Good Friday,³ thus telling in two chapters the story of the Harrowing of Hell. It is not surprising that these parts were combined later—or possibly by the writer himself—into a single narrative,⁴ or that this was soon given the honor of a translation into Latin. For the story is well told; barring certain repetitions of the New Testament narrative, which would have profited by condensation, it has the life and movement of a little drama.

It may be reasonably inferred, I have implied, that the Latin translation was made in the fifth or sixth century, and not in the ninth, the date of our unique manuscript of the text. Taking into account the state of learning in the ninth century, as well as the general conditions of manuscript transmission, this is *a priori* the most natural hypothesis, and should be accepted as valid, unless some positive refutation can be presented. The character of the Latin would not disgrace a translator of sermons in the fifth or the sixth century. Mistakes and curious idioms there are, but some of these may be paralleled in writers of the same age or earlier;⁵ some are due to the translator's desire to reproduce his

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55, 57, 80 (*f*) ² *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 545 (*g*). ³ THILO, *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 1.

⁴ The two sermons have in several cases been transmitted together, although not forming a single narrative: see THILO, p. 31. *Cod. Coislin.*, p. 121, n. 60 (MONTFAUCON, *Bibl. Coislin.*, p. 197) begins at the same words (ἀκούσας ὁ διάβολος) as the Latin does, but the second sermon immediately follows in separate form. A case parallel to that of our Latin sermon is offered by the *Acta Andreae* (ed. M. BONNET, *Supplem. Cod. Apocr.*, Vol. II, 1895), which grew from three sermons into a single narrative. See VON DOBSCHÜTZ's review, *Litterarisches Centralblatt* (1896), c. 649.

⁵ To specify a few noticeable peculiarities, the nominative absolute (see below, pp. 14, n. 21; 15, ll. 9, 10) is found in Ennodius (see A. DUBOIS, *La latinité d'Ennodius*, Paris, 1903, p. 380); *cum* with the accusative (see pp. 10, l. 9; 11, l. 16; 4, ll. 24, 26) is a well-known feature of popular Latin, occurring, for instance, in letters written to St. Cyprian (see L. BAYARD, *Le Latin de Saint Cyprien*, Paris, 1902, p. 158); *uenisti ad rapere* (p. 17, l. 26) can be matched with St. Augustine's *cum ueneris ad bibere*, *Serm.* 225, cap. 4: see A. REGNIER, *De la latinité des sermons de Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1886, p. 106.

original closely;¹ others, to the unintelligent effort of the ninth-century scribe to fill in the suspensions of the original text²—to say nothing of the usual careless blunders. Certain of these scribal errors show that the manuscript is a copy, not an autograph,³ though there is no clear evidence from the nature of the mistakes that the archetype was written in uncials or capitals.⁴ No conclusions may be drawn from the character of the Biblical citations, since a translator of the fifth or the sixth century might well have used either the "Itala" or the version of St. Jerome; as a matter of fact, in the majority of passages Itala and Vulgate happen to agree; in a few, our text presents the former, and in a few, the latter rendering, while other citations are made inaccurately from memory. In one or two instances it is plain that the translator simply renders his Greek text without reference to the current Latin versions. No other indications are apparent from which the date of the work may be inferred, and as no conclusive proof to the contrary is forthcoming, it is most natural to assume that the translation was made in the fifth century, and not in the ninth.

With proper deference to the opinion of Montfaucon, who regretted that Savile, in editing the second of our two sermons, had dragged into the light of day that which was *perpetuis dignum tenebris*,⁴ I venture to think that the text here published may be of interest in several respects. In the first place, it may possibly shed some light on the authorship of the Latin homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Emesa. These homilies, in various collections, are now generally regarded as supposititious; some are ascribed to St. Bruno Astensis, Bishop of Segni, who died 1125; others to writers like Faustus of Rhegium or Caesarius of Arles,

¹ See below, pp. 11, n. 9; 12, n. 15; 15, n. 16.

² The suspensions are comparatively frequent, and, in some cases, of an unusual character. *E. g.*, *discip̄* = *discipulis* (p. 14, n. 18); *mor̄* = *mortuos* (p. 15, n. 15); for *dicens*, *dic̄* (p. 16, n. 5) and for *respondens*, *resp̄d̄* (p. 16, n. 13) and *rpd̄* (pp. 13, n. 7; 18, n. 7) occur. Errors in filling out similar abbreviations are doubtless illustrated by pp. 14, n. 11; 15, n. 11; 16, n. 4. I have an impression, the validity of which I cannot prove, that the present text was copied from an uncial or capital manuscript in which suspensions were numerous.

³ See pp. 11, nn. 1, 8; 16, n. 15.

⁴ *Op. Chrysostomi*, Paris, ed. 1838, Vol. XI, p. 864.

who flourished in the fifth or the sixth century.¹ But Thilo presented a vigorous argument to show that the fourteen sermons edited by Sirmond as works of Eusebius of Cæsarea translate genuine sermons of Eusebius of Emesa;² Cardinal Mai, finding a Vatican manuscript of the eleventh century, which contained thirty-four of the homilies and bore the title *liber Domini Eusebii qui translatus* [Cod., *quem translatum*] *est ex Hebraeo in Latinum*, concluded that Eusebius might well have written Hebrew sermons, which various hands turned into Latin;³ and finally, as Dom Morin certifies, there is evidence that sermons of Eusebius (whether of Emesa or of Alexandria) were circulated in the occident as early as the sixth century. The present text we now know is a translation of two sermons of Eusebius (Alexandrinus). May it perhaps serve as a touchstone for detecting other genuine bits in the mass of material associated with his name?

In a second respect the sermon may have value, namely for the reconstruction of the Greek text of which it is a translation. While it will hardly play the rôle which distinguishes the Latin versions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the textual criticism of that work,⁴ its readings will be worth consulting. It were rash to attempt many decisions on the basis of the present editions of the text—Mai's I suspect, is somewhat doctored—but a few cases are already apparent where the testimony of the Latin version is of moment.⁵ Its worth can be gauged exactly when the Homilies of Eusebius appear in the critical edition which Professor von Dobschütz has in preparation.

Finally our sermon gives us a new instance of the influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*—indirect, in this case—on mediæval literature, and suggests a consideration which Wülcker, in his treatment of this theme, did not take into account. In his work

¹ For a résumé of the discussion of this question see J. FESSLER, *Institutiones Patrologiæ*, Vol. II, p. 2 (in MIGNÉ, *Patr. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 462 f.). Migne reprints some of the *Homiliae in Evangelia totius anni* with the works of BRUNO ASTENSIS, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. CLXV, c. 735 ff.

² THILO, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

³ *Nov. Patr. Bibl.*, Vol. II, p. 528.

⁴ For the *Descensus*, they take precedence of the extant Greek MSS. See VON DOBSCHÜTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 545 (g).

⁵ See, for instance, pp. 13, n. 1, n. 4; 17, n. 3.

entitled *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur* (Paderborn 1872), Wülcker draws a sharp contrast between the prominent part played by this gospel in early English vernacular literature and its much later appearance in the popular literature of other European countries. Nobody could quarrel with this statement if left in precisely this form, but Wülcker implies further that outside England the work was not popularly known before the twelfth century.¹ This assumption underlies his extensive refutation² of the statement of Fabricius that the title *Evangelium Nicodemi* was given to the work in England on account of the predilection of the English for their especial apostle Nicodemus. Wülcker takes pains to show that Nicodemus held no such position in the imagination of Anglo-Saxon writers, that this distinction belongs rather to Joseph of Arimathea, and that even the latter legend did not take form until the twelfth century. For the explanation of Fabricius, Wülcker substitutes one of his own, namely, that on account of the very early introduction of Christianity into England, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in particular, like Christian writings in general, enjoyed an early vogue and at once exerted an influence on popular literature. We may charitably pass the suggestion without remark,³ and see the simple solution of the matter in Wülcker's second explanation that as Anglo-Saxon literature was the first of the vernaculars to come to fruition, the story of the Harrowing of Hell was first told in that literature. But the assumption that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* was not popularly known as early in the other countries of Europe is groundless. To take the case of France, there are among the manuscripts of this work collated by von Dobschütz for his projected edition of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, various ninth- and tenth-century codices which were written in France, and to these instruments of dissemination should now be added our

¹ See, e. g., WÜLCKER, *op. cit.*, for France, pp. 23 ff.; for Germany, pp. 34 ff.

² *Excurs.*, Vol. I, p. 72. WÜLCKER states his problem at the outset with the words: "Woher kommt es nun, dass gerade in England sich unser Evangelium so früh verbreitet hat?"

³ Granting, as may well be the case (see LAPPENBERG, *Geschichte von England*, 1831, Vol. I, p. 45, to whom WÜLCKER, p. 75, refers; W. BRIGHT, *The Roman See in the Early Church*, 1896, pp. 358 ff.), that England received Christianity in the second or even the first century, we have to reckon here with the conditions of literary transmission in the fifth century—the date of the composition and translation of our Gospel.

Sermon, copied in France by a scribe of the ninth century. Clear evidence of the influence of the story on contemporary literature appears also in the poem of Audradus, *De Fonte Vitae*, which contains a description of the Harrowing of Hell,¹ preceded by a dialogue between Mors and Diabolus in the manner of the gospel and the sermon. These details are enough to hint at a general diffusion of the story in France long before the twelfth century; when the development of popular literature in that country ensued, the story was told in the vernacular as well.

Wülcker traces also the influence of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* on the liturgical drama of the Middle Ages, noting that the Harrowing of Hell formed part of the plot of a French mystery as early as the twelfth century.² Other authorities do not mention any trace of its appearance before the thirteenth,³ but taking into account the popularity of the story in the drama of the Middle Ages, and what our sermon has told us of its prevalence in ninth-century literature, we should not be surprised if further investigation revealed its appearance on the mediæval stage earlier than has hitherto been noted. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Chambers notes,⁴ such subjects as *Elisaeus*, *Convivium Herodis* already figured. The present homily with its vivid dialogues is in essence dramatic; it holds in solution the elements of a little drama which only a touch, it would seem, would precipitate into the actual dramatic form. Such material, accessible in the ninth century, might well have been utilized for the ecclesiastical stage before the thirteenth.

This possibility leads to another suggestion, namely that sermons in general may have exerted on the development of the mediæval drama an influence to which insufficient consideration has hitherto been paid. Augusti, in the work already cited, was not blind to the significance of the homilies of Eusebius in this respect. He in fact conceived them as deliberately modeled on

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist.: Poet. Aev. Carol.*, ed. TRAUBE, Vol. III, pp. 73 ff. The passage on the Harrowing of Hell, begins at vs. 305.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

³ CREIZENACH, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. I (1893), pp. 55 f.; W. MEYER, *Fragmenta Burana, Götting'sche Abhandlungen, Festschrift* (1901), pp. 61, 68, 100; E. K. CHAMBERS, *The Mediæval Stage*, 1903, pp. 73 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

the lines of the Greek drama; their author, in the ancient fashion, had selected a theme, an *υπόθεσις*, not from his own imaginings, but from the traditional legends—in his case, the *mythologia Christiana*—and had then arranged his incidents in dramatic form, developing three distinct plots which were subtly connected by an inner unity of design. In short, the three homilies published by Augusti formed a *τριλογία δραματική*¹ on the theme *Diabolus deceptus et succussus*;² the play was a tragedy in structure—in essence, a *divina comoedia*.³ Reflecting that the concluding portion of the third of the sermons, which in fact was soon proved by Thilo to be part of a fourth sermon, might be reckoned as an independent piece, Augusti finally declared the whole a tetralogy, not a trilogy.⁴ Thilo, who devoted much energy to clipping the wings of Augusti's fancy, suggested *teratology* as a more appropriate title;⁵ he added that the concluding section of the fourth sermon, of which Augusti had not known, might serve as a satyric after-piece. A bit of this flagellation Augusti surely deserved, but none the less commendable is his insight into the essential spirit of these pieces: they are dramatic. When we consider that other sermons of a like character are not lacking—instances are given by both Augusti⁶ and Thilo⁷—the conviction grows that the course of the drama in the Middle Ages may have been shaped not only by the church liturgy, but by the sermon as well. The mediæval preacher could act on occasion; the ancient *pulpitum* has more than an etymological connection with the modern pulpit.

But leaving these questions to be worked out by others better fitted for the task, I offer here simply the text of the *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*. A few obvious mistakes have been corrected

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 27, 28. The last reference is to one of the sermons of Eusebius of Emesa, ascribed by Thilo to Caesarius of Arles. The passage quoted before this by Thilo from *Max. Bibl. Patr.*, Vol. VI, p. 754, is from one of the *Homiliae in Evangelia totius anni* (MIGNE, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. CLXV, c. 807, No. LVIII, but not printed there): the sermon repeats in a lively manner the narrative of the *Evang. Nic.* If the present ascription to Bruno of Segni is correct, it gives us a specimen of a sermon on our story from the eleventh or the twelfth century. Bits of the "Eusebius" homilies on the same theme appear in two sermons falsely assigned to St. Augustine; see MIGNE, Vol. XXXIX, c. 2059, Nos. CLX and CLXI. PROFESSOR HULME's recent publication of two OE. homilies on the Harrowing of Hell (*MODERN PHILOLOGY*, Vol. I, p. 579), is of great interest in the present matter.

and a few conjectures proposed, but in general I have let the reading stand, if at all intelligible. I have often had recourse to the assistance of the available Greek texts, and in some cases have pointed to differences in the readings, or to omissions. This procedure has not been carried out systematically, however, as a thoroughgoing comparison will not be in place until the definitive edition of the Greek text is published by Professor von Dobschütz.

The following symbols of reference have been employed:

Serm. XV = the third of the sermons published by Augusti, p. 15. It is No. XV in the editions of Mai, *Spic. Rom.*, Vol. IX, p. 696, and Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 383. To it correspond pp. 10-14, l. 32 of the Latin text here printed.

Serm. XVII = the sequel to this sermon, No. XVII in Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 421; printed Vol. LXII, c. 721. To it correspond p. 14, ll. 32 to p. 18 of the Latin text. First edited, with the spurious works of St. Chrysostom, by Savile, Vol. VII (1612), p. 459; then by Montfaucon, Vol. XI (1718), p. 793; then by Thilo, p. 81. It appears in the Paris re-edition of Montfaucon by Gaume Frères, Vol. XI (1835-1839), p. 867. The general get-up of this and other publications of the same firm (e. g., St. Augustine) was adopted (and cheapened) for the volumes in Migne's *Patrologia*. The Paris edition incorporates many of Thilo's notes, and agrees with him in his controversy with Augusti. Migne selects a few of these notes on the text, but omits the introductory section on Thilo, printing only Montfaucon's *Monitum*.

M = the text of Sermon XV, printed by Mai. This he tells us (*Spic. Rom.*, Vol. IX, p. 696, n. 1) is a composite of the readings of three Vatican manuscripts. Called in Migne *editio prima*.

V = The text of Sermon XV, and a section of Sermon XVII, published by Augusti, p. 15, as *editio prima*, from a Vienna manuscript—*Cod. Graec.* 284, Nessel. Called in Migne *editio altera*. To this text the Latin version most closely corresponds.

V¹ = the text of Sermon XV, published by Augusti, p. 29, as *editio altera*, from *Cod. Vind. Graec.* 307, Nessel. Called in Migne *editio tertia*.

T = Thilo's text of Sermon XVII, edited on p. 81 after Savile and Montfaucon. I see no proof that he uses *Cod. Nan. XLIII* (now *Ven. Marc.* II, 42), to which he refers (pp. 10, 31). The Vienna manuscript, of which a copy was sent him (p. 84, n. 3), and which he used in editing the text, seems to be V (i. e., the part containing a section of Sermon XVII; see p. 84, n. 2), not *Cod. Graec.* 247, Nessel, which contains all of Sermon XVII, and to which he had called Augusti's attention.

v = *Cod. Vind. Lat.* 1370 s. IX, containing the text here published.

Codd. = All the Greek texts available.

107^v INCIPIT SERMO DE CONFUSIONE DIABOLI ET INFERNI.

Audiens Diabolus Dominum dicentem: *Tristis anima mea usque ad mortem*¹ sperauit se quia mortem uel crucem pertimesceret et capit prumptus² fieri. Currens abiit ad Infernum et dixit ei, "Paratus es tu;³ para mihi locum munitum, ubi recludamus eum qui dicitur Christus, quem Iohannes et reliqui prophete dicunt quia uenit et eiecit nos. Ecce paraui aduersus eum mortem; | discipulum eius ad traditionem eius prae-
 108 paraui: paraui clavos,⁴ acutauit lanceas, Iudaeos inritaui sicut sagittas aduersus eum. Omnia feci, omnia praeparauit ad traditionem eius; tu, tantum, paratus es tu ad suscipiendum eum. Multa enim mala mihi ostendit super terram, multum me inritaui, multa uasa mihi subripuit. Quorum ego <in> mala delectabar, hic uerbo suo eos sanabat; et quorum claudebam lumen et delectabar in illis, quando in parietem eos percutiebam aut in aquas mittebam et in lacum uersabantur, ueniens autem ille unde nescio e contrario mihi agens, uerbo eis donabat lumen. Alio autem dum esset in utero matris suae⁵ clausi oculos eius ut nec signum oculorum eius appareret. | Ille autem inueniens eum et lutum de sputo faciens, unguens oculos eius iussit eum ad Siloa lauare et statim uidit. Ego autem non inueniens locum ubi uadam, accipere⁶ ministros meos et abii longe ab eo. Et inueni iuuenem Matheum et introiui in eum cum ministros meos et gaudens habitabam in eo. Quomodo cognouit ille nescio et ueniens increpauit me exire ab eo. Alio quoque principe cuius⁷ filia mortua est et quia dilectissima erat filia parentibus suis, planctu magno plangebant eam. Ego delectabar uidens populum multum plangentem eam, ille autem ueniens unde nescio suscitauit eam et tradidit eam sanam patri suo. Et iterum mulier quaedam fatigata a fluxu sanguinis: per xii annos⁸ canalis sanguinis⁹ eius | descendebat, dum¹⁰ illa¹¹ uidens eum¹¹ transeuntem, occurrit ei et ut solum tetigit fimbriam uestimenti[s] eius, illico stetit fluxus sanguinis eius. Ego autem furebam aduersus eum et non poteram committere litem cum eo. Exsurgens abii a finibus illis et ueni in¹² finibus Chananeorum et inueni ibi puellam et ingressus sum in eam; quando in ignem eam mittebam et quando in

¹ *Matt.* 26:38.² A mistake or a vulgar variant for *promptus*. Denis would read *presumptus*.³ Denis may be right in reading *paratus esto*. v has *est*.⁴ v, *claves*: Codd., ἤλους.⁵ The ablative absolute and the *dum* clause are a rude translation of V, ἄλλον . . . ὑπάρχοντα.⁶ This may be a historical infinitive; cf. *dominare*, p. 11, l. 26. But V, παρέλαβον ἐξ δαίμονας ὑπουργούς suggests *accepi vi ministros*, from which *accipere* might have arisen.⁷ Possibly *aliter* (M, ἀλλ' ὅτε. Did his manuscripts have ἄλλοτε?) *quoque principis cuius* (for *alicuius*).⁸ v, *annis*.⁹ v, *sanguis*.¹⁰ v possibly has *autem*.¹¹ v, *ille* . . . *eam*. V, ὁχετοὶ αἵματος . . . κατήρχοντό. Εὐθέως οὖν ἰδοῦσα τοῦτον ἔδραμεν πρὸς αὐτόν.

fluuium eam proiciebam, et delectabar in eam, † magnites et¹ mater eius lugebant eam. Ille autem unde cognouit nescio; uenit in finibus illis et habitabat ibi. Ut autem cognouit mater puelle cucurrit et nuntiabat ei de hac puella filia sua dicens ei: *Miserere mei, Domine, Fili David, filia mea male² a demonio uexatur.*³ Ille autem audiens non | respondit ei uerbum. Et putabam ego quod non possit curare eam et incipio uel istam sub me habere. Et iterum mulier procidens rogabat eum dicens: *Miserere mei, Fili David; filia mea a daemone uexatur.* Qui respondens dixit ei: *Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus.*⁴ Cui⁵ respondens mulier dixit: *Domine, nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum.*⁶ Qui dixit ad eam: *Mulier, magna est fides tua; fiat tibi sicut petisti.*⁷ Qui noluit ire ad puellam, sed mulieri dedit potestatem ut me effugaret. Ego autem exiui a puella uidens quia ille ibidem erat. Veni in Bethania et inueni amicum eius Lazarum infirmantem et sciens quia ille | longe esset, uolens eum contristari, rapui eum cum ministros meos in infernum et securus factus sum et sperabam quia non poterat eum ad se leuare. Veniens autem ille cum *sopore*⁸ male occupatus eras⁸ [et]⁹ excussit eum ad se. Dicit ei Infernus, "Si ille est qui Lazarum suscitauit, si ipse est, obsecro te, miserere mei et ne adducas eum hic, quia magnus est. Vox illius tula sola me contremescit et dissoluit uirtutem meam; uoce<m> sua<m> sustinere non potui, et tu ipsum adnuntias ad me adducere? Obsecro te, et miserere mei et ne adducas eum hic, quia si uenerit, et quos habeo inclusos eiciet¹⁰ a me. Ego tunc putrire feci Lazari corpus; quattuor dies tenui eum in locum munitum | et dissolui membra eius et dominare¹¹ omnino ei. Quando autem uenit ad ostium meum exclamabat ei dicens: *Lazare, ueni foras.*¹² Et putrefactus [est] Lazarus exiuit sicut leo expellit ad uenationem aut aquila exiliens quae omnem infirmitatem deponit¹³ in ictu oculi. Et illum hic includere¹⁴ non possum;" Respondit alter diabolus et dixit: "Et infortis et impossibili animo,¹⁵ mihi tanta mala operatus est et recessit. De seculo non cessaui iniqua agens in homines, et tu times? Unum malum quod pertulisti ab eo sic timuisti? Ego tanta mala passus sum et non cessaui agens

¹ v, eam / magnites & mater. I would suggest *magnopere cum mater . . . lugebat*: cf. M and V¹ (V omits), *μάλιστα ὅταν ἡ μήτηρ*.

² v, mala. ³ Matt. 15:22. ⁴ Ibid., vs. 26. ⁵ v, Qui. ⁶ Matt. 15:27. ⁷ Ibid., vs. 28.

⁸ v, *furore . . . erat*. Codd., *ἐν ὀργῇ κατέκειτο*.

⁹ Possibly *et*, which I have bracketed here and elsewhere, translates an adverbial *kai*.

¹⁰ v, *eiciet*; V, *ἐκβαλεῖ*. Or, after M, *ἐκβάλλει*, read *eicit*.

¹¹ A historical infinitive. Cf. p. 10, n. 8. For the active form cf. *Venant. Fort.*, 3, 14, 16. Perhaps *dominaui* should be read: Codd., *κατεκρίνευσα*.

¹² Ioan. 11:43.

¹³ v, *deponens*. In this sentence the translation apparently omits several words from the Greek original.

¹⁴ v, *includi*.

¹⁵ The two epithets are probably meant as vocatives, translating *δεὴ καὶ ἄνδρε καὶ ἀλιγόψυχε*.

- 111 contra eum, sed quando uidebam <quia> uarias infirmitates de hominum corpore sanabat, ego incipiebam animas exterminare | per me. Nam inueni quendam hominum Matheum et in misi in eum concupiscentias pecuniarum, et accipiens eum statui eum publicanum et diuitem eum feci. Et tantum oboediuit mihi adolescens ille omnibus; omnia suadebam, omnia rapiebat,¹ caedebat,² colaphizabat, comedebat et absorbebat aliena[s]. Et gaudebam in eum quia sic opera mea faciebat. Et collegit multa<s> pecunia<s> et minas proponebat aduersus eos qui habebant pecunias. Et dum iam habuissem eum probatissimum et omnia opera mea perageret, ueniens ille unde nescio, transiens per teloneum dicit adolescenti: *Adolescens, ueni post me.*³ Et mox ut uerbum audiuit, et relinquens teloneum et pecunias | quas⁴ habebat, quas cum magno labore feci eum congregare, sed nec parentibus suis palam faciens et mox sequutus est eum et factus est eius discipulus. Et contristatus sum ualde quia talis⁵ uas recessit a me. Et denique non cessau i agens contra eum sed sperans quia⁶ statum illius adolescentis⁷ concupisceret et ideo eum tulisset, exurgens abii in Hiericho et inueni hominem modicum ualde nomine Zacheus et introiui in eum et statui illum publicanum. Hic consolatus est *tantam*⁸ tristitiam meam quae⁹ aduersus Matheum mihi erat et securus factus sum. Putabam me¹⁰ quia¹¹ statum illius non concupisceret, quia multum modicus erat. Quo modo autem uenit ille | nescio, et transiens cum multitudo magna.¹² Et Zacheus uero cum esset pusillus non poterat eum <videre et>¹³ ascendit in arborem sicomorum. Statim ille respiciens, uidens eum dixit ei: *Zache festinans descende; hodie oportet me manere in domo tua.*¹⁴ Et statim descendit et suscepit eum gaudens. Exiens reddidit ei omnia quae¹⁵ calumniauerat quadruplum et de substantia sua medietate<m> pauperibus erogauit et factus est eius amicus. Ego autem non inueniens¹⁶ ubi vadam, omnes deliquerunt me et illi adhibebant. Qui enim peccabant per ignorantiam seducebam et promittebam eis: 'Quia incipistis peccare, de concupiscentia non recedatis
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¹ Unless the text is corrupt, this is a rough, paratactic translation of V, ὑπήκουσεν δὲ μοῦ (M adds ἐπὶ τοσούτων) . . . ὥστε πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου ἐποίησεν (ποιεῖν?).

² v, cedebat.

⁴ v, pecuniam quam.

⁶ v, qui ad.

³ Matt. 9:9.

⁵ Read tale?

⁷ v, adolescentem.

⁸ v, est eum et tristitiam; V, τὴν τηλικαύτην λύπην.

⁹ v, quam.

¹⁰ Cf. sperauit se, pp. 10, l. 2; 16, l. 33. Or should datives be read?

¹¹ v, qui a statum.

¹² Read, probably: *quo modo autem nescio, uenit ille, et transiens.* V apparently has *ἐκεῖνος δὲ πάλιν, οὐκ οἶδα πῶς, ἦλθεν ἐκεῖνος παριών*; V1, omitting the initial *ἐκεῖνος δὲ*, has *πάλιν . . . ἐκεῖνος καὶ παριών*.

¹³ Codd., μὴ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν.

¹⁴ Luc. 19:5.

¹⁵ This mistranslation, instead of *eis omnibus quos*, may have been due to an error in the translator's original. The manuscripts, apparently, show the various readings, *ἐκάστω παρ' ὧν* (ἦς, δ) *ἐσυκοφάντησε*.

¹⁶ As V and V1 have *εὕρισκω* (*εὕρισκα*), perhaps *inueni* should be read. Or, after M, make *omnes . . . adhibebant* parenthetical and *ego* the subject of *seducebam*.

usque in finem, si ex toto ibi iudicabimini.¹ Haec dicens et horum similia suadens omnibus | in concupiscentia malorum.² Veniens ille et aduersos male agentes rogabat peccatores et consolabatur et promittebat eis paenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum et indulgentiam iniquitatum in regna caelorum. Et dicebat omnibus: *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego reficiam uos.*³ Et omnes ad illum occurrebant. Quando autem non inueni locum ubi uadam et factus sum minimus omni(s) creature,⁴ memoratus sum antiqam amicitiam; exsurgens abii ad amicos meos Iudaeos quos ab initio decepi. Memorans auditum⁵ eorum et uadens ad eos inritauī seniores eorum aduersus eum, et omnem multitudinem Iudaeorum armaui contra eum. Tu autem nihil time[s].⁶ Solum para mihi locum munitum ubi recludamus eum." Respondens⁷ autem Infernus dixit ei, "Ego nunquam | audiui tanta uerba quanta tu mihi suggessisti de eo, sed recede ab eo et ne festines eum hic adducere. Nihil cum eo commune habeas; non enim coniungit olla cum aramento.⁸ Ipsa percutit, ipsa minuetur. Tanta mala tibi fecit, tanta uasa subripuit, quomodo dicis; peccatores et meretrices et raptos tibi tulit et non praesumpsisti ante faciem eius nec uerbum dicere et nunc adduces eum hic, ut spem meam auferat et sine spe faciat similem <me> tibi. Ille si Filius Dei non fuisset tanta mirabilia non fecisset, et si homo fuisset sola carnalia uitia⁹ sanaret. Nam quid et corda publicanorum et peccatorum conuertisset ad paenitentiam et conuersionem? Tu mihi dixisti quia uerbo publicanum conuertit ut relinqueret teloneum. Tu autem contra faciem eius stare et ipsum adnuntias | hic adducere et claudere? Ego scio quid dicunt prophete quos habeo hic inclusos, quomodo eum expectant cum gaudio. Scio quia Iohannes¹⁰ ueniens et euangelizauit eis de illo et timeo eum hic suscipere." Dicit ei Diabolus, "Illi mentiuntur ut te in formidinem adducant."¹¹ Dicit ei Infernus, "Quem pronuntiauerunt,¹²

112^r

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113^v

¹ The translation is nearest in sense to V: ἔως τέλους ἀπολαύσατε εἰ [cod., ἦ] ὅλως τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγαθῶν ξένοι γεγονότες ἁμαρτήσαντες.

² Part of this sentence is lacking, or else it translates an imperfect original. The Greek codices have ἐπειθα (ἐπειθον) καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς (τῶν κακῶν) ἐγκυλιεσθαι.

³ Matt. 11: 28.

⁴ There is no equivalent in M and V¹ for *et factus . . . creature*. V, ἐκτός πάντη, suggests ἔσκατος πάντων as a variant reading from which the translation was made.

⁵ Mistranslates V, ὑπακοῆς.

⁶ Codd., μῆ(δὲν) δειλιάσης. The *s* is by dittography—unless *timeas* should be read.

⁷ V, ἤρᾶ.

⁸ V, ὕλλα. M V, τί κοινηγήσει χύτρα πρὸς λέβητα. The form *aramentum* (for *aeramentum*) is cited in DUCANGE, with *aramen*, *aramum*, *araminum*, from very late mediæval sources, but KÖRTING (1901) stars the form, which is assumed as a "substrate" for Span. *arambre*, Ital. *rame*, by GRÖBER, *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie*, Vol. I (1884), p. 242. The word is now proved for the ninth century certainly, and probably for the sixth.

⁹ V, uita.

¹⁰ V, Iohs.

¹¹ V, adducunt.

¹² V, pronuntiaueŕ, and so always in this manuscript for the third person plural of the perfect.

quare non sunt mentiti.¹ Omnia quae mihi suggestisti de eo, quia² tibi fecit qui dicitur Christus, praedixerunt prophete. Ecce tu confessus es et adsunt tibi quae dicta sunt ab eis et ante me mendaces³ eos uocas?" Dicit ei Diabolus, "Per uirtutes tuas et insatiabilem uentrem tuum qui⁴ nihilum⁵ potest saturari, noli multum loqui. Omnes me dereliquerunt et ad illum accesserunt et, ut uideo, et tu me derelinquere uis et illius amicus fieri. | Mundum inglutisti et non dixisti 'Sufficit.' Abraham, Isaac et Iacob et omnes prophetas suscepisti et non formidasti, et nunc per unum inimicum meum tanta formidatione circumdatus es et⁶ nolis eum suscipere. Ego cognoui quia homo est timens [eum] mortem. Nunc autem quomodo cognoui quia adpropinquauit illius hora mortis, timet mortem triste dicens; *Tristis est anima mea usque ad⁷ mortem.*" Dicit ei Infernus, "Ego quidem non uidi eum, neque uidere eum uolo. In quantum audiui, dicam tibi ueritatem, et tu signa sermones meos. Si forte non esset Filius Dei utique! Nam si ille est, scio quia ideo tristar⁸ se dicit ut tibi oblectentur talia uerba; et tu non exilies⁹ a facie eius. Et ue tibi! Eris¹⁰ infelix: deludere enim te uolens talia profer¹¹ uerba. | Sed recede ab eo et ne pugnes cum eo." Dicit ei Diabolus, "Potentes habeo ministros meos et¹² non timeo pugnare cum eo. Unanimes omnes pariter Annas¹³ et Caiaphas et Iudas; hi¹⁴ coheredes mei sunt. Habemus autem et reliquam multitudinem Iudaeorum sub nos. Possumus aduersus eum pugnare. Solum¹⁵ paratus es tu ad suscipiendum eum." Dicit ei Infernus, "Uade quomodo uoueris. Primum¹⁶ mitte pugnam cum eo et si uinceris eum, includamus eum hic, et regnas tu cum Iudaeos. Si autem uincerit te, uenit hic et excutit quos habeo his in clausos et ligabit¹⁷ te cum Iudaeos et tradet uos mihi. Et uae uobis! Infelices eritis."

115 Haec audiens Diabolus abiit ad Iudaeos et concitauit eos aduersus eum et congregati sunt et consilium confecerunt ut eum proderent. Dominus autem in ipsa nocte erat manens in monte Oliueti cum discipulis¹⁸ suis et cognoscens aduersum se consilium, tunc ait discipulis¹⁹ suis: *Venit hora ut Filius hominis clarificetur;*¹⁹ *uigilate et orate ne intretis in temptationem.*²⁰ Et congregati²¹ omnes Iudaei in unum; uenit Iudas ad eos et dixit eis, "Exsurgentes sequimini me et tradam eum uobis."

¹ The Greek (M V¹—V omits—) τὰ περὶ σοῦ, ἀπερ προείπον, οὐκ ἐψεύσαντο suggests *quae pronuntiaverunt, quae de te sunt, non sunt mentiti.*

² Possibly the reading is *quid.*

³ v, *mēdaes.*

⁴ v, *quae.*

⁵ v, *nimum;* M V, ἦν οὐδεὶς δύναται χορτάσαι. Perhaps *quem nemo . . . saturare* should be read.

⁶ Probably not a mistake for *ut*, as codd. have καὶ οὐ θέλεις.

⁷ v, *a.*

⁸ v, *tristar.*

⁹ Or, with no punctuation after *uerba*, read *exilies.*

¹⁰ v, *erit.*

¹¹ V, *προβάλλεις;* v, *proferens.*

¹² v, *ut;* codd., *καί.*

¹³ v, *Anna.*

¹⁴ v, *hic;* M, *οἱ τοι.*

¹⁵ v, *solus;* Codd., *μόνον.*

¹⁶ v, *prim.*

¹⁷ v, *ligauit.*

¹⁸ v, *discip̃.*

¹⁹ Ioan. 12:23.

²⁰ *Matt.* 26:41. At this point the translation of Sermon XV ends; that of Sermon XVII begins with the following sentence.

²¹ Perhaps to be taken as nominative absolute.

Qui exsurgentes sequebantur eum cum gladiis et fustibus. Et dedit eis signum dicens: *Quem osculatus fuero, ipse est; tenete eum.*¹ Et cum abisset in locum ubi erat Iesus² cum discipulis³ suis, accedens Iudas osculatus est eum dicens: *Aue Rabbi.*¹ Et Dominus dixit: *Amice, ad quid⁴ venisti?*¹ Osculum amarum plenum iniquitate et perditione, osculum amarum et damnum animae, prouisio⁵ Gehenne! Meretrix osculans pedes Domini animam suam reuocauit a sorde; | Iudas osculatus eum⁶ 115
perdidit animam. Illa osculans de libro iniquitatis deleta est. O mulieris⁷ philosophia, o discipuli imprudentia! Illa osculans pedes domini, gaudebant angeli et coronam ei praeparabant. Iudas osculans,⁸ gaudebant daemones et funis laqueis torquebatur.⁹ Illa gaudet et ille luget. *Aue Rabbi et osculatus¹⁰ est eum.* Et accedentes tenuerunt eum qui tenet omnem terram palmo. Tenuerunt eum et obtulerunt eum ad Annam et Caiphan principes¹¹ sacerdotum et quaerebant falsum testimonium aduersus eum et non inuenerunt. Et adduxerunt eum ad Pilatum et statuerunt eum ante Pilatum. Et interrogauit eum Pilatus dicens: *tu es rex Iudaeorum?*¹² Et Iesus¹³ non respondit ei. Stabat enim secundum scripturam dicentem: *Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est et non ape* | *ruit os suum.*¹⁴ Pilatus sedebat iudicans eum qui iudicaturus 116
est uiuos et mortuos.¹⁵ Stabat et contendebat contra Dominum iudicaturum pro mundi salutem.¹⁶ Ex ipsis causis cognouit Pilatus quia per inuidiam traderunt eum. *Innocens sum ego a sanguine iusti huius: uos uideritis.*¹⁷ Et Iudas uidens quia damnatus est, reddidit argenteos¹⁸ in templo, abiit, laqueo se suspendit. Et impletum est quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: *conuertetur dolor eius in capite eius et in uerticem eius iniquitas eius descendit.*¹⁹ Et dixit ad eos Pilatus, "Nullam causam mortis inuenio in homine," et uolens eum dimittere dicit ad eos, "Consuetudo est uobis unum dimittere malefactorem. Audite, dimittam uobis Christum cui nullam causam mortis inuenio." | Illi 116
autem homicidam petierunt dimitti et iustificabant impium, ad Iesum²⁰ clamantes et dicentes: *Crucifige.* Tunc Pilatus flagellatum eum tradidit ut crucifigeretur. Flagellatus est Dominus noster ut nos de Diaboli obligatione et plaga eriperet. Coronatus est spinis ut solueret quae aduersos nos erant maledictiones. Spinās et tribulos quae nobis per

¹ Matt. 26: 48 ff. ² v, ihs. ³ v, discip. ⁴ v, qd̄. ⁵ prouisto(?). ⁶ v, ē.
⁷ v, mulier; T, γυναῖκός. ⁸ v, osculas. ⁹ v, torquebantur. ¹⁰ v, osulatus.

¹¹ v, principibus. Here, it would seem, the suspension *princip̄* (cf. *discip̄*, above) was filled out erroneously by the ninth-century scribe.

¹² Matt. 27: 11. ¹³ v, ihs. ¹⁴ Isa. 53: 7. ¹⁵ v, moñ.

¹⁶ This sentence differs considerably from T—possibly the Latin text is corrupt. The accusative after *pro* may have been intentional, as the text in the edition of SAVILE reads ὑπὸ τοῦ κόσμον σωτηρίαν.

¹⁷ Matt. 27: 24.

¹⁸ The homoioteleuta ἀπέδωκε τὰ ἀργύρια . . . ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια (*argenteos*) explain the omission of a translation for τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι . . . τὰ ἀργύρια. Possibly the mistake was made by the original translator.

¹⁹ Ps. 7: 17.

²⁰ v, ihm.

praeuaticationem de terra ante fuerant¹ suscepit. Corona de spinis in caput suum ut solueret quae erant aduersus nos maledictiones. Crucifixus est in ligno ut solueret peccatum. Per lignum Adam excussus est de paradyso. Satanus per lignum Domini quod est signum crucis
 117 persequitur. Per lignum enim Domini | latro paradysum² meruit intrare, et quod est mirabile, fratres dilectissimi, sexta die paradyso ei aperuit. Propterea Dominus noster sexta die sustinuit crucem, ut in ipso die paradyso aperiret. Formidans audiuit latro uocem Domini, introiuit in paradysum.³ Quando autem uidit Diabolus quia per continentiam facta sunt omnia et mirabilia quae facta sunt in cruce, sol(em)⁴ obscuratum et terre motum factum et uelum templi scissum, et cum tanta uidisset Diabolus fugit ad Infernum dicens⁵ ei: "Uae mihi misero; inlus(us s)um.⁶ Adiuua miseriam meam. Claudamus ostia ut ne intro eat hic. Obsera⁷ uectes ferreos; cum omni uirtute resistamus ei et ne recipiamus eum hic."
 117 v Cucurrit Infernus et uectes ferreos obserauit.⁸ |

Et ecce Dominus ueniens ad⁹ infernum persequens Diabolum, et uirtutes praecurrentes dixerunt: *tollite portas principes uestras*¹⁰ et reliqua. Et quasi ignorans dixit Infernus: *Dominus uirtutum ipse est rex gloriae*.¹¹ Et respondit iterum Infernus, "Quis est hic de quo dixisti? Et si ipse est, quem querit hic? <Cur uoluit>¹² derelinquere caelum et descendere ad nos?" Et uirtutes dixerunt "*Quia rex est gloriae*. Uolens inimicum persequere descendit ligare et tradere eum tibi et milites suos excutere et conuocare eos." Et respondens¹³ Infernus dixit Diabolo, "Tricapite et Beelzebub, derisio sanctorum, infortis, inuide, non tibi dixi ne pugnes cum eo? Ecce nunc quae¹⁴ praedixi aduenerunt tibi, et quid facies miser? Quare non oboedisti uerbis meis? | Et nunc uenit et querit te, et propter te captiuus fio.¹⁵ Et si potes, miser, pugna cum eo. Ego enim te adiuuare non possum." Et Diabolus plorans ei¹⁶ dixit, "Miserere mei et ne aperias ei. Forsitan reuertitur ad Nazaret, qui non credebat uerbum eius. Quando timens mortem dicebat: *Tristis est*¹⁷ *anima mea usque ad mortem*, quando autem orabat dicens; *Pater si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste*¹⁸ haec uerba oblectans dicebat, et ego infelix nesciebam. Sperabam me quia timens mortem haec diceret <et> trista-

¹ v, fuerat.² v, paradyssi.³ At this point begins the excerpt from this Sermon in V.⁴ v, sol: for sol of the original(?).⁵ v, diē.⁶ v, inlusum; T, ἐνεπαίχθη; V, ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη (ἐνεπαίχθη?).⁷ v, obsera.⁸ v, obserauit.⁹ v, ueniens . . . ad. Perhaps uenit should be read: TV, ἐρχεται.¹⁰ Ps. 23:7.¹¹ Here another omission seems to have been made, owing to homoioteleuta.¹² V, τί κατέλιπεν (T, κατέλιπον) . . . καὶ κατέβη. Perhaps, cur derelinquit . . . descendit.¹³ v, respēd.¹⁴ v, quē; codd., & προείπον . . . ἡράεσσι.¹⁵ v, procerte . . . fles; Codd., διὰ σοῦ . . . γίνομαι.¹⁶ v, & codd., πρὸς αὐτόν.¹⁷ v, es.¹⁸ Matt. 26:39.

retur." Et uirtutes praecurrentes dicebant, *Tollite portas principes uestras* et reliqua. Prophete autem uoce *rex gloriae*¹ gaudebant et exultabant. Et Iohannes dicebat, "Nonne dixi uobis quia ueniet et aperiet nos?" Et omnes letabantur² et ingreditur rex glorie et Infernus | nolebat.³ Responditque propheta Dauid et dixit, "Sinite eum. Oportet enim adimplere prophetiam meam. Quando enim fui super terram [eram] praeuidi quod futurum erat quia non aperiet ex se. Dixi enim de eo quia *contriiuit portas ereas et uectes ferreos confringet*;⁴ et uirtutes inferni conculcauit et dolores mortis soluit. Aculeum <inferni confregit>⁵ et completum est quod dictum est: *Ubi est mors stimulus tuus? Ubi est inferne uirtus tua?*"⁶ Obuiauerunt autem prophetae Dominum dicentes⁷ et ymnum dicentes *Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini*.⁸ Tunc adprehendit Dominus Diabolum et ligauit eum indissolutis uinculis et deposuit eum in inferiora terrae et substernit eum ignem inextinguibilem, et uermes non moriuntur: et clausus plorans et suspirans. Et Dominus adsumens secum | omnes prophetas [et] eiecit eos de inferno. Primus Dauid percutiebat cythara<m> et dicebat: "*uenite exultemus Domino*"⁹ et reliqua; quia rex noster pugnans¹⁰ pro nobis uicit."¹¹ Et omnes responderunt:¹² *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus*¹³ et reliqua; quia rex noster pugnans¹⁰ pro nobis uicit." Et alius propheta dicebat: "*Letentur caeli et exultet terra*,"¹⁴ quia rex noster pugnans¹⁵ pro nobis uicit." Et sic exultantes pergebant ad paradysum et ingredientes inuenerunt ibi latronem et expauerunt dicentes, "Quis te introduxit hic? Quis autem aperuit tibi et quid est opera tua quia prius de nobis hic introisti? Numquid hic ac furtum uenisti facere? Non te sufficeba<n>t terrena? Et si hic uenisti ad rapere,¹⁶ dic nobis, quis te introduxit hic? Non inuidemus¹⁷ quia prius introisti hic sed causam queramus." Qui respondit eis, "Propter opera mea non eram dignus introire hic | sed Dominus amator hominum et misericors introduxit me. Ego autem nullum bonum

v 118

119

v 119

¹ The sentence is intelligible in its present form; yet the Greek—ἀκούσαντες τὰς φωνὰς (τὴν φωνὴν) τοῦ βασιλέως—suggests uoce *regis gloriae audita*.

² v, *letabuntur*; Codd., ἠψάλλοντο.

³ This supports the reading ἤνείχeto; see Thilo's note, p. 87.

⁴ Ps. 106:16.

⁵ TV, τὰ κέντρα τοῦ ἔξου συνέθλασε.

⁶ 1 Cor. 15:55. In the Latin translation, as in V, the words of St. Paul are most probably uttered by the mouth of David. Thilo's criticism (p. 87, n. 4) of Augusti on this point is considerably weakened in case his text proves to be inferior to V and v.

⁷ One or more participles may be omitted here. *Dicentes* gives new support for λέγοντες, which Thilo declares wrong.

⁸ Matt. 21:9.

⁹ Ps. 94:1.

¹⁰ v, *pugnat*: T, πολεμήσας.

¹¹ This appears to be an impromptu liturgy, suggested perhaps by *Judith* 5:16: *deus eorum pugnavit pro eis et uicit*.

¹² At this point in V the excerpt ends.

¹³ Ps., 46:1.

¹⁴ Ps. 95:11.

¹⁵ v, *pugnavit*. Here, and in ll. 4 and 7, the original may have been *pugn*. Or read *pugnavit* . . . <et> uicit.

¹⁶ v, *ad ra* | *rapere*.

¹⁷ v, *inuidem*.²

feci. Inde condemnauerunt me Iudaei reum mortis et uolentes me perdere mortificauerunt simul crucifigentes me cum Domino. Et uidi ego signa quae faciebat et intellexi quia Filius Dei est. Clamaui uoce magna dicens: *Memento Domine cum ueneris in regnum tuum.*¹ Statim suscipiens Dominus orationem meam [et] dixit mihi: *Hodie mecum eris in paradysu.*² Et dedit mihi signum crucis. 'Hunc accipiens,' dixit: 'Vade ad paradysum: et si uetauerit te ignis arumphea³ introire in paradysum, ostende ei hunc regalem signum et aperiet tibi.' Et ueniens ego, statim ut uidit me ignis arumphea qui custodiebat paradysum clausit ostia. Ego autem dixi, 'Rex gloriae qui crucifixus est ipse me misit' et osten | <di> illam crucem et statim aperuit mihi. Et ingrediens neminem inueni et expaui in cogitatione mea et dixi in me ipso, 'Ubi est Abraham, Isaac et Iacob et reliqua multitudo sanctorum et prophetarum?' Et cum hec cogitarem, ecce apparuerunt in dextera parte orientis duo uiri et mirabiles⁴ uisione et electi uultu et interrogauerunt dicentes, 'Quis es tu? Abraham non es.'⁵ illius enim schema sacerdotalis est. Moyses non es; illius autem loquela tarda est et tua loquela clara est. Tu latro uideris esse et schema tua latro est.' Et confessus sum quia latro eram et Dominus paradysi⁶ introduxit me hic quia perrexi cum eo ad mortem quam pertulit pro nobis. Et dixi ad eos, 'Obsecro uos, qui estis?' et respondens⁷ unus ex eis dixit mihi. 'Ego Helias sum Thesbites qui per igneum curram⁸ adductus sum hic: et ille qui mecum est, Enoc, qui translatus est | uerbo Dei. Et prophetae audientes glorificauerunt Dominum de tali dono quod⁹ dat peccatoribus. Et Dominus monens¹⁰ Infernum et Mortem conculcans, Diabolum ligans, mundum liberans, a mortuis resurgens (*mors illi ultra non dominabitur*)¹¹ ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram patris, unde expectamus eum uenturum et iudicaturum uiuos et mortuos et omne saeculum¹² per ignem, cum Sancto Spiritu et sanctam ecclesiam in uitam aeternam: ipso Domino nostro, cui sit honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

¹ Luc. 23:42.² *Ibid.*, 43.

³ *Ignis* is genitive. The initial *a* of *arumphea* seems to represent the rough breathing in *ῥομψαία*. Though I can find no parallels for this elsewhere in Latin, one may compare the transfer of certain Germanic roots into Romance; e. g., *ahd*, *hring*, *Ital.*, *aringo*. See DIEZ, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1887), p. 25.

⁴ *v*, *mirabilis*.⁵ *v*, *nom.*⁶ *v*, *paradysum*; T, ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ παραδείσου.⁷ *v*, *rp̄d.*⁸ *v*, *igneam curram*.⁹ *v*, *quae*.¹⁰ Or is the reading *mouens*? Either is mild for *σκληρεύσας*.

¹¹ *Rom.* 6:9. This citation is not in T, and there are various other differences in the closing words. I have not attempted to remedy the Latin text, which is obviously corrupt in several details.

¹² *v*, *sc̄lm.*

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THE ACTUAL FORCE OF THE FRENCH *NE*.

EVERY learner of modern French is obliged to memorize certain uses of the negative particle *ne* which seem, at least to English speakers, inconsistent and useless, and which the French themselves seldom attempt to justify, no matter how carefully they observe them.

Why should a people so linguistically self-conscious, so fond since the days of Ronsard of improving its speech, generally so exact in its expression, permit itself to say *rentrez avant qu'il ne sorte*, or, *ils sont plus riches qu'ils n'étaient hier*? Survivals these usages are, of course, from the confused way of speaking characteristic of a semi-civilized race, whose language admitted many inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Other languages show similar *bizarrerries*, but the French was once remarkably full of them. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, to choose a dividing line, the negative adverb drifted into and out of subordinate clauses in a most bewildering fashion. Grammatical ruling was, of course, practically non-existent for the vernacular, and wherever confusion of thought could intrude itself the idea of negation seemed to come and go at will.

Rabelais, a little archaic in his own time, has an assortment of the inconsistencies referred to. He often omits *ne* from the subjunctive clause after an expression of fearing, as do also Calvin and Commynes—a situation in which modern French exacts its use. He occasionally has no negative in the proposition which forms the second member of a comparison. This omission is to be seen in the writings of Calvin and Commynes, the *Heptameron*, and other works of the time. On the other hand, these authors use *ne* in subordinate clauses where we should not find it in modern French. Rabelais says: *faisant défense rigoureuse qu'ils n'eussent à l'ouvrir*, etc.; and *pour les affaiser et empêcher de non soi complandre en justice*, etc. Calvin wrote: *je vous défends de ne jurer du tout*. Such examples are to be found in abundance in every book of those days.

Now, it is not at all surprising that surplus negatives should have dotted the language of Rabelais and of the men he took it from. What does astonish is that certain of these apparently illogical constructions remain as correct today, not merely admitted, but prescribed by grammarian, lexicographer, and Academy. The only obvious explanation of this phenomenon seems to be that the Frenchman of our time does not understand the adverb *ne* just as he would understand it if he considered it exactly equivalent to its etymon, the Latin *non*. For him it is a negative, of course, but he finds some shade of negation in the word less convincing than in *ne . . . pas*.

It is not necessary to dwell here upon the evolution of *ne*. Coming from *non* through the intermediate *nen*, it has no doubt, even since it assumed its present spelling, lost much of its tonic force. As a rule, in colloquial French now its vowel is rarely heard at all. As is the case with other parts of speech, notably the pronouns, it exists alongside a stronger form, *non*.

At a very early day the need of reinforcing the negative idea by some word denoting quantity, as *pas*, *mie*, *goutte*, etc.—a need due to the vivacity of a semi-barbarous people and the lack of linguistic exactitude more than to any inherent weakness in the negative particle *non* or *nen*—assisted greatly the reduction of *non* to its present insignificance. The words *pas*, *point*, *jamais*, *rien*, *personne*, *plus*, etc., soon came to be considered true negatives in themselves, and the *ne* which precedes or follows them in construction is now felt only as a necessary concomitant. More than this, to the illiterate French and to young children the *ne* has no rôle to play, *pas*, *personne*, *plus*, and the like being assumed as fully negative: *Je sais pas; j'ai vu personne; fais pas ça!* Even in the speech of the educated and in literary French these words now, when used out of regular construction, carry the idea of complete negation.

These commonplaces are introduced merely to call attention to the extent to which the centuries of use of such words have reduced the force of the particle *ne*. So great is this attenuation that, with the exception of certain stereotyped expressions which from habitual employment are known as negative, *ne* used alone

in a sentence does not convey an idea of complete negation to the French hearer. The writer has made the experiment a great number of times by uttering a sentence like *il n'aime beaucoup cela*, or, *nous ne l'avons vu*. The effect is invariably to lead to a misunderstanding or to call out the *pardon? plait-il? vous dites?*—which denote failure to understand at all. There is no doubt felt, however, as to the complete negative force of *ne* when used alone in certain expressions or with certain verbs. *Pouvoir*, *savoir*, *oser*, and *cesser* constantly appear in a negative sense with *ne* merely. We have, besides, formulas like *à Dieu ne plaise*, *à vous ne déplaît*, etc. Such expressions, and the use noted in the case of the four verbs, are no doubt survivals of the construction common at the time when *pas*, *point*, etc., were not yet felt to be necessary to the negative form. It is true that the French say *je ne saurais* or *il ne saurait* in a special sense, but apart from that usage the employment of the four verbs in question after *ne* without *pas* or *point* is much more frequent in written than in spoken French. It is noticeable, too, that in the written language of today the phrases like *à vous ne déplaît* are at least obsolescent. Let us leave, then, these few uses of *ne* as a word completely negative in itself to the category of archaisms, whose tendency is to disappear with the constant weakening of the atonic particle. The exigencies of poetry favor their employment occasionally; but it is safe to say that if such combinations when heard in colloquial style were not *familiar formulæ* they would not be understood at the present day as fully negative.

We must note that in the evolution of the French negative proposition there was a time when *pas*, *point*, etc., supplementing *ne*, had not yet become indispensable. One might add emphasis by using *pas*, but *ne* alone was equal to the task of saying *not*. At that period the negative, since called *expletive*, which appeared in subordinate clauses was frequently *ne . . . pas* or even *non . . . pas*. In our day it is only *ne*. *Tu juges mes desseins autres qu'ils ne sont pas*, writes Corneille.¹ M^{lle} de Scudéry says: *deux jours depuis que nous n'avions point vu le prince*. Molière even has this use in many places, as *vous avez plus fain*

¹ *Citandre*, IV, 6, 1203.

que vous ne pensez pas. It was a popular use and lingers yet among the lowest class. But when, in the seventeenth century, the rules for negation became substantially what they are now, the particle *ne* (expletive) remained *alone* in such positions. There can be no doubt that *ne*, constantly waning in negative force, began to be felt as less illogical here than the fuller *ne . . . pas* or *ne . . . point*. It has been allowed to remain. Let us see if its retention can be justified, or at least explained, and what is the present feeling of those who use it as to its signification and value.

If we take two phrases, such as *avant qu'il ne pleuve* and *il n'y a pas d'hommes qui ne soient quelquefois malheureux*, we find that from the English standpoint the *ne* in the former must not be translated, whereas in the latter the *ne* must be given the full meaning conveyed by our word "not." This will be found true in all phrases in which *ne* appears without *pas* or other word to complete the negative sense: either *ne* has no meaning for the English translator or it has the full force of a negative. But translation is notoriously treason, and the feeling, common to all who know the relation of *ne* to Latin *non*, viz., that *ne* ought to mean "not," is by no means necessarily the feeling of the Frenchman who utters the word. Does the Frenchman, in using *ne* without *pas*, attach to it the meaning of our word "not," or does he consider it a purely superfluous word and without signification?

When the French say, *rentrez avant qu'il ne pleuve*, we cannot suppose that they feel themselves to be saying, "come in before it does *not* rain." We choose rather to assume that in such a case the *ne* must be meaningless. When, however, we take a sentence like *il n'y avait pas d'homme qui ne fût découragé*, the unmistakable negative force of the *ne* in the relative clause compels us to conclude that *ne* has yet too much power to be passed over as quite devoid of meaning in any combination of words whatever. It is of no service in the search for the true influence of *ne* when used alone to say that *avant qu'il ne pleuve* is the result of a confusion of ideas, or that the clause *qui ne fût découragé* is due to a disinclination to repeat the word *pas* of the principal clause. To the writer it seems likely that no inconsist-

ency in these two sentences is now felt by the French, for the reason that to them *ne*, when used without *pas* or other form of "complementary negative," has merely the office of suggesting a negative idea without actually positing it. To attempt an elucidation let us take the principal constructions in which *ne* appears without a "complementary negative," and let us investigate their respective meanings.

Such a sentence as *dites le lui avant qu'il ne sorte* has strictly, according to many grammarians, a purpose of prevention: "tell him so before he goes out" (*that he may not go out*). The office of *ne* is here merely to *suggest* the negative notion. Again, *ren-trez avant qu'il ne pleuve*, although a sentence which might omit the *ne*, is perfectly correct French as it stands. Here there is no chance of preventing anything. The *ne* serves to indicate the presence of another idea, viz., that *it shall not be raining when the person spoken to comes in*. In other words, the thought of the speaker is double, "come in before it rains" and "come in when it shall not yet be raining." Such an expression as *avant qu'il ne pleuve pas* would be complete confusion, but the phrase with *ne* alone is not confused nor confusing, because it contains, so to speak, but the *shadow of a negation*, not the negation itself.

The well-defined use of *ne* in clauses depending upon verbs and expressions denoting apprehension is another example of the particle's peculiar office and peculiar meaning in everyday French. We say *on craint qu'un accident ne soit arrivé*. What is really feared in this case? *Que l'accident soit arrivé*. But the hope which human nature always finds to counterbalance a fear leads to the introduction of the word *ne*. It is hoped that the accident may not have happened, and the *ne*, which does not express a complete negation, serves to indicate the existence of an idea which is in no wise contradictory of the real signification of the phrase, but which may well be coexistent with it. Here again, then, the force of *ne* is merely suggestively negative. The construction is due, if we please, to a confusion of ideas, but its toleration in modern French is due to the faint shade of a negation to which *ne* has been reduced. It seems to the writer that no refutation of this reasoning is to be found in the fact that expres-

sions of fear, dread, apprehension, and the like, *when negative themselves*, do not admit of the presence of *ne* in the dependent clause. In such cases there is no coexistent notion of hope.

It might be asked here why verbs meaning "doubt," "deny," "prevent," and "avoid" should show such differences in regard to the presence of *ne* in the dependent clause. There is no obvious answer to the question. In some cases the French has preserved the use of a word of negation in the subordinate proposition, and in others it has not. That it has preserved it at all is due to the peculiar character assumed by *ne*, which has permitted this survival, but not compelled it. As a matter of fact, *douter* when affirmative is not followed by *ne* in the dependent clause; but we must say, for instance, *ils ne doutent point que nous ne soyons riches*. Here the *ne* in the dependent part of the sentence serves merely to hint at the idea coexistent in the speaker's mind, namely, "they do not, in their doubt, believe that we are not rich." So also in the case of *nier*, we say, *je nie qu'ils soient généreux*, because the French custom is to express such a thought directly and to admit no implication. When, however, *nier* itself is taken negatively the implication due to association of ideas in pairs of opposites is seen, and *ne* appears in the dependent clause to mark its presence. *Empêcher*, "to prevent," throws light upon the question with the same revelation as to the function of the negative particle when used alone in the dependent clause: *vous empêchez que les autres ne parlent; n'empêchez pas que nos amis ne sortent*. In each example the double character which the second *ne* gives to the sentence is unmistakable. Preventing the doing of something is really compelling someone *not* to do that thing; hence the negative tinge of the second half of each phrase, which the *ne* serves to impart.

To take one more example of usage of this kind, let us notice the function of *ne* expletive with a compound past tense in expressions which have to do with lapse of time. *Il y a deux mois que je ne l'ai vu* must be turned into English either by neglecting entirely the *ne* or by making it equivalent to our word "not." We consider that we translate the sentence when we say, "It is two months since I *have seen* him," or, "I *have not seen* him

for two months," but neither of our phrases alone gives the exact force of the original. A combination of the two might do so, were it possible to combine them. In the example cited the French partly say that "there are two months that I have not seen him," but the survival in this typical formula of *ne* without a second negative word, *pas*, leaves room for the implication "two months ago I saw him, however." We may pass over the similar construction found in such a proposition as *je ne l'ai vu depuis deux mois*, as merely one more instance of the peculiar influence of *ne* in the phrase. The inference that the speaker has seen the person in question as recently as two months ago is not only permissible, as indeed it would be if the words ran *je ne l'ai pas vu depuis deux mois*, but by the absence of the "completing negative" the inference is forced into the character of an inevitable implication. *Je ne l'ai vu depuis deux mois* would be a falsehood if the speaker had not seen the person referred to two months before. *Je ne l'ai pas vu depuis deux mois* might be truth even if he had never seen him.

It is clear—for the simplest experiments will show it—that *ne* alone is not sufficient to render a proposition fully negative. Does not the single word *ne* as employed nowadays sometimes do more than make the implied affirmative admissible; i. e., does it not make such affirmative inevitable? Certainly there are cases besides the one just cited in which the *ne* unaccompanied by *pas* seems to possess that power.

To consider one of these cases, we may ask, if one might say *il n'y avait pas un homme qui ne fût pas effrayé*, why does one say *qui ne fût effrayé*? Most probably because today the presence of *ne* as it stands, unaided, in the dependent clause calls attention, as *ne . . . pas* in the same clause would not do, to the real affirmative meaning of the sentence, viz., that every man without exception was terrified—a proposition which the negative form renders more forcible.

The instances bearing on this question might be multiplied, but one or two more must suffice. The phrase *si je ne me trompe* is as common as any similar formula in modern French. Can its conservation of *ne* without *pas* be looked upon as anything more

than a purposeless survival? It seems as if the *ne* so used has a function which *ne . . . pas* would not fulfil. The expression as we have it undoubtedly means more than *si je ne me trompe pas*; its force is rather *à moins que je ne me trompe*, i. e., "unless I am mistaken (*yet I may be mistaken*).” This last thought is not to be avoided when *si je ne me trompe* is deliberately used instead of *si je ne me trompe pas*. Examples of the same use of *ne* with other verbs, after *si* introducing the same kind of a conditional clause, are to be found in recent French both spoken and written.

As another case let us notice the office of *ne* in the rhetorical question. *Que ne le dites-vous franchement?* "why do you not say so frankly?" is not equivalent to a question that requires an answer. That would be *pourquoi ne le dites-vous pas franchement?* the negative being fully expressed. The use of *ne* as an incomplete negative after the interrogative *que* seems to have been retained in order that the positive exhortation which the question implies, *dites-le franchement*, may be present as an inevitable suggestion. The sentence with *pourquoi* followed by *ne . . . pas* is an inquiry which may indicate a course of action as well as demand a reply; but *que ne le dites vous?* means, first and foremost, encouragement; secondarily and remotely, it calls perhaps for an explanation of failure to adopt the counsel offered. Here, as before, the *ne* standing alone is merely an innuendo of a negative. It not only does not exclude the inferential affirmative idea, but it would seem to compel its recognition. So, also, in *qui n'a ses défauts?* the *ne* has been unconsciously retained, without *pas*, because the intention is really to present the idea that we *all have* our failings. An inspection of the phrases given in any standard French grammar under the head of the negative adverb will serve to confirm these remarks.

To sum up, it may be said that the particle *ne*, in its steadily diminishing force as a word denoting negation, has reached a point where its presence unaided by a complementary negative word indicates the affirmation of a proposition coexistent in mental association, but not verbally formulated.

Perhaps this incomplete presentation of a phenomenon which

the writer has never seen discussed may lead to the shedding of further light by persons whose familiarity with languages other than the French has enabled them to quote analogous peculiarities. Meyer-Lübke (Vol. III, chap. 5) notes that "the distinction, so important for the Latin, between *non* and *ne*, i. e., between the simple negation and *repulsion*, was lost" in the Romance, and that *ne* Latin was replaced solely by *non*. Has not the French, by the general adoption of the type *ne . . . pas*, restored in a measure this distinction of the parent tongue, and given to *ne* the lesser office abolished in Romance?

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THE SOURCES OF BEN JONSON'S VOLPONE.

WILLIAM GIFFORD, in his edition of Ben Jonson's works in 1816, pointed out similarities between certain portions of *Volpone* and passages in Petronius Arbiter.¹ Following up this suggestion, F. Holthausen² seeks to show "dass der englische dichter die idee und mehrere episoden seines dramas dem satirischen schelmenroman des alten Römers verdankt." Koeppel³ likewise refers the plot of *Volpone* to the *Satyricon* of Petronius. No one, so far as I can learn, has suggested any other possible source.

But those who have assigned the source of *Volpone* to the *Satyricon* have overlooked, it seems to me, another version of the same story, presenting the same plot, and closer in its details to the English play. This story is found in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, Nos. V-IX (and, as a supplement to No. VIII, No. XI).⁴ It may be easily seen that, though different names are employed, the dialogues all refer to the same character, and in the order in which the author has placed them, they tell a complete story. This story is as follows:

A wealthy, childless old man is besieged by legacy-hunters. To increase his already large fortune, he slyly urges them on in their gifts: (1) by pretending to be older than he really is; (2) by coughing a great deal, and, whenever one of the suitors comes into his presence, seeming to be just ready to embark on Charon's boat; and (3) by declaring to each in succession that he has just made the will in his favor. Three suitors, in particular, are brought out and mentioned by name. One wears himself to death with sheer anxiety; the second tries to bribe the old man's faithful servant to administer poison, and so hasten matters; the

¹ See *Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. CUNNINGHAM (3 vols., London, 1897), Vol. I, p. 338, n. 3; p. 342, n. 3.

² In an article, "Die Quelle von Ben Jonson's Volpone," *Anglia*, Vol. XII, pp. 519-25.

³ In his *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, John Marston's, und Beaumont's und Fletcher's*.

⁴ Between the first edition of LUCIAN in 1475 and the writing of *Volpone* there appeared no less than seventy-five editions, in whole or in part, of the Greek satirist.

third thinks it a fine stroke of policy to register in public his will, in which he makes the old man his heir, hoping that the old gentleman, moved by such a mark of affection, would emulate his example and do the same. Each in the end is brought to distress. Finally, when the old man himself comes to die, he has the laugh on all his plotting suitors by making a true will, leaving all his property to a favorite young slave, who at once rides out and is received by the authorities as "more nobly born than Kodrus, handsomer than Nireus, and more prudent than Odysseus."

The incident in Petronius occupies but a few paragraphs in a long narrative of amorous adventures. As Professor Holthausen points out, it could have suggested in a general way the plot of *Volpone*. But there are no close resemblances of phrase or thought, no "hallmarks," so to speak, which show clearly that Jonson had this particular narrative in view rather than any other presenting the same story.

On the other hand, the account in Lucian could just as easily have supplied the plot; and I shall try to show reasonable evidence that it did.

Jonson was thoroughly familiar with Lucian, and he frequently went to him for material. In *Cynthia's Revels* he refers to him by name:¹ Act I, scene 1, of the same play is borrowed with slight change from the *Dialogues of the Gods*;² the purging of the playwright in the *Poetaster* comes from *Lexiphanes*; *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* takes material freely from the dialogue *Icara-Menippus*;³ and there is more or less decided borrowing in other of Jonson's works.⁴

Moreover, in writing *Volpone* itself, Jonson (who seems to have

¹ *Cri.* That's to be argued, Amorphus, if we may credit Lucian, who, in his *Encomio Demosthenis*, affirms he never drunk but water in any of his compositions.

Amo. Lucian is absurd; he knew nothing: I will believe mine own travels before all the Lucians of Europe. He doth feed you with fittous, figments and leasings.

Cri. Indeed, I think, next a traveller, he does prettily well.

² *Dialogues*, Nos. VII and XXIV.

³ Jonson's indebtedness to Lucian in this masque has not been pointed out, so far as I know.

⁴ Most of these borrowings have been noted by Upton or Whalley.

re-accept
on scene

written the play in a hurry¹) goes straight to Lucian for material. The masque presented by Nano, Castrone, and Androgyno in Act I, scene 1, is taken wholly from Lucian's *Dream*; the monologue of the parasite, Act III, scene 1, the reader of Lucian will at once recognize as inspired by the dialogue *Parasitism as an Art*;² two proverbial sayings are taken from the Greek writer; and the remarks on gold, Act V, scene 1, are taken with little change from the *Dream*.³

Mosca:

Why, your gold

Is such another med'cine, it dries up
All those offensive savours: it transforms
The most deformed, and restores them lovely,
As 'twere the strange poetical girdle. Jove
Could not invent t'himself a shroud more subtle
To pass Acrisius' guards . . .

Lucian, in the *Dream*, speaking of gold, says:

You see what a world of good gold accomplishes, since, like the famous girdle the poets sing about, it transforms the ugly and makes them attractive. . . . Whereas the father of all men and gods, when in his youth he fell in love with that famous maiden of Argolis, having nothing more lovely into which he might transform himself, nor knowing how he could corrupt the watch set by Acrisius—of course you've heard how he turned into gold.⁴

With such facts before us we are prepared to believe that Jonson got from Lucian as well the plot of the story.

The old man of Petronius, vagabond, philosopher, poet, with a mania for spouting bad verse, must undergo quite a transformation to become Volpone. Holthausen admits this when he says of Volpone: ". . . nur ist er nicht ein zufällig in die stadt verschlagener pechvogel, wie der dichter des Petronius, sondern ein bereits begüterter, eingesessener 'magnifico.'" But the old man of Lucian and the old man of Jonson are quite alike, and

¹ See the Prologue:

" . . . but this his creature,
Which was two months since no feature;
And though he dares give them five lives to mend it,
'Tis known, five weeks fully penned it,
From his own hand, without a coadjutor,
Novice, journeyman or tutor."

² Noted by UPTON in his *Remarks*, 1749.

³ Pointed out by Whalley.

⁴ The translation here used is that by W. D. SHELDON, *A Second Century Satirist; or, Dialogues and Stories from Lucian* (Philadelphia, 1901).

little change is necessary in worldly position, or mental or moral characteristics. Even in the physical description of the two there is a resemblance. The old man in *Dialogue VI* is described: "his nose stuffed with phlegm and his eyes with rheum;" and in *Dialogue IX*: "blear-eyed, into the bargain, and my nose stuffed with phlegm." Such disagreeable descriptions naturally stick in one's mind; accordingly, we find Volpone described by Jonson with similar phrases. Mosca says:

And from his brain
Flows a cold sweat, with a continual rheum
Forth the resolved corners of his eyes.

And again, pretending that Volpone is deaf, he shouts into his ear:

Would you once close
Those filthy eyes of yours, that flow with slime,
Like two frog pits
Corvino: His nose is like a common sewer, still running.

At the opening of the play Volpone indulges in a monologue which is intended to possess the audience with the exact state of affairs. For the purpose of comparing this with the state of affairs in Lucian, I quote the monologue in sections, inserting after each section the corresponding passage in the *Dialogues of the Dead*.¹

I have no wife, no parent, child, ally,
To give my substance to; but whom I make
Must be my heir; and this makes men observe me:
This draws new clients daily to my house,
Women and men, of every sex and age,

Dialogue V: "You know that old man, I mean the very aged and infirm fellow, the rich Eukrates, who has no children, but fifty thousand legacy-hunters."

That bring me presents, send me plate, coin, jewels,

Dialogue IX: ". . . all sorts of presents were brought to me from every corner of the earth, the most beautiful conceivable."

With hope that when I die (which they expect
Each greedy minute)

Dialogue VI: One of the suitors describes the old man as "always expecting to be just at the last gasp;" and again, "I, imagining him to be

¹The translation of the dialogues is that by HOWARD WILLIAMS, *Dialogues of Lucian*, translated (London, 1888).

almost at the next moment ready to embark upon his bier, would send him a number of things"

it shall then return

Ten-fold upon them; whilst some, covetous
Above the rest, seek to engross me whole,
And counter-work, the one unto the other,

Dialogue VI: ". . . . you the whole time were plotting against him and expecting his legacy." *V*: "And when he is ill, their designs are very evident to all."

Contend in gifts, as they would seem in love:

Dialogue IX: POLYSTRATUS [the old man]: No, but I had ten thousand lovers. SIMYLUS (holding his sides): I couldn't help laughing. *You* lovers, at your age, with four teeth in your head!

All which I suffer, playing with their hopes,
And am content to coin them into profit,
And look upon their kindness, and take more,
And look on that; still bearing them in hand,
Letting the cherry knock against their lips,
And draw it by their mouths, and back again.

Dialogue V: "But he, indeed, charmingly cheats and buoys them up with vain hopes exceedingly."

Mosca enters, bringing in the masque, which, as we have observed, is taken from Lucian's *Dream*. Then Voltore, the first suitor, knocks. Volpone at once pretends sickness.

Volpone: Loving Mosca!

'Tis well: my pillow now and let him enter.

[*Exit MOSCA.*]

Now, my feign'd cough, my phtisic, and my gout,
My apoplexy, palsy, and catarrhs,
Help, with your forced functions, this my posture,
Wherein, this three year, I have milked their hopes.
He comes; I hear him—Uh! [*coughing*] Uh! Uh! Uh! O—

Re-enter MOSCA, introducing VOLTORE with a piece of Plate.

With this compare the following from Lucian :

True, yet how many things of mine Thukrites devoured, while always seeming to be just at the last gasp, and (whenever I came into the house) groaning and croaking, in a manner in the very depths of his chest, for all the world like some unformed chicken from an egg: so that I, imagining him to be almost at the next moment ready to embark upon his bier, would send him a number of things, that my rivals in affection might not surpass me in the magnitude of their gifts.

The plate having been presented, Voltore says:

Voltore: I'm sorry,

To see you still thus weak.

Mosca [*aside*]: That he's not weaker.

Volpone: You are too munificent.

Voltore: No, sir; would to heaven,

I could as well give health to you, as that plate!

Dialogue V: ". . . and, when he is ill, their designs are very evident to all: but, all the same, they engage to offer a sacrifice if he should get better."

The suitors come one by one, and Mosca declares to each in succession that the will had just been made in his favor.

Mosca: You are his heir, sir.

Voltore: Am I? . . . But am I sole heir?

Mosca: Without a partner, sir: confirmed this morning:

The wax is warm yet, and the ink scarce dry

Upon the parchment.

Voltore: Happy, happy me!

Dialogue IX: "In public I was accustomed to declare that I had left each of them my heir; and he believed it and equipped himself with more wheedling flattery than ever."

Next come two incidents, not even hinted at in Petronius, but in Lucian constituting each a dialogue.

The first is the poison incident. In *Dialogue VII* one of the suitors, impatient at the old man's prolonged life, tries to bribe the faithful servant to administer poison and thus hasten matters. The servant appears to assent, but by skilfully changing cups poisons the suitor instead.

Corbaccio tries to persuade Mosca to give the old man a drug.

Corb: Why? I myself

Stood by while it was made, saw all the ingredients:

And know it cannot but most gently work:

My life for his, 'tis but to make him sleep.

Volp. [*aside*]: Ay, his last sleep, if he would take it.

Again, in III, 5, Corbaccio says to Mosca:

Could'st thou not give him a dram?

And in the last act, Mosca, accusing Corbaccio, says:

. . . and would have hired

Me to the poisoning of my patron, sir.

The second is the will incident. In *Dialogue VIII* the suitor Knemon says:

I was in the habit of courting and flattering Hermolaus, the millionaire, who was childless, in the expectation of his dying before me; and he admitted my courtship with no unpleasurable feeling. It appeared to me, in fact, to be a clever device, that of registering my will in public, in which I have left him all my wealth, so that he might emulate my example and do the same.

The sudden fall of the roof on his head, however, carried him off to Hades, where he is lamenting that his property had been snatched from those whom he really intended to have it. Again, in *Dialogue XI* the same theme is developed. Two very old men, each of whom expected to outlive the other, are the characters.

They used to court and wheedle one the other for the sake of the expected legacy (being of the same age), and publicly registered their wills; Moerichus, if he should die first, leaving Aristeas master of all his property, and Aristeas Moerichus, should he predecease the other.

Corbaccio and Volpone are supposed to be about the same age; Mosca refers to them as "two old rotten sepulchres;" but Corbaccio, of course, believes that he will outlast Volpone.

Corb: Excellent! Excellent! sure I shall outlast him.

With Corbaccio in this frame of mind, Mosca says to him, I, 1:

Mosca: Now would I counsel you, make home with speed;
There, frame a will; whereto you shall inscribe
My master your sole heir.

Corb: And disinherit
My son!

Mosca: O, sir, the better: for that colour
Shall make it much more taking.

Corb: O, but colour?

Mosca: This will, sir, you shall send it unto me.
Now, when I come to inforce, as I will do,
Your cares, your watchings, and your many prayers,
Your more than many gifts, your this day's present,
And last, produce your Will; where, without thought
Or least regard unto your proper issue,
A son so brave, and highly meriting,
The stream of your diverted love hath thrown you
Upon my master, and made him your heir:
He cannot be so stupid, or stone-dead,
But out of conscience, and mere gratitude—

Corb: He must pronounce me his?

In connection with this will incident there is an interesting parallelism of metaphor. Knemon, in Hades, is complaining to a friend and says:

Now Hermolaus [the old man] holds my property like some sea-wolf, and *has snatched away the hook with the bait*.¹

When Corbaccio hurries out to do Mosca's bidding, the parasite turns to Volpone and says:

Contain

Your flux of laughter, sir: you know this hope
Is such a bait, it covers any hook.

In *Dialogue V* Pluto says to Hermes, in regard to the old man:

Let him live on, Hermes; to the ninety years he has already reached dealing out so many more again, and, if, at least, it were possible, even yet more. But as for those fawning flatterers . . .

And in *Dialogue VI* Pluto says:

Well done, Thukrites; may you live to the longest possible period, at once rich and having the laugh against such gentlemen.

Mosca expresses the very same wish:

Mosca: And that when I am lost in blended dust,
And hundreds such as I am, in succession —

Volp.: Nay, that were too much, Mosca.

Mosca: You shall live,
Still to delude these harpies.

Volpone's idea of making out a true will in favor of his parasite, Mosca, in order to have the laugh on all his fawning suitors, was doubtless suggested by *Dialogue IX*. The old man, in Hades, is talking to a friend:

Polystratus: . . . but all the time, I held in my possession the other my real will, and left it behind me, with an injunction to one and all of them to go to the devil.

Simylus: And whom did your last will contain as your heir? Some one of your own family, I presume?

Polystratus: By heaven, no, but a certain recently-purchased handsome boy, a Phrygian.

The further scheme of having Mosca, already publicly declared the heir, go forth through the streets in Volpone's habit of a *clarissimo*, splendid in his newly acquired wealth, was possibly sug-

¹ καὶ νῦν Ἑρμόλαος ἔχει τὰμὰ ὥσπερ τις λάβραξ καὶ τὸ ἀγκιστρον τῷ δελέατι συγκατασπᾶσας.

gested by two passages in the *Dream*, from which, as we have pointed out, Jonson was borrowing. Micyllus, the cobbler, having dreamed that he was suddenly left the sole heir to a certain rich old man, is relating his dream:

When I rode out in a carriage, with a span of white horses, with my head proudly thrown back, the cynosure of all eyes, and the object of their envy. A crowd ran ahead or led the way on horseback and more lagged on behind. Clad in the old gentleman's clothing, and wearing some sixteen massive rings upon my fingers

So likewise, in the same piece, Simon the beggar, suddenly left heir to a rich childless old man:

rides out dressed in purple and scarlet, and has servants and carriages and golden beakers and tables with ivory feet, and receives the homage of all. . . . To crown all, the ladies are in love with him already, whereas he gives himself airs in their presence. . . .

In *Dialogue IX* the recently purchased slave, left as heir, is thus spoken of by Polystratus:

But, however, he was much more worthy to be my heir than they, even though he was a foreigner and a plague: whom even the great people themselves are already courting. He, then, was my heir, and now he is received among the nobles of the land (shaved though his chin was, and though he did not know a word of Greek), and is proclaimed to be more nobly born than Kodrus, handsomer than Nireus, and more prudent than Odysseus.

Mosca is similarly received by the avocatori at the trial,

4 *Avoc.*: We have done ill, by a public officer
To send for him, if he be heir.

3 *Avoc.*: 'Tis true
He is a man of great estate, now left.

4 *Avoc.*: Go you, and learn his name, and say the court
Entreats his presence here, but to the clearing
Of some few doubts. [Exit Notary.

* * * * *

4 *Avoc.*: Here come's the gentleman; make him way.

Enter Mosca.

3 *Avoc.*: A stool.

4 *Avoc.*: A proper man; and were Volpone dead
A fit match for my daughter. [Aside.

3 *Avoc.*: Give him way.

To Petronius Holthausen assigns the source of the incident of

Corvino's offering his beautiful and chaste wife, Celia, for the healing of Volpone. The following is the passage in Petronius:¹

Matrona inter primas honesta, Philomela nomine, quae multas saepe hereditates officio aetatis extorserat, tum anus et floris extincti, filium filiamque ingerebat orbis senibus, et per hanc successionem artem suam perseverabat extendere. ea ergo ad Eumolpum venit et commendare liberos suos eius prudentiae bonitatisque . . . credere se et vota sua. illum esse solum in toto orbe terrarum, qui praeceptis etiam salubribus instruere juvenes quotidie posset. ad summum, relinquere se pueros in domo Eumolpi, ut illum loquentem audirent . . . quae sola posset hereditas juvenibus dari. nec aliter fecit ac dixerat, filiamque speciosissimam cum fratre ephebo in cubiculo reliquit simulavitque se in templum ire ad vota nuncupanda. Eumolpus, qui tam frugi erat ut illi etiam ego puer viderer, non distulit puellam invitare ad pigiciaca sacra. sed et prodagicum se esse lumborumque soluturum omnibus dixerat, et si non servasset integram simulationem, periclitabatur totam paene tragoediam evertere. . . .

According to Holthausen, Philomela is changed to the merchant Corvino, and the children to Celia.

Upton, it seems to me, pointed out the real source of this incident in his *Remarks*, 1749. He refers it to the *Satires* of Horace, II, 5. Horace, we hardly need say, was Jonson's favorite author; a glance at the notes collected by Gifford will show how frequently in this very play the dramatist went to the *Satires*. Moreover, this particular satire (II, 5) treats the same theme that *Volpone* does, and hence would naturally come to Jonson's mind. Ulysses visits Tiresias to ask how he may recuperate his lost fortune. Tiresias advises him to find some rich old man who has no children and make diligent suit to him by sending him presents, etc., very much as in Lucian. And then:

Tiresias: . . . scortator erit? cave te roget: ultro

Penelopen facilis potiori trade.

Ulysses:

Putasne,

Perduci, poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,

Quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?

To this as the suggestion add (as Holthausen) the account of the aged King David in 1 Kings 1:1-5, and we have a simple explanation of the source.

¹*Petronii Satiriae et liber Priapeorum*, FRANCISCUS BUECHELER (Berolini, 1882), p. 106; 140.

Holthausen also thinks that the name Corvino was probably suggested to Jonson by the picture in Petronius of Crotona, represented as

oppidum tanquam in pestilentia campos, in quibus nihil aliud est nisi cadavera, quae lacerantur, aut *corvi* qui lacerant.

But this same satire of Horace's could as readily have suggested the name:

plerumque recoctus
Scriba ex quinqueviro *corvum* deludet hiantem.

The reference, of course, is to the well-known fable of "The Crow and the Fox;" and that Jonson really had this fable in mind is shown by several passages.

Volpone: Methinks

Yet, you, that are so traded in the world,
A witty merchant, the fine bird, Corvino,
That have such moral emblems on your name,
Should not have sung your shame, and dropt your cheese,
To let the Fox laugh at your emptiness.

From this satire may have come also the suggestion of making one of Volpone's suitors a lawyer, who defends his case in court.

Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim;
Vivet uter locuples sine gnatis, improbus ultro
Qui meliorem audax vocet in jus, illius esto
Defensor: fama civem causaque priorem
Sperne, domi si gnatus erit, foecundave conjux.
Quinte, puta, aut Publi, (gaudent praenomine molles
Auriculae,) tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum:
Jus anceps novi; causas defendere possum:
Eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te
Contentum quassa nuce pauperet

But when we begin to trace classical borrowings in Jonson, we must set a limit; and the limit of this paper has been reached. It was my purpose merely to point out one of the sources of *Volpone* that heretofore has been overlooked by students of Ben Jonson.

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THE BALLAD OF LORD BAKEMAN.

THERE has come into my hands recently¹ a humble but very interesting little volume of British and American ballads. The first fifty pages and an unknown number at the end are lost, as well as title-page and cover, so that the title and the date and place of publication can be only conjectured. The pages ($2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size) have the running head *Popular Songs*, which was no doubt the title. The date is some time after 1835, for one of the pieces contains that date:

In the month of February, 1835,
She to the port of London in the Sarah did arrive.

That it is an American compilation is abundantly proved by the contents. It contains "The Taxation of America," several pieces celebrating American victories in the War of 1812, and a mournful ballad about Sarah Maria Cornell and the wicked parson Avery, telling us of the latter that

Now in Rhode Island, bound is he,
In May, to await his destiny.

The facts that only inland victories of the War of 1812 are celebrated and that the Mexican War is not mentioned seem to indicate that it was published in the inland states, and not much later than 1835. It has evidently seen hard service in the state of Missouri, where it has been for at least a generation, and perhaps ever since it was printed. I should be very glad if anyone could supply the title-page of the book. The Congressional Library was unable to identify it. The page-numbering is probably a sufficient mark to know it by; the ballad of "Sarah Maria Cornell" begins on p. 195.

The contents are for the most part of the broadside or what Child calls the "vulgar ballad" character, quite innocent of any literary touch, with the exception of two or three pieces. One of these is Holmes's "Ballad of the Oysterman," which seems to have acquired an early and genuine popularity, being printed here within a few years after its composition, and with variations that

¹ Through the kindness of Mr. W. S. Johnson, of Tuscumbia, Mo.

point conclusively to oral transmission. For the rest, the range of subject and of age is considerable, but there is hardly any range of tone. From "Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor" to "Fannie Blair," from "The Men of Kent" and "The London 'Prentice" to "The New York Trader" and "The Female Sailor," all are thoroughly of the people and for the people. Among them is a version of "Young Beichan"¹ differing in some respects from any of the versions given by Child.

Child printed as the modern "vulgar" form of "Young Beichan" the "Ballad of Lord Bateman": (1) in Vol. I, p. 476, from a London print of 1839 illustrated by Cruikshank; (2) in Vol. II, p. 508, from a broadside of Pitts of Seven Dials. The two are essentially the same, Child having printed in Vol. I from the Cruikshank copy because he had neglected to secure a broadside, and then printing from the broadside in the "Additions and Corrections" to Vol. II. Finally, in the closing "Additions and Corrections," Vol. V, p. 220, he has this note: "For the modern vulgar ballad, Catnach's is a better copy than that of Pitts. See Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, p. 34 for Catnach." Catnach's form of the ballad I have not seen, but if so careful an editor as Child did not find it worth collating with the forms he had already printed, it is no doubt essentially identical with them. Child seems to have found no trace of this ballad in America.

The copy in *Popular Songs* is more nearly akin to the English broadsides than to the other versions given by Child, but it differs from them in several particulars. Poetically it is of the same class, though a rather better specimen of the class. It is more primitive, simpler. The heroine "round her waist has diamond strings," the hero breaks, not his sword, but "the table in pieces three." In these points it agrees with Child's versions from oral tradition, not with the broadside. But the significant difference is in the loss of traditional localization. As Professor Morf says,² "das historische Volkslied ist in steter Umbildung begriffen, und in immer weitere Ferne tritt hinter ihm das geschichtliche Ereignis zurück, um schliesslich unseren Augen

¹ CHILD'S *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 53, Vol. I.

² *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CXI (1903), p. 122.

völlig zu entschwinden." All marks of British locality are gone in the American version. Lord Bakeman (a form of the name not recorded by Child, and slightly nearer to the Scotch Beichan than is the broadside form, Bateman) is a grandee neither of London nor of Northumberland, but of India. The whole story, loosed from its English moorings, has been attracted to the Orient. Susan Pye of the Scotch versions (possibly a corruption of some oriental name remembered from the time of the Crusades; the broadside had Sophia), is changed to simple Susannah, most likely by association with the biblical character of that name. Released from prison, Lord Bakeman returns to India, and it is at his palace in a city street in India that Susannah finds him. The old historical distinction between "cristendom and hethenesse" is obliterated completely (as it is also in Child's C version, which, however, keeps "Young Bekie" English—lord of "the bonny towrs o Linne). The only exception is the "marble stones" of stanza 25, which stands for the "fountain stane" of Child's A, E, i. e., the baptismal font. The English broadside has lost every trace of this element of the original story, and is by so much farther removed than the American version from the primitive ballad. But it is highly improbable that American hearers or reciters knew the original intention of the passage. Even English social institutions are forgotten or misunderstood. Lord Bakeman's houses, not his kin, are now said to be "of high degree." Like corruptions are to be found in most of the old English ballads still sung in this part of the United States, of which there are a good many, though, so far as I have been able to learn, "Young Beichan" is not one of them.

Inasmuch as "Lord Bakeman" differs in details of language and arrangement, and to some extent of matter, from any of the versions printed by Child, I give a copy of it here.

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LORD BAKEMAN.¹

1. In India lived a noble lord,
His riches was beyond compare,
He was the darling of his parents,
And of their estate an only heir.
2. He had gold and he had silver,
And he had houses of high degree,
But still he never could be contented,
Until a voyage he had been to sea.
3. He sailed east, and he sailed west,
Until he came to the Turkish shore,
Where he was taken and put in prison,
Where he could neither see nor hear.
4. For seven long months he lay lamenting,
He laid lamenting in iron bands,
There happening to see a brisk young lady
Who set him free from his iron chains.
5. The jailor had one only daughter,
A brisk young lady gay was she,
As she was walking across the floor,
She chanced lord Bakeman for to see.
6. She stole the keys of her father's prison,
And said lord Bakeman she would set free,
She went into the prison door,
And opened it without delay.
7. Have you got gold or have you got silver?
Have you got houses of high degree?
What will you give to the fair lady,
If she from bondage will set you free?
8. Yes, I've got gold, and I've got silver,
And I've got houses of high degree,
I'll give them all to the fair lady,
If she from bondage set me free.
9. It's not your silver nor your gold,
Nor yet your houses of high degree,
All that I want to make me happy,
And all I crave is your fair body.
10. Let us make a bargain, and make it strong,
For seven long years it shall stand,
For you shall not wed no other woman,
Nor I'll not wed no other man.
11. When seven long years were gone and past,
When seven long years were at an end,
She packed up all her richest clothing,
Saying, now I'll go and seek my friend.
12. She sailed east, she sailed west,
Until she came to the Indian shore,
And there she never could be contented,
Till for her true love she did enquire.
13. She did enquire for lord Bakeman's palace
At every corner of the street,
She enquired after lord Bakeman's palace,
Of every person she chanced to meet.
14. And when she came to lord Bakeman's palace
She knocked so loud upon the ring,
There's none so ready as the brisk young porter
To rise and let this fair lady in.

¹ *Popular Songs*, pp. 171-74

15. She asked if this was lord Bake-
man's palace,
Or is the lord himself within?
Yes, yes, replied the brisk young
porter,
He and his bride have just
entered in.
16. She wept, she wept, and rung
her hands,
Crying, alas! I am undone;
I wish I was in my native country,
Across the seas there to remain.
17. Ask him to send me one ounce of
bread,
And a bottle of his wine so strong,
Ask him if he's forgot the lady,
That set him free from his iron
chains.
18. The porter went unto his master,
And bowed low upon his knees,
Arise, arise, my brisk young porter,
And tell me what the matter is.
19. There is a lady stands at your
gate,
And she doth weep most bitterly.
I think she is as fine a creature,
As ever I wish my eyes to see.
20. She's got more rings on her four
fingers,
And round her waist has diamond
strings,
She's got more gold about her
clothing,
Than your new bride and all her
kin.
21. She wants you to send one ounce
of bread,
And a bottle of your wine so
strong,
And asks if you have forgot the
lady,
That set you free from your prison
chains.
22. He stamp'd his foot upon the
floor,
He broke the table in pieces, three,
Here's adieu to you my wedded
bride,
For this fair lady I will go and see.
23. Then up spoke his new bride's
mother,
And she was a lady of high degree,
'Tis you have married my only
daughter,
Well she is none the worse for me.
24. But since my fair one has arrived,
A second wedding there shall be;
Your daughter came on a horse
and saddle,
She may return in a coach and
three.
25. He took this fair lady by the hand,
And led her over the marble
stones;
He changed her name from Su-
sannah fair,
And she now is the wife of lord
Bakeman.
26. He took her by her lilly white
hand,
And led her through from room
to room,
He changed her name from Su-
sannah fair,
And she is called the wife of lord
Bakeman.



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THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN FORMS OF THE LETTERS OF OUR ALPHABET

WITH A PLEA FOR PURE PALÆOGRAPHY.

It has often seemed to me that the study of the art of writing *an und für sich*, of pure palæography as opposed to applied palæography, if one may use those expressions to indicate two different methods of investigating the art of writing, is sadly neglected. This will be apparent, I think, if we call to mind the end or ends toward which our study of palæography is directed, and the work which we actually do in this field. Our first object in pursuing the subject is to learn how to expand abbreviations, and to read the common scripts—this for the purpose of acquiring some facility in simply reading an original MS. Then we study the shapes which the several letters, or combinations of letters, take in different periods and countries; we examine the scribal practices of different schools in the matter of using initials and ornaments, and we learn something about the history of ink, papyrus, parchment, and paper, about the division of the page into columns, and about other similar matters, so that, when we take up a MS, we may form an intelligent opinion on the question when and where it was written. We try to acquire some acuteness in distinguishing different inks and the hands of different correctors; in diagnosing the scribal weaknesses and the besetting sins of a given copyist; in noting the points at which he has evidently gone astray, either on account of his own ignorance of Latin or his unfamiliarity with the script which he was copying,

or because the text before him was illegible. Our purpose here, of course, is to get back as near as possible to his archetype—to the text which he was trying to follow.

The same process, some steps only of which have been here indicated, we follow with another MS, and then another, until we have covered all those which are available. Thereupon we make a comparative survey of them all; we reject those MSS which are worthless for the purpose in hand; we arrange the rest in family groups on the basis of common ancestry, and we determine the comparative value of the several families and the members of each family. From these results we proceed to reconstruct a text which shall represent as nearly as possible that left by Cicero or Livy.

All this is necessary, and one may freely recognize the fact that the primary value of palæography lies, and should lie, in its use in restoring a text, but it is unfortunate that we should stop at this point in our study of it. It is unfortunate that we should give almost all our attention to the study of applied palæography, and very, very little to the investigation of pure palæography. We have handbooks and collections of facsimiles which give us this working knowledge of the science of writing which I have described above; the introductions to our classical texts and our classical journals give us collations of MSS and papers based upon the application of palæography to difficult passages in a text; but one very rarely sees discussions of palæographical questions dissociated from their practical application in restoring a text, and yet as a pure science palæography furnishes a discipline which in some respects can hardly be excelled.

Furthermore, handwriting in its development, like all the other arts, reflects the temper and tastes of a period, the characteristics of a race, a nation, a school of learning, or an individual, in a most illuminating fashion. We study every other art historically and for its intrinsic value, and we consider the art of a given period as an expression of the temper of the times. In other words, we study its development in the light of contemporary social and political history. The art of writing has not the importance for us which literature, or pictorial art, or

architecture has, but it has an independent value, and deserves to be studied for itself; and the method of study which is applied to the other arts is equally applicable in this field. In the case of palæography, when a script is so novel in form, or when a change in style is so extraordinary, that it challenges even a languid attention, we may stop for a minute to consider its historical setting. The script of Tours, for instance, by its extraordinary beauty and symmetry, or later Roman cursive or Merovingian texts by their complex awkwardness, may call so loudly for an explanation of their existence that we make some effort to find one; but we rarely stop to consider how the social or political changes of a period, or the characteristics of a nation or a race, are reflected in handwriting, or to ask ourselves through what stages *ARMAVIRVMQVE* developed into *arma virumque*, and how and why the successive changes took place.

We rarely bring the script of the *Aufschriften* into vital relation with that of the *Inschriften*, or try to estimate the influence of the book hand and the diplomatic hand upon each other. Our study of the three scripts is carried only to the point where it will be of service in reading and interpreting inscriptions, classical manuscripts, and documents, respectively.

To come back to what was said before, we content ourselves with the bare facts of palæography, in so far as they are of practical use in text-reconstruction. The case would be the same in the field of syntax, if we contented ourselves with such a knowledge of the inflectional forms and their meanings as would enable us to read Greek, Latin, or German, but took no interest in finding out how one syntactical relation developed out of another. Syntax, like palæography, is of most value for the service which it renders in another field than its own, but that fact does not by any means rob historical syntax or historical palæography of its own peculiar and independent interest, and the mere arrangement of phenomena in the correct chronological order, which is all that our treatises on palæography attempt, does not make the study of that subject historical any more than a similar method of studying grammatical constructions constitutes historical syntax.

This is a long introduction for a short paper, but it may be excused in part by the fact that one of the purposes of the paper is to illustrate the value of pure palæography by a brief and modest excursus into that field.

The point which I wish to present in it is that in the development of writing the working of the principles of evolution is shown more fully and more simply than in any one of the biological sciences, and that proposition I should like to illustrate from the history of certain letters. The letters which have been selected for the purpose are: A, B, D, G, H, N, Q, and R. It will be most convenient to begin with Q, because the development of that letter is simplest.

The theory of evolution as applied to biology starts with the fact that, given a single species at the outset, nature tends to produce in course of time new representatives of that species which differ slightly from the original type. This is exactly what happened in the evolution of the letter Q. The form which we find in the earliest Latin inscriptions is a circle, or an oval approaching very closely to a circle, with a tangential affix drawn horizontally to the right from the bottom of the circle (Q). This primitive type threw off as variants the three main varieties Q, Q, and Q. The first two of these gave rise to the sub-varieties Q and Q, in which the tail was in some cases so prolonged as to extend under three or four of the letters to the right.

Let us look first at those forms in which the point of contact between the affix and the circumference of the ellipse was pushed along the base of the curve toward the left. Out of variant No. 1 developed next a form in which the pendant was drawn downwards, viz., Q, and this form gave rise to such modifications as Q, Q, and P, and ultimately to what is essentially a new type, J, with the affix drawn downward to the left. Variant No. 3 became one of the accepted forms of the initial, and gave rise to our capital Q, so called. Next to J stands Q, in which the stroke has reached the lower left-hand corner of the oval. This is the farthest point to which it went in its progress to the left.

Now let us return to the original type, **Q**, and follow the affix in its advance in the opposite direction, that is, upward along the circumference. We find the pendant first starting at various points between the base-line and the top of the circle, **Q** and **Q**, until finally it reaches the top of the circle in the typical form **Q**, which, in turn, threw off a number of subvarieties, **Q**, **Q**, **Q**, **Q**, **Q**, and **Q**. I ought to say in passing that all of these forms have been arranged, not in chronological order, but in the order of development; that is, an attempt has been made to connect each form with its immediate graphical ancestor, so to speak, and not with the form which happens to precede it chronologically in extant inscriptions or manuscripts. In this way, although the ends of the series, like **Q** or **Q**, in which the stroke starts from the left-hand side and is perpendicular, or in which the circle has become essentially a horizontal line, seem very far removed from the primitive form **Q**, the connecting links make the line of descent apparent. I have ventured to say above that the working of the Darwinian principles is shown more clearly and more intelligibly in the development of writing than in the field of biology. That statement is substantiated, it seems to me, by interpreting the facts which we have just noted. The biologist accepts the variation of species as a scientific truth, but he can offer no adequate explanation of it. The factors which come into play are so many and so elusive, and the possible combinations of them so numerous, that finite intelligence cannot yet, at least, take them all into account. In dealing with the development of writing the cause of the variation is reasonably clear. These graphical variants which we have been examining are the intended productions of the individual copyist. They reflect his temperament, or a conscious purpose or an unconscious tendency on his part. If you push the investigation a step farther back, and ask why he had such a temperament, or showed a given desire, or followed a certain tendency, we cannot give a complete answer, and yet, as our investigation proceeds, I think we shall be able to find the motives which controlled his action, and so gave rise to the development of all these forms. Thus far we have seen how the first great principle, the tendency to vary the

original type, worked itself out in the development of the letter Q.

The second truth established by Darwin and others in this connection is that, given an original type and several varieties, that variety or those varieties which are fittest to survive *will* survive. What factors determine the fitness to survive of a graphical form? They are in the main legibility, beauty, economy of effort, and economy of space. In one set of circumstances it is one of these factors, in different circumstances it is another, which exerts the preponderant influence, and determines the character of the resultant form, just as in the animate world one variety is best adapted to survive in one environment and another variety meets better a different set of requirements. The slave, or the monk, who is copying an edition of Horace for the Mæcenas of his time, will pay little heed to economy of effort or space, but will aim to secure beauty and legibility. When he comes to the initials at the beginning of the books or at the tops of the pages, he will sacrifice even legibility, and show an utter disregard of time and space, so to speak, so that, assuming the general character of the symbol to be fixed, the only efficient motive which influences the copyist will be a desire to produce a beautiful or symmetrical letter. With the clerk who is transcribing a *senatus consultum* for the archives, or the engraver who is cutting it in bronze, legibility will probably be the controlling consideration. The loungeur, on the other hand, who is scratching a sentiment on the outer wall of a Pompeian house, will sacrifice beauty, legibility, and space to his desire to save himself trouble.

The free play of these four controlling motives was hindered or facilitated by tradition and by the use of one material or another. The reverence for the Bible and for Virgil was so great, for instance, that a copyist felt himself almost compelled to adopt one of the non-cursive hands, like the square capital or uncial, and use the approved forms of the letters of these alphabets. As for the different materials, bronze allows more freedom of movement than stone, wax surpasses bronze in this respect, and letters can be *painted* on a hard surface with still greater ease. The freedom of movement which one of these materials


allowed when compared with another found expression in the reduction of angles to curves, in the failure to follow a fixed type closely in forming a letter, and in the comparative disregard of uniformity within a document. If we take almost any pair of inscriptions, of an early date, found in the same place, and equally formal in character, one of which, however, is engraved on stone and the other on bronze, we can observe all three of the differences noted above. The bronze tablet will very likely show the curvilinear **ε** in place of the rectangular **E** of the stone. It may offer a **τ** composed of two wavy instead of two straight lines, as required by the strict-capital type. In it we are likely to find both the capital **M** and the uncial **ῢ**. The interrelation of the epigraphical and the manuscript hands has not been fully recognized and sufficiently studied. In one respect, in particular, the influence which the script used on permanent material had upon the book-hand has been misunderstood, as it seems to me. We commonly assume that the letters cut by an engraver in stone will be more angular than those drawn by a copyist on papyrus, and, therefore, we naturally conclude that the influence of the epigraphical script will make for angularity. Yet it is doubtful if this assumption is correct. In point of fact, there is considerable reason for believing that at a comparatively early period under the empire the letters of an inscription were commonly outlined on the surface of the stone with a brush. The introduction of this practice would have the effect of reducing angles to loops, and the influence of the epigraphical script upon the book-hand would be away from rather than toward angularity.













If we compare the two materials which were commonly used for literary purposes, papyrus and parchment, we shall find that the surface texture of a sheet of papyrus was nearly the same over the entire piece, but that on parchment a stroke of the pen in one direction was with the grain, while in the opposite direction it was against it. As the letters of the alphabet in their evolution, other things being equal, followed the line of least resistance, on *a priori* grounds we should expect to find that the peculiarity, just noted, of the surface of parchment would act as a restraining influence on the free development of the papyrus script; or, to












put it in another way, since parchment drove out papyrus, we should not be surprised to see the line of development which the letters followed during the papyrus period turn aside, when the new material came into common use. This fact will be illustrated later in specific cases.




To pass to another point, some materials are comparatively cheap, so that in using them economy of space is not an important consideration. We shall expect to find, for instance, greater lateral extension in the script used on papyrus, or on paper, than on parchment. In so far as economy of effort is concerned, the practice of employing monks as copyists introduced an unusual economic factor, because in most cases the prior or abbot set them to work, not primarily for the sake of reproducing the classics, but in order to save the monks themselves from idleness. *Individual* copyists in the monasteries may have been careless and hasty in their work, but a desire to save labor was not an active influence with those who *directed* the work. It would be interesting to follow out in detail some of these modifying influences, and to trace their effects in the development of the various scripts, but that would take us too far from our immediate purpose, and, after all, the primary factors which have determined the general trend of development, and without which secondary agencies, like the influence of tradition, or the cost and the character of the material used, would have had no effect at all, are the four factors mentioned above, viz., legibility, beauty, economy of effort and of space. It is also true that in ordinary writing the form which satisfies best in their order of importance these four requirements will survive, and this brings us to the second dogma in the doctrine of evolution.

With the secondary influences in mind which we have just been discussing, let us return to the scribal "sports" of Q to see which of them meet best the four requirements mentioned above, and which are consequently the fittest to survive in every-day use, taking up first economy of effort. In estimating the comparative ease with which the various forms of Q could be made it is necessary to bear in mind the fact, already noted, that the alphabet was developed in its later stages on parchment, that




upward strokes on this material are against the grain, that the pen would not move smoothly in that direction, and that consequently those forms could be most easily made which were composed of downward strokes readily drawn. In a well-known capital text of Virgil of the sixth century, preserved in the Vatican, the letter is clearly made with three strokes, .¹ The form



























 probably has the same number. Perhaps  and  are painted forms only, but, had they been made on parchment, would probably have required three and four strokes, respectively. Forms ordinarily made by the copyist in two strokes, as can be seen in the MSS, were , , , , , , , , and .

² In the facility with which they could be made, then, the forms of the second group had an advantage over those of the first. They could also be readily joined to preceding and following letters when writing became continuous. When paper, whose surface is equally smooth in all directions, came into use, the advantage of the second group of forms was still greater, because they could be drawn by a continuous stroke, without taking the the pen off. Even at an early period, on papyrus, whose surface resembles that of paper, the single-stroke letter appears, as a fragment of one of the Herculanean rolls offers the form . When the one-stroke letter comes in,  would be likely to drop out of the competition, because the pen must change its direction in adding the affix. Another factor, as we shall presently see, eliminated it before this influence made itself felt. The types which meet the test of economy of effort are, therefore, , , , , , , and , with its carelessly finished variants  and .

Let us now examine the various forms of  from the point of view of legibility, beauty, and economy of space. The original type  is open to the objection that if the horizontal stroke is very short, it is hard to distinguish the letter from O, for a letter to be legible must be not only simple in form, but also easily distinguished from other letters. The objection on this score to  with a short affix becomes still greater when the letters, to

¹The strokes are left unjoined to show the method of formation.

²The forms , , and  are probably not found on parchment, and may be left out of consideration here.

save space, were reduced to minuscule size. The form  may well have failed of acceptance for the same reason, that is, because of its likeness to O, especially in the minuscule size. Then, too, it would require great care to insert the affix. To return to the type , if the horizontal stroke is a long one, it occupies too much space. The difficulties which we have just discussed stood in the way of the adoption of , , , , and . The forms  and  are illegible because they are likely to be confused with  (i. e., with the letter which follows O). The forms , , and  would be rejected because they are unbeautiful and unsymmetrical. The shape  is also unattractive. As for , it is legible, but it lacks grace, and it does not stand firmly on the base line. We are left with , , and . Of these three forms, which are variants from the same type, the second requires less space than the first, and it stands more firmly on the base line. For these reasons it has the same advantage over the first form that the b, d, f, h, l, and p, made with a perpendicular downward stroke, have over the forms of these letters which are drawn with a slanting stroke. The form  has a slight advantage over , whether the latter be made with a closed or open loop, in that, when it is joined to a following letter () it is easily distinguished from , whereas , so connected (), is almost indistinguishable from it. The form  has then an advantage over all the others in its economy of space, its symmetry, and legibility, and at the same time, as we have tried to show above, it is one of the shapes which is most easily made and connected with letters preceding and following it. It has the four qualities required in a letter, and is therefore, the one most likely to triumph, as it actually does triumph, over all its rivals. This form was readily adapted to use in a continuously written hand by drawing a stroke from the bottom of the letter to the next letter, thus, .

Now, in the process of evolution certain animal or plant types which have been crowded out by some other type or types survive on some island where they have not been brought into competition with the prevailing type, or in some environment for which they are better fitted than their otherwise favored competitors.

So the variants Q , Q , Q , and Q , while losing in the struggle for a place in the body of the texts, found islands of refuge in the initial or capital position. In fact, the novelty of their shapes as compared with that of the form regularly used, and their adaptability for decorative purposes made them fitter to survive in these positions than the accepted minuscule form. Their struggle for existence even in these favored localities is still going on, and there are some indications that in handwriting at least they may disappear altogether. Q made large, for instance, not infrequently appears as a capital.

The working out of the principles of evolution can be traced in the development of each of the letters in the same way as we have traced it in the case of the letter Q, but a detailed examination of them is unnecessary. If the different forms of the several letters be arranged in the order of development, the process of evolution and the controlling influence of the four factors above mentioned will be apparent. The process by which the capital letters C, E, F, I, K, L, M, O, P, S, T, and V have developed into their commonly accepted minuscule printed forms c, e, f, i, k, l, m, o, p, s, t, and u is reasonably clear without comment. The history of A, B, D, G, H, N, and R in their development into a, b, d, g, h, n, and r is not so apparent. Consequently we shall give our attention to this group only.

The principal varieties of A resulted from the different positions given to the hasta, and from the variation in length of one or the other of the upright strokes. Some of the typical forms of this letter in the capital script are A , A , A , A , A , A , A , A , A , and A . The one which, with a slight modification, proved to be the fittest to survive was the last of the series shown here, viz., A . This form could be made in two strokes, and that it was so made is clear enough from the MSS.¹ It involved an upward stroke, it is true, but this difficulty was minimized by making that stroke very light, or by going part way back on the short downward stroke. This led to a thickening of the line at the bottom of the short downward stroke and facilitated the substitution of a loop for the acute angle at that point. Now, by

¹ Cf., for instance, ZANGEMEISTER AND WATTENBACH, *Exempla, etc.*, No. 17.

developing the long right-hand straight line into a curved stroke, the copyist made the letter more symmetrical, made it stand more firmly on the base line, and the modern printed minuscule a was obtained, which readily became *ɑ* in a continuously written hand through the desire to save labor.¹

The development of H was similar. The position of the hasta and the relative lengths of the upright strokes are again the varying elements, and the forms *H*, *H*, *H*, *++*, *H*, *H*, *H*, and *H* result. The successful type developed out of the last form. This, as it stands, requires three independent strokes. If, however, the right-hand upright be terminated at the hasta, and the right angle made by those two strokes be converted into a curve, *h h*, we obtain a letter which may be made without taking the pen off—a letter which is also symmetrical, similar in character to the other approved letters, legible, and economical of space.

The development of N follows that of H so closely that it needs no comment. The minuscule d comes merely from an effort to economize labor, and to bring the shape of the letter into harmony with b and h — *D*, *Ḑ*, *ḑ*, *ḑ*, *d*, *d*.

An examination of the Pompeian graffiti and of the inscriptions painted on the walls of Pompeii seems to indicate that B was ordinarily formed in this way: the perpendicular stroke was drawn from above down to the base-line. Then the lower arc was formed immediately, without removing the pen, and without returning to the top of the perpendicular, as we ordinarily do today in forming capital B, so called. Then the upper arc was formed. The careless writer, however, failed to finish the upper curve, and we find at an early period such forms as *B* and *B*, until finally the upper arc dropped away altogether—*b*. The slight modification (*Ḃ*) which this form required for convenient use in a continuous cursive script is apparent without comment. If in making B we draw the arcs first, another development is possible, viz., *B*, *B*, *B*, *Ḃ*,² and this last form, which is

¹ It is interesting to notice that *ɑ* appears sporadically (cf. Z. & W. 31, of the seventh or eighth century), while the a was still in the process of development.

² I have found only the first and last forms of this series. The second and third are suggested as possible connecting links between the others.

actually found in Pompeii, had perhaps the history indicated but it could not survive because of its similarity to d (D).

The printed form g seems far removed from G, but the connection between the two is established by this series: G, G, G, G, S, S, S, S, S, g; or, by this one: G, G, g, g, g. I need not say that all of these forms, as in fact all of those given in this paper, except the two forms of b assumed above, actually occur in inscriptions or MSS. The governing factor in the last case seems to have been legibility. The cursive g has of course come from the prolongation of the affix and the closing of the arc—G, g, g. With the closure of the arc it was necessary to throw the downward stroke back—thus, g—to distinguish it from q.

The significant stages in the development of printed r are R, R, R, R, and Y. The controlling factor here is the same as that which prevailed in the case of B, viz., a desire to economize effort. The genesis of R is evident (R, R, r, r, R).

It would be interesting to stop and consider what parts of the Roman empire furnished the most favorable environment for the production of these graphical "sports," and in what periods they flourished in the greatest number and variety, but such an investigation is reserved for a subsequent paper. I cannot bring this discussion to an end, however, without noting the fact that the development of the art of writing has been due in the first instance to the careless, the eccentric, and the hasty scribe—to the loungee at Pompeii, to the boy on his way home from school, who stopped to scratch the alphabet on the wall, and to the careless accountant, secretary, or monastic copyist. They dared to originate forms which the engraver or the trained copyist would never have thought of inventing, or have dared to introduce. They were the true reformers in whose footsteps *longo intervallo* the professional scribe timidly followed.

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THE OLD ENGLISH OFFA SAGA. II.

IV.

It has been shown that the account in *V* 2 of the early life of O 2 was borrowed very largely, if not entirely, from stories belonging originally to O 1. The next point to be determined is how far the narrative in *V* 2 of his later career is supported by historical evidence, and in what manner and from what sources legendary matter has crept in.

Offa's reign, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, may be summed up as follows:

1. His accession to the throne, 755 (= 757).
2. His victory over Kent at Otford, 773 (= 775).
3. His capture of Bensington in a war with Cynewulf of Wessex, 777 (= 779).
4. The contentious synod at Chelsea in which Icenbryht, archbishop of Canterbury, lost some of his domain and Hygebryht was appointed by Offa (as rival archbishop of Lichfield); and Ecgerth was crowned, 785 (= 787).
5. The marriage of Eadburg, Offa's daughter, to Beorhtic of Wessex; and the coming of the first Danish ships to England, 787 (= 789).
6. His beheading of Æthelbryht (of East Anglia); and the marriage of his daughter Ælfled to Æthelred of Northumbria, 792 (= 794).¹

7. His death, which followed close upon the death of his son-in-law, Æthelred, 794 (= 796).

Comparing this bare outline of events with the account in *V* 2, we find in the latter the following important additions:

A. *Political material.*

1. Details in regard to the battles of Otford and Bensington.
2. An account of a combination of the kings of Wessex, Sussex, and Northumbria, and after the defeat of Wessex at

¹ Laud MS only, but confirmed by Simeon of Durham (*Opera*, Rolls Series, 1885, II, 54).

Bensington, of the kings of Sussex and Northumbria with Marmodius, king of the Welsh; and a description of two campaigns on the border of Wales.

3. A fuller account than is given elsewhere of Offa's relations with the two Frankish kings Carloman and Charlemagne, both in *V* 2 called Karolus.

4. Conflicting reports as to the annexation of East Anglia.

B. *Religious, especially ecclesiastical, material.*

1. The invention of St. Alban, together with the foundation of the abbey and a list of its privileges and immunities.

2. Details in regard to the transfer of the archbishopric to Lichfield.

3. A full account of the martyrdom of King Æthelbryht (= St. Ethelbert).

4. Offa's pilgrimage to Rome and dealings with the Pope.

C. *Personal material.*

1. His marriage and relations with his wife.

2. A brief notice of a marvel in connection with his tomb.

The next step must be to inquire into the probable sources of these additions:

A. *Political material.*

1. The accounts of the battles at Otford and Bensington have been shown¹ to be chiefly reflections of the battle description in *V* 1.

2. The Welsh campaigns cannot be ascribed to the compiler's invention, for several reasons:

a) They are mentioned in at least three works of earlier date than *V*:

(1) The *Annales Cambriae* (about 954²) alludes to several campaigns, notably in 778 and 784.³

(2) The *Brut y Tywysogion* (about 1150) mentions two, in 776 and 784.⁴

¹ See Part I, pp. 22, 23, above.

² *Y Cymmrodor* (London, 1888), IX, 144.

³ "778, Vastatio Brittonum dextralium apud Offa [rege Saxonum].

784, Vastatio Brittonum cum Offa in aestate." (Rolls Series, 1860, 10.)

MS C only, of the end of the thirteenth century (*ibid.*, p. xxvii), gives "rege Saxonum" above, and adds in 795: "Vastatio Rienuch ab Offa" (11).

⁴ "776 (.) The destruction of the South Wales men by King Offa took place.

784 (.) King Offa spoiled the Britons in summer time." (Rolls Series, 1860, 7-9.)

(3) The *Vita S. Oswaldi* (about 1165) printed as an appendix to the works of Simeon of Durham, alludes in general terms to these wars.¹

b) The great dyke from the Severn to the Dee, still traceable and called Offa's Dyke today, bears out the testimony in regard to his Welsh wars. Asser,² writing within a hundred years of his death, connects it with his name. The tradition was continued by Simeon of Durham,³ Walter Map,⁴ John of Salisbury⁵ (quoting a law of King Harold's), and Gerald de Barri (Giraldus Cambrensis),⁶ none of whom could have derived his information from *V* 2; and by many writers of later date.⁷

c) The narrative is fairly long (about 1,700 words)⁸ and contains circumstances, such as the treacherous midnight attack of the Welsh on a stormy winter's night in time of truce,⁹ the retreat of Offa and his army, and his barbarous cruelty¹⁰ after his second and successful campaign, which would not have suggested themselves to a monk, especially to the St. Albans compiler, whose main object was to glorify the founder of his abbey.

d) This portion of the text shows no parallelisms of expression with the accounts of the earlier battles of O 2 or with the great battle of O 1, although there is here as much opportunity for these as in the instances previously cited.¹¹

¹ "Fossam praedictam rex quondam Offa effecerat, cujus munimine vallatus securius ab hostibus suis Walensibus commanebat. Nam suo tempore iuge certamen inter illum et Walenses extitit, quod nullatenus eorum impetus vel insidias nisi hac protectione devitare praevaluit." (*Opera*, Rolls Series, 1882, I, 353.)

² ASSER, *Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904), 204. MR. W. H. STEVENSON in his Introduction (p. lxxv, n. 2) holds that Asser probably derived his knowledge from Wales.

³ *Opera* (Rolls Series), II, 66. This was taken from Asser's account.

⁴ *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. WRIGHT, Camden Society, 1850), 86.

⁵ *Polycraticus*. lib. vi, cap. 6 (MIGNE, *Patrologiae Cursus*, Vol. 199, col. 599).

⁶ *Descriptio Kambriae*, lib. ii, cap. 7 (*Opera*, Rolls Series, 1868, VI, 217).

⁷ GREEN thinks that the dyke is in part natural, but holds that it probably marked the limit of Offa's conquests (*Making of England* [London, 1897], II, 198, n. 2). Cf. also RHYS AND JONES, *The Welsh People* (London, 1900), pp. 140, 141.

⁸ *V*, 16, l. 35—19, l. 15.

⁹ *V*, 18, ll. 19—46.

¹⁰ "Jussitque rex Offa omnes Uallies mares, uix reseruatis mulieribus cum infantulis, trucidari. Et quia hoc in furore ire sue, hic rex preceperat, paucis admodum lictores pepercerunt; sed ne preceptum regium uacuum uideretur, stragem ex ipsis exercuerunt inauditam." (*V*, 19, ll. 12—15.)

¹¹ The nearest approach to resemblance of expression seems to be the following: "Interim armantur festinanter rex Offa et sui, et qui sibi proximi, electi commilitones et primicerii. Et irrituit rex frendens ut aper in incendio ire sue in hostium turmas, pre immanitate iracundie periculum mortis contempnendo. Et inuocato de summis auxilio, sui prodigus se in medium inimicorum suorum inuexit." (*V*, 18, ll. 30—33.) Cf. various phrases in Part I, pp. 18, 19, above.

For these reasons, I hold that the monk, Abbot John, or another, derived his matter from a source now unknown.

The Welsh chronicles mention in 796 the death of a king of Dyved (*Demetorum*), named Morgetiud¹ or Maredudd.² The two forms of this name are more unlike each other than the later is unlike *Marmod(ius)*. Considering that the time and place agree, and that the compiler corrupts names continually,³ I incline to think that this *Maredudd* is the Marmodius of *V1*.⁴ From the general silence of the English chroniclers, I infer that the narrative was probably Welsh in origin; but from the scantiness of the Welsh records, I take it to have been a popular tradition. The point of view shown in the account of the combination of the kings of Northumbria and Sussex with Marmodius, of Offa's defeat and subsequent cruelty, seems to me Welsh; but the comments upon the treacherous method of fighting are from the English standpoint.

On the whole, the local allusions (cf. *V*, 17, l. 56-18, l. 4), together with the fact that for centuries the valleys of the Severn and the Wye were Debatable Ground, occupied by a mixed population of Welsh and English, seem to point to Border tradition (perhaps a ballad) as the source of the text.

3. The compiler, in his account of the relations of Offa with the two Frankish kings, gives a fulness of detail not confirmed by trustworthy historical evidence. But on the other hand, there are sufficient indications of a fairly close connection between the two countries.⁵

¹ *Ann. Camb.*, 11, an. 796, 811. Variant forms are *Morgetiud*, *Meredut*, *Maredut* (MSS B and C of the thirteenth century).

² *Brut y Tywys.*, 9, an. 796, and 11, an. 811.

³ Cf. *Pinefredus* from *Thingferth* (Part I, p. 47), and *Withmundus* for *Witiking* (*V*, 21, l. 14).

⁴ The corruption might have arisen from mistaking a runic \mathfrak{M} (e) or \mathfrak{M} (d) for the Roman M, if the name was ever written in mixed characters. As *Maredudd* is the equivalent of the modern *Meredith*, the blunder could not have come so readily from hearing. For mistakes with different groups of letters in transcribing from the Hiberno-Saxon characters used in Wales until the end of the eleventh century, cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, IX, 145, n. 2.

⁵ For a discussion of this question see HEINSCH, *Die Reiche der Angelsachsen zur Zeit Karls des Grossen* (Breslau, 1875), 45-61. See also JAFFÉ, *Monum. Alcuiniana*, 167, 169, 173, 286-90; BIRCH, I, No. 259; HADDAN AND STUBBS, *Councils and Eccles. Doc.*, III, 486 ff., and STEVENSON, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, 206-8.

The chief additions and variations in *V* 2 are the following:

a) Carloman (= the first Karolus in *V* 2) is represented as the elder brother.¹

b) Both rulers are represented as inclining favorably to the English kings whom Offa set out to conquer, and as sending to the Mercian threatening letters, which he disregarded. The repetition of the incident is to me inexplicable unless the compiler was working from different sources, which he regarded as trustworthy, and which he, at the same time, probably confused. What these were, and how far he has enlarged upon them or modified them, it is impossible to say; but I may observe that Abbot John de Cella had unusual facilities for getting at French material,² and further that in the ninth century, at least, letters were extant from Offa to Abbot Gerwold, who was employed before Alcuin as intermediary in the dissension between Offa and Charlemagne.³ Certain it is that Charlemagne, whether from jealousy or some other motive, harbored exiles hostile to Offa.⁴

On the other hand, the one letter of Charlemagne's, contained in *V* 2, which is certainly genuine, is quoted in condensed form, almost exactly as it is given in William of Malmesbury⁵—a fact that suggests at least intention of good faith on the compiler's part.

The peculiarities here as elsewhere in the text seem to me to be due to indiscriminate use of abundant materials rather than to

¹ *V*, 13, l. 22; 14, ll. 23, 42-44; 15, l. 1. There was some authority for this; at least, PHILIPPE MOUSKES, in his *Chronique rimée* (thirteenth century; ed. DE REIFFENBERG, Brussels, 1836), 2342, 4381, falls into the same error.

² Compare TRIVET's statement, less than two hundred years later, as to his own work abroad: "Itaque, cum aliquando in studio moraremur Parisiensi, gesta Francorum Normannorumque cum aliis studiose perlegimus, et quicquid nationem tangebatur Anglicanam fideliter excerpsimus." (*Annales*, ed. T. HOG, London, 1845, p. 2. See also p. 3, above.)

³ The ninth-century author of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium* says: "Hic nempo Gervoldus super regni negotia procurator constituitur per multos annos, per diversos portus ac civitates exigens tributa atque vectigalia, maxime in Qwentawich. Unde Offae regi Anglorum sive Merciorum potentissimo in amicitia valde cognoscitur adiunctus. Extant adhuc epistolae ab eo ad illum, id est Gervoldum, directae, quibus se amicum ac familiarem illius carissimum fore pronuntiat. Nam multis vicibus ipse per se iussione invictissimi regis Caroli ad praefatum regem Offam legationibus functus est" (ed. LOWENFELD, Hanover, 1886, 46). For the date see *ibid.*, p. 5. It is also possible that letters from Gerwold to Offa, or from Charlemagne through Gerwold, were for a time preserved in England; but of this there is no evidence.

⁴ *Sax. Chron.*, an. 836. See also HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 487, 488.

⁵ Cf. *V*, 20, ll. 41-56, with JAFFÉ, 286-89; HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 496-98. *V* 1 contains but two words more than MALMESBURY'S *De Gestis Regum anglorum* (Rolls Series, 1887), I, 93.

invention, and there are indications that at least two sources have been put together and joined badly:

a) The story of Drida-Petronilla is introduced by the words: "Diebus itaque sub eisdem regnante in Francia Karolo rege magno ac uictoriosissimo,"¹ which, used of the king who conquered the Saxons, seem to refer unmistakably to Charlemagne;² but a little later we read of the death of Carloman and the accession of Charlemagne to the throne.³

b) A serious ground of complaint against Offa might have been urged by the two Frankish kings in the fact that he had raised to his throne the kinswoman whom they had condemned to death for crime; but this fact does not appear in their letters.⁴

4. There is confusion in the account of the annexation of East Anglia. Apparently the kingdom was conquered at the battle of Feldhard; and yet afterward the murder of St. Ethelbert is introduced to explain its annexation.⁵ This murder will be discussed in connection with the account of Offa's wife. *V1* departs from all other versions in exonerating Offa entirely from the crime, except in so far as he reaps its fruits by adding East Anglia to his dominions; and also in relating the victory at Feldhard.⁶

B. *Religious, chiefly ecclesiastical, material.*

1. The invention of St. Alban, the founding of the Abbey, and the history of its privileges and immunities do not require separate discussion in this paper, both because they are matters originally foreign to the Offa saga and because their sources⁷ are

¹ *V*, 12, l. 32. For evidence that the story was attached to Charlemagne, see pp. 36 ff., below.

² *V*, 14, ll. 7-10, 15, 16.

³ *V*, 14, ll. 23 ff.

⁴ *V*, 13, ll. 45-49; 53-55; 15, ll. 1-11.

⁵ Cf. *V*, 14, ll. 11-21; 24, ll. 3-5; 25, ll. 35-42.

⁶ I have already suggested (Part I, p. 23, above) that Feldhard may have been the name of the battle in which Beormred was overcome. The word, although English in its parts, is not English in the order in which they are put together. It may be a corruption of something else. There is a possible hint of the confusion in *V2* on this point, in the phrase *in campestri bello* as used in *J*. If it can be interpreted as "in open battle," i. e., in battle in open field (but see Part I, p. 30, n. 1, above, for another interpretation), this misconception when taken in connection with the legends of the murder of St. Ethelbert, might have developed into the discrepancy in *V2*. It should be observed, however, that in *J* Ethelbert is king of Wessex. That the East Anglians were overcome in battle appears in a letter to Æthelhard of Canterbury from Charlemagne (HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 487, 488, with note), and it is possible that they supported Beormred.

⁷ Although the martyrdom of St. Alban is given in the *Sax. Chron.* (MSS Laud, an. 286, and Parker, an. 283, the latter a twelfth-century interpolation), in connection with Offa he

doubtless to be sought in early church records, authentic or forged.¹

2. The details given in connection with the archbishopric of Lichfield² are not in accord with the facts; but are undoubtedly derived from ecclesiastical records.

3. The religious features of the martyrdom of St. Ethelbert, which show considerable resemblance to the legend of St. Kenelm,³ are only incidentally connected with the story of Offa.

4. The pilgrimage to Rome seems to have been introduced through confusion of the Mercian with Offa of East Anglia, who with Coenred, king of Mercia, went to Rome in 709.⁴ For the interview with the pope I know no authority. The institution of Peter's pence and the foundation of the English school at Rome, though unsupported by historical evidence,⁵ from whatever source they are taken, are used obviously to enhance the glory of the founder. The incident in Flanders, in which Offa buys up land at the natives' own price, in order to have fodder for his horses, seems legendary in character, but thus far I have not been able to trace it to any source, nor do I remember an analogous episode in the history of any other hero.⁶

C. *Personal material.*

1. In regard to Offa's marriage and relations with his queen, very few facts are known:

a) Her name Cynethryth (Cyneðryð)⁷ is attached to some

is mentioned, *an.* 793, only in the Latin text of the twelfth-century MS Domitian A VIII (EARLE-PLUMMER, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles* [Oxford, 1892], 56, n. 1). Although Offa undoubtedly gave land to the abbey (see BIRCH, I, Nos. 264, 267; HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 469, 470), there is no evidence to show that the details in *V* 2 came into existence before the twelfth century.

¹The compiler indeed admits that there was little material concerning St. Alban: "*Sed tantum in codicibus historiarum et relatu senum, cum paucis uestigiis representata*" (*V*, 27, ll. 3, 4). For evidence of the forging of charters at St. Albans, in the twelfth century, see *Gest. Abb.*, I, 222 ff.

²See HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 446, 447, notes c, d, e.

³See pp. 15, 20 ff., below.

⁴*Sax. Chron.*, *an.* 709. A later hand inserts into the margin of fol. 9, MS Nero D 1: "*Choered et Offa reges Anglorum Romam peragunt ibique in monachos attonsi ultimos dies suos regi regum fideliter militantes clausurunt. . . .*" This seems to be intended as a correction. The confusion of these two kings is not limited to the compiler. See BIRCH, I, No. 79 and No. 123, 123 A, 123 B. In these two spurious charters, the first dated 692, the second 704-9, Offa is called *rex Merciorum*.

⁵See STEVENSON, *Asser's Life of Alfred*, 211, n. 2, and 243, 244.

⁶For the probable reason of its introduction into *V*, see Part I, p. 13, n. 2, above.

⁷Kineswīða, BIRCH, I, p. 311; Osenedred, BIRCH, I, p. 300.

twenty charters between the years 765 and 790.¹ Some of these may be spurious, as are probably two others with her signature, dated in the reign of Ecgferth.²

b) Hickes published engravings of two coins bearing her name, one of which shows a beautifully drawn woman's head (perhaps a portrait), while the other has a man's head with a strong likeness to one on a third coin representing Offa.³ The fact that she is the only pre-Conquest queen whose name appears on coins was taken by Lappenberg⁴ as evidence of her arrogance; but surely this fact, unsupported by others tending to the same conclusion, may be interpreted in a variety of ways, as, for instance, that she was especially honored by her husband, or that he admitted her to a larger share in the government than was customary.⁵

c) In the famous St. Denis charter, Offa says that the grant is made "una cum voluntate meae conjugis."⁶

d) Alcuin in letters to Ecgferth and others, between 786 and 796 several times alludes to the queen (though not by name) and sends messages of affection and respect. He particularly advises Ecgferth to imitate her in charity and piety.⁷

¹ BIRCH, I, pp. 286-362. All but one granted by Offa. This one (BIRCH, I, No. 197) was granted by Aldulf, king of Sussex, and has the signatures of both Offa and Cynethryth.

² BIRCH, I, Nos. 280, 281.

³ *Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705), III (*Numismata*), p. 168, Tables III, VIII, and IX, and pp. 173, 181.

⁴ *Geschichte von England*, ed. 1834, I, p. 231.

⁵ If *EOBA* on the reverse of the coin (HICKES, *loc. cit.*) is the name of the noble who issued the money, still less is Lappenberg's conclusion warranted. But although there are various names resembling this, the nearest I have found is *Eobe*, whose signature as *abbas* occurs in a charter (BIRCH, I, No. 157), dated 723/737.

⁶ BIRCH, I, p. 361. Is it perhaps significant that the only genuine charter in the text of which Offa mentions his queen (the Chertsey document, BIRCH, I, No. 251, in which occurs the phrase "veneranda Cynedriþa regina mea" together with the names of four daughters, only two of whom can be proved ever to have existed, is questionable) should be concerned with a grant to the great French abbey of St. Denis? Certainly this fact, if it implies her special interest in the deed, bears out the legend of her French origin; but the substance of the legend itself and the Saxon character of her name nullify the suggestion in the charter.

⁷ "Saluta quoque ill. dominam et dispensatricem domus regiae. Vivat illa felix et in prole paterne beatitudinis gaudens." (JAFFÉ, 292.)

Saluta, obsecro, domnam reginam ex meae parvitatibus nomine. Scripsissem, exhortatorias illi litteras, si illi propter occupationes regis meos apices legere licuisset. Sciat tamen certissime, me sibi quoque dominae, quantum valeo, fidelem esse." (JAFFÉ, 288.)

"Ecce quam nobilissimis natus es parentibus, quam magna enutritus cura. Noli moribus esse degener, qui nativitate generosus existis. Disce diligenter illorum exempla: a

e) There is good reason for believing that she survived her husband for at least two years. Aside from the fact that Alcuin alludes to her within a few months of Offa's death,¹ there is extant an agreement for the exchange of lands in 798 between Æthelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, and one Cynedrytha, abbess of Cookham,² who on the strength of evidence in the document itself may be almost certainly identified as Offa's queen.

(1) The convent of which she was head belonged originally to Canterbury; but its charters having been stolen and given to Cynewulf of Wessex, it was acquired by that king, from whom it was afterwards taken by Offa. The agreement continues of Offa: "quanto tempore vixit detinuit, et absque litterarum testimonio suis post se heredibus reliquit." But the stolen charters were afterward returned by Cynewulf to Canterbury; hence the archbishop was willing to give them up and resign the convent in exchange for certain other lands that he wished. If Offa had left the convent to his heirs, it is strange that with two of his daughters probably alive (Eadburg certainly),³ the only parties to the agreement should have been the archbishop and Cynedrytha, unless the abbess was no other than the queen.

(2) Of the lands in Kent for which Æthelhard was willing to give up the Cookham charters and to add the convent of "Pectanega" in Mercia, left by Ecgferth to Canterbury, the agreement says: "rex Offa sibi viventi conscribere fecit suisque heredibus post eum, et post eorum cursum vitae ecclesiae quae sita est apud Beodeford consignari praecepit." It is difficult to see how the abbess Cynedrytha could have had the giving of these lands except as Offa's heir.

patre auctoritatem, a matre pietatem; ab illo regere populum per iustitiam, ab ista compati miseris per misericordiam: ab utroque christianae religionis devotionem, orationum instantiam, elymosinarum largitatem et totius vitae sobrietatem." (Jaffé, 267.) This letter is dated by Jaffé 786-96; but, whether written before or after the murder of St. Ethelbert, his death might still be made to accord with Offa's character for justice rather than with the queen's for charity and piety. In *V*, 25, ll. 10, 11, the queen's *impietatem* is stressed.

¹ In a letter written after April 18, 796 (Jaffé, 292).

² BIRCH, I, No. 291; HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 512, 513.

³ It was not until four years later that Eadburg fled into exile (cf. *Sax. Chron.*, an. 800 = 802), and ASSEER's *Life of Alfred* (ed. STEVENSON), 12-14. Ælfled had probably gone into a convent at this time. Cf. JAFFÉ, 293-95.

(3) The purpose of the agreement, as stated by Æthelhard, was: "*quatinus nulla in posterum inter nos heredesque nostros et Offae Regis surgat contraversia.*" Seemingly to this end, there were present representatives of the church of Bedford as well as of Canterbury; but the actual parties to the agreement seem to have been Æthelhard and Cynedrytha.

Putting together these few facts, we must conclude that Cynethryth was perhaps a woman of strong character, certainly pious and charitable; that she seems to have retained Alcuin's esteem after the date assigned to the murder of Ethelbert, while there is good evidence to show that she after her husband's death took the course which was most natural and frequent in her day—a course apparently followed by both her daughters when they were left widows—entered a convent. Hence there is no historic basis whatever for the elaborate narrative told of her in *V*2. Its sources must be sought elsewhere.

2. The allusion to Offa's tomb (cf. Part I, p. 5, above) reads like a local tradition. Perhaps Offa's tomb was really washed away in a flood of the Ouse; but its appearance and disappearance, with the romantic touch that to the seeker "*acsi res fatalis esset, non inuenitur,*" suggests that the tale arose under the influence of similar Celtic stories of magic. It may be that the compiler had visited the spot and heard the story from the "summer bathers" who had sought and could not find the tomb. The tradition, with its direct and personal note, seems to stand apart from the other sources of *V*, to which it shows no relation whatever.

V.

It has been shown that the Drida-Petronilla story does not connect well with the matters related of Charlemagne.¹ It is possible to go a step further and show that the tale is in several respects self-contradictory. For example, the queen's reasons for wishing to murder Ethelbert do not accord with the earlier account of her banishment. It is incredible that she should have wished to overthrow the dominion of Offa, her benefactor, for the sake of the kinsman who had turned her adrift to

¹ See p. 4, above.

die;¹ and even if this could be believed, her murder of Ethelbert is represented as an act of pointless spite because she had failed in her project of marrying her daughter to her "friend across the sea." Indeed, it would seem that she wreaked her anger upon him solely because he was chosen by Offa and his councilors to be her son-in-law. Again, in the early account, Offa is said to have had two children, a daughter and a son whom he called Egfridus, within the first two years of marriage;² and there is no mention of other children. In the narrative that concerns St. Ethelbert, three daughters are mentioned. Two are not named, the wives of Brithricus of Wessex and Atheldredus of Northumbria; the third is Ælfleda, who was to have married Ethelbert (in this text called Albertus (Ælbertus)).³

These facts, when taken in connection with the double naming of the heroine (Drida and Petronilla),⁴ with the compiler's clumsy attempt to identify Drida with Cyneðryð,⁵ and with the total lack of evidence to show that Cyneðryð was guilty of any crime, seem to point to at least two distinct sources for this part of the text, aside from the possible use of some historical material:

1. A tale of an exiled princess connected with Charlemagne.
2. A tale of a wicked queen who murdered St. Ethelbert.

In endeavoring to disentangle these, I find it convenient to adopt the following order of topics:

A. *The source of the account of St. Ethelbert's death.*

1. Its character and content.
2. Its variations from other versions.
3. Its historical basis.
4. Its analogy to the Kenelm legend.
5. Its attachment to Cynethryth.

B. *The sources of the tale of the exiled princess.*

1. The analogy of the Drida tale to the tale of Thrytho in

Beowulf.

¹ "Ipsas enim puellas filias suas, ultramarinis alienigenis, in regis supplantacionem et regni Merciorum perneciem, credidit tradidisse maritandas;" and "terciam filiam suam ad uoluntatem suam alicui transmarino amico suo, in regni subuersionem quod certissime sperauerat dare nuptui cum non preualuisset . . ." (V, 23, ll. 32, 33, 44-46).

² V, 13, ll. 15, 16.

³ V, 23, ll. 4-13, and ll. 32-48.

⁴ "Que se Petronillam nominauit" (V, 13, l. 15).

⁵ "Que prius Drida, postea uero Quendrida, id est Regina Drida, quia regi ex insperato nupsit, est appellata" (V, 23, ll. 25, 26).

2. The meaning of the two versions in *Beowulf*.
3. The historic basis—the tale of Eadburg—on which the Thrytho myth became attached to Cynethryth.
4. The historic basis—an episode in the life of Bertha—on which Charlemagne was introduced into the narrative.
- A. The source of the account of St. Ethelbert's death.

1. It is clear that a legend of St. Ethelbert's martyrdom furnished the compiler with some account of Cynethryth's wickedness.

Two versions of this saint's life are known today: one given in a *Chronicon* of uncertain date, attributed to "John of Bromton;" the other in the collection of saints' lives formerly known as Capgrave's, now published under the title *Nova Legenda Anglie (NLA)*.¹ These two versions are apparently not earlier than the fourteenth century; but both go back to sources much earlier. Bromton's account (*Br*) does not vary greatly from a lost *Vita S. Ethelberti*, written by Gerald de Barri in the twelfth century;² *NLA*, as far as I have been able to examine, shows resemblances to certain saints' lives that existed at St. Albans at least as early as the end of the twelfth century.³ Hence in the case of St. Ethelbert it is clear that there were at least two versions as early as that time. But *Br* alludes distinctly to another version: "Et sicut quaedam aliae referuntur historiae in juvenem regem *Ethelbertum*," etc.⁴ He then proceeds to give a brief account that varies from his own long narration, from *NLA*, and from *V2*.

But this part of *V2* in itself is not a consistent whole. The incident of the beheading of the corpse and the miracle wrought by the head is not written in the main body of the text, but inserted by a contemporary hand in a space intended originally for an illustration.⁵ That it is an interpolation is shown by a

¹ By HORSTMANN (Oxford, 1901), who attributes the original collection to John of Tyne-mouth (I, pp. ix, xxxiii ff.).

² Gir. Camb., *Opera*, Rolls Series, 1861, I, 378, 415, 416, 421. The *Vita S. Ethelberti* was known to the Bollandists, who, in preferring *Br*, printed also the chief variations between the two (*ibid.*, 1863, III, 407-20). The differences seem to be unimportant.

³ See also Part I, pp. 6, 7, above.

⁴ TWISDEN, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X* (London, 1652), col. 751, ll. 67 ff. This account contains a feature peculiar to itself. See p. 21, below.

⁵ The illustration may have been erased (although I see no sign of erasure), as this page (fol. 20) is the only one on which a drawing is lacking. The text from *suscepit to sequeretur* (*V*, 24, ll. 38, 39) is crowded into the margin. From [P]orro to *Herefordensi* it (ll. 39-57) is written in the place of the illustration. A space is left for the P which was evidently to have been illuminated.

discrepancy: the inserted passage states that the saint's head was revealed by a miracle and enshrined at Hereford, but that the burial-place of his body is unknown; the text itself says nothing of the head, but tells how Humbert demanded the body from Offa and buried it honorably at Lichfield, whence it was subsequently translated to Hereford.¹ This addition is much shorter than the accounts in *Br* and *NLA* and varies in its details. It may belong to the St. Albans legend upon which *V2* was perhaps based, but is more probably drawn from a fourth source to which the compiler had not access.² It is clear at least that he had abundant material from which to choose. Judging from the extant versions, we may conclude that the substance of the legend contained little more than a detailed description of the martyrdom, together with certain miraculous prognostications and accompaniments and a brief allusion to the punishment of the wicked queen.

2. However, *V2* departs from the other accounts in several important particulars:

a) The queen does not succeed in persuading Offa; hence, is alone guilty of the crime.³

b) There is no mention of the traitor Winebertus (Gyumbertus, Gwymbertus) who in *Br* and *NLA* actually does the deed.⁴

c) In *V2* Ethelbert is thrown through a trap-door into a deep pit and smothered by the bed-clothes and curtains thrown upon him, while in *NLA* he is bound and then beheaded in the king's presence⁵ (in *Br* his head is brought to the king and queen).

d) In *V2* the queen is banished by Offa to a remote and solitary place and is there attacked by robbers for her wealth and

¹ Cf. *V*, 24, ll. 40-57, and 25, ll. 25-33.

² It seems unlikely that he would have omitted this opportunity to blacken Cynethryth's character still further, if he had known of the incident.

³ Cf. *V*, 23, ll. 43, 44, and 51; and *NLA*, I, 415, ll. 2 ff. Her alleged excuse in all three cases is that Ethelbert, as soon as he is married, will try to dethrone his father-in-law. In *V2* alone she adds the detail: "Et te cupit iam senescentem, cum sit juvenis et elegans, de regno supplantando precipitare; et posterum suorum, immo et multorum, ut iactitat, quos regnis et possessionibus uiolenter et iniuste spoliasti, iniurias uindicare. In cuius rei fidem michi a meis amicis significatum est, quod regis Karoli multis muneribus et nunciis occultis intermeantibus, implorat ad hoc patrociniū: se spondens ei fore tributarium." (*V*, 23, l. 56-24, l. 3.) This is especially interesting in view of the probability that Charlemagne may have protected East Anglian exiles (HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 487, 488 with note).

⁴ Cf. *NLA*, I, 415, ll. 34-41, and 416, ll. 29-31, with *Br*, col. 751, ll. 34-39 and 54-60.

⁵ Cf. *V*, 24, ll. 23-57, with *NLA*, I, 416, ll. 11, 17, 18, 29-31, and *Br*, col. 751, ll. 57-61.

murdered by being thrown into her own well,¹ while according to *Br* and *NLA* she dies after three months, apparently mad; at least, being driven by a demon to bite out her own tongue.²

It is noteworthy that *Br* and *NLA*, while they relate practically the same details in almost the same order, yet show no resemblances in language. They are indeed so different as to suggest at once that they represent two separate translations from the same source (an English account?). If this be true, it may explain some of the variations in *V2*, while the compiler's anxiety to glorify his hero may account for the clearing of Offa entirely from any share in the murder. The meaning of the other variations will be discussed in connection with Cynethryth.³

3. The only early evidence for the martyrdom is the bare statement in the *Chronicle* that Offa had Ethelbert beheaded. With one exception the later chroniclers up to the end of the twelfth century, who mention the event, agree in laying the entire blame upon Offa. The one exception is Florence of Worcester, who (before 1118) says of St. Ethelbert:

Ægelberhtus Offae, praepotentis regis Merciorum, detestanda jussione, suaeque conjugis Cynethrythe reginae nefaria persuasione, regno vitaeque privatus est capitis abscissione.⁴

This quotation shows plainly that the legend of Cynethryth's participation in the murder existed at least as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. But Ethelbert was regarded as a saint and martyr certainly a hundred years earlier, for in the *Hyde Register* (dated not long after the year 1000) we find under the heading, "Her cyð ymbe þa Halgan þe on Angel Cynne Restað,"⁵ the entry:

Donne resteð sancte Æðelbyrht æt þam bisceopstole æt Hereforda neah þære éá pæge.⁶

¹ She alone digs a pit for Ethelbert. Perhaps here the change was suggested by the biblical idea, "He that digs a pit for another," etc.

² Cf. *V*, 25, ll. 10-21, with *NLA*, I, 416, l. 43-417, l. 5, and with *Br*, col. 752, ll. 23-29.

³ See pp. 20 ff., 26 ff., below.

⁴ *Chronicon ex Chronicis* (Eng. Hist. Soc., 1848), I, 62, 63, an. 793. Florence may have been influenced in his attitude by Offa's donations to Worcester (BIRCH, I, 187, 209, 261). On this point cf. STEVENSON'S *Asser*, 205, n. 2.

⁵ *Liber Vitae* (Hampshire Record Soc.), 1892, 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

From this it is clear that some legend of St. Ethelbert was known as early as the end of the tenth century; but as to its character, the date of its origin, and its historic basis, evidence is lacking.

4. At this point, however, mention must be made of another legend, that of St. Kenelm, which shows a curious relationship to the story of Ethelbert. The resemblances are these:

a) Each saint, by the ambition and malice of a wicked kinswoman, was treacherously lured to his death and beheaded.¹

b) The murderess in each case perished miserably by supernatural intervention.²

c) Each saint had divine foreknowledge of his death in a dream or vision in which a beautiful tree was cut down and he himself was turned into a bird and flew up a column of light to heaven.³

¹ Cf. *NLA*, I, 415, ll. 2 ff., and II, 110, ll. 5 ff.

² The death of Offa's queen is prophesied, in *Br*, by her daughter, as follows: "Et primo de filio suo *Egfrido* per triennium non victuro regnoque ipsius non stabiliendo. De ipsa eciam regina turpi morte in brevi moritura, & ultra tres menses non victura, & ante mortem suam daemonibus arripienda, & linguam suam dentibus propriis corrodenda. Quae omnia sicut praedicta fuerant postea evenerunt" (col. 752, ll. 23-29); in *NLA*: "pleraque matri suae futura predixit, quae sibi postmodum contigisse manifestum fuit. 'Triennio, inquit, post hunc diem non viuet filius tuus, nec stabilietur regnum illius. Tu autem ipsa plus quam mensibus tribus in confessione dei non viues, et linguam tuam, a demonio vexata corrod[e]ns, morte pessima morieris; ruet iuuentus filii tui, nec diu viuet *Egfridus* post mortem *Ethelberti*'" (I, 416, l. 42-417, l. 5).

The death of Quendrida is described in *Br*: "Cum autem impiissima *Quendreda* eodem tempore quo corpus fratrum sic cum gaudio ad ecclesiam *WYNCECUMBE* translatus foret, circa incantationes, ut communiter dicitur, cum illo psalmo psalterii *Deus laudem*, vacaret, manifesta divina ultione pupillae amborum oculorum ejus super ipsum psalterium (quod in memoriam rei gestae in dicta ecclesia monasterii *WYNCECUMBE* usque hodie servatur) a capite evolabant. Quae sic excaecata, & post multos cruciatus pessima morte defuncta, pluribus ac locis sepulta, nusquam remanere potuit, donec angelica revelatione in quandam semotam profunditatem miserabiliter projecta fuit" (col. 778, ll. 18-30); in *NLA*: "Stabat tunc *Quendreda* in solario quodam, et multitudinem respiciens cum triumpho fraterne glorie venientem, ira et indignatione cepit tabescere. Accepto autem psalterio, quodam prestigio, non cantare pro illo studuit sed incantare contra illum centesimum octauum psalmum, quatinus a fine ad caput, ab ultimo versu ad primum peruertendo eum, fraterne felicitati efficeret perniciosum. Veruntamen in ipsam redundavit, deo volente, maledictum suum. Cum enim a fine ascendendo hunc versum volueret ore venefico 'hoc opus eorum qui detrahunt mihi apud dominum,' continuo sibi vtrique oculi suis sedibus extirpati, super ipsam quam legebat paginam ceciderunt. Adhuc autem ipsum psalterium argento paratum, huius correptionis cruore maculatum, prebet iudicium. Ipsa vero infelix post paululum interiit. Quam ferunt nec in ecclesia nec in campo sepultam posse teneri; sed quandam infantem lucidissimum apparentem cuidam iussisse in quodam profundo loco semoto eam prolici" (*ibid.*, II, 112, ll. 17-32).

³ Cf. *NLA*, I, 413, l. 38-414, l. 15, and II, 110, ll. 12-21. *GERALD DE BARRI's Vita S. Ethelberti* has only the vision of a falling house (*Gir. Camb.*, *Opera*, III, 413, §5, and 415, §(d), which in the *Ethelbert* (not the *Kenelm*) immediately precedes (*NLA*, I, 413, ll. 33-35).

Passing by less striking resemblances,¹ we are bound to conclude that the legend of the one saint has borrowed from the other; or, it may be, that each has borrowed features belonging originally to the other.

The source of the Kenelm legend is as obscure as that of Ethelbert. No Kenelm is mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle*; but a Cynehelm, *princeps*² or *dux*,³ and once a Cenelm called *filius regis*,⁴ signs various charters during the reign of Coenuulf between the years 798 and 811; and one of these charters (the last) is signed also by Quoendryð, *filia regis*.⁵ Legend is obviously wrong in representing Kenelm as only seven years old at the time of his death, if this occurred in 819;⁶ he must have been at least twenty-one, and probably more; even if he died before Coenuulf, he must have been at least thirteen.⁷

That a legend of St. Kenelm existed as early as the year 1000 is shown by the *Hyde Register*, "ponne rested sancte Kenelm cynebearn on pinclescumbe;"⁸ that Kenelm and Quoendryð were indeed the children of Coenuulf seems clear from the fact that both charters in which they are so called are preserved in very early copies, one almost contemporary and one indorsed in the tenth or early eleventh century; that the two legends were confused is shown not only in *NLA*, but also in the *Peterborough Chronicle*, in which occurs the statement:

Kenwulfus rex Merciorum obiit, relicto filio septenni Kenelmo, qui fraude uxoris et nutricii sui in sylva martyrizatur.⁹

¹ Such as the column of light from the tomb (*NLA*, I, 417, ll. 17-23, 41-43, and 418, l. 1; and II, 111, ll. 13, 14) which is found in other saints' legends; and the fountain of healing water, which is also common, but is told in *NLA* only of Kenelm (II, 112, ll. 1-3). *Br* also relates this of Kenelm (col. 778, ll. 15-17), but *V2* tells it of Ethelbert (24, ll. 40-55) and uses in this connection the incident of the head rolling on the ground and giving sight to a blind man, which is similar to a detail in the Ethelbert of *NLA* (I, 417, ll. 11-17 and 38, 39).

² *BIRCH*, I, Nos. 308, 335.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 313, 314, 316 (Kynhelm), 321 (Cynhelm), 322, 326 (Cynhelm), 338 (Cynhelmus), 339.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 296.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 339.

⁶ Cf. *Sax. Chron.*, and FLORENCE OF WORCESTER, I, 65, *an.* 819.

⁷ The charters cover thirteen years, from 798 to 811. King Alfred's name is attached to charters of 833, 854, when he was only four or five years old (*ibid.*, II, Nos. 467, 468, 469).

⁸ *Liber Vitae*, 92. The alliterative word *cynebearn*, which also appears in the English couplet quoted first in *J* (fol. 14b) and in *CM* (I, 373), suggests that the legend may have existed at that time in poetic form.

⁹ *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* (ed. GILES, London, 1845), p. 12, *an.* 819. The words that I italicize must mean that Cynethryth or Quendrida was regarded by this chronicler as Coenuulf's wife.

5. The most obvious source of confusion at once suggests itself in the resemblance between the two names Cynethryth and Quoenthryth, both of which seem to have been Latinized as Quendrida; and, indeed, a clear case of this seems to be deducible from a suspected charter, quoted by William of Malmesbury,¹ in which in the year 798 an abbess Kinedrip, with the consent of her *carissimis cognatis* Ethelburh² and Celfled (*Ælfled*?), grants certain lands to Kenelm, who is here called king. The association of these three names seems to indicate that the abbess alluded to is thought of as Offa's queen, who is thus also associated with St. Kenelm.

The next question that arises is whether, in the absence of all evidence as to the date and substratum of truth in each legend, it is possible to decide whether the one is a mere reflection—a duplication—of the other; or whether it may be believed that each had an independent origin and that gradually, because of a certain likeness between them, the two were drawn together. It may be somewhat confidently asserted that the Kenelm story shows too many peculiar features to be a mere reflection;³ but also, on the other hand, that if any reason could be found for attaching the blame of Ethelbert's death to Cynethryth, in a measure or altogether, the Kenelm legend, whatever its source, would have furthered the process, and perhaps in turn have been affected by the Ethelbert legend.

But in the attachment of the blame lies the whole difficulty; and as neither the Ethelbert nor the Kenelm legend gives any clue as to the way in which the queen became implicated, we must turn to the first part of the text, the account of the exiled princess Drida, for the explanation.

¹ *Adami de Domerham Hist. de Reb. Gest. Glaston.* (ed. HEARNE, Oxford, 1727), I, 65, 67. This document is generally regarded as spurious, although the writer claims that he translated it as well as he could from an English source.

² An Ethelburge appears in the questionable Chertsey charter (BIRCH, I, No. 251) among Offa's daughters; but the Æthelburg, abbess of Fladbury, who is named in the charters, seems to have been the daughter of an Alfred, and kinswoman of Alfred of the Huicci (*ibid.*, Nos. 238, 217).

³ The most striking of these is the incident of the white bird that carried the scroll with the English inscription announcing Kenelm's death to the pope, and dropped it upon the altar. This was known at the beginning of the twelfth century, being quoted by FLORENCE OF WORCESTER (*Eng. Hist. Soc.*, 1848, I, 65, *an.* 819), and by WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY (*De Gest. Reg. Ang.* [Rolls Series, 1887], I, 95, 262, 263).

B. *The sources of the tale of the exiled princess.*

1. Suchier¹ first pointed out in detail a resemblance noted by Kemble² between the narratives of Drida and of Thrytho in *Beowulf*, 1931-57. Before discussing the point, it will be convenient perhaps to set the Latin and English side by side:

Beowulf, 1931-57.

V 2, 12, ll. 32-57; 13, ll. 1-6.

Mōd Ðrȳðo wæg,
fremu folces cwēn,
fīren ondrysne; nā-
nig þæt dorste deōr
genēfan swāesra ge-
siða, nefne sīn frēa,
þæt hire an dæg
ēagum starede; ac
him wæl-bende weo-
tode tealde hand-
gewriþene; hraþe
seopðan wæs æfter
mund-gripe mēce
geþinged, þæt hit
scēaden-mæl scȳran
mōste, cwealm-bealu
cȳðan. Ne bið swyle
cwēnlic þēaw idese
to efnanne, þēah ðe
hīo ænlicu sȳ, þætte
freoðu-webbe fēores
onsæce æfter lige-
torne lēofne mannan.
Hūru þæt onhōhs-
nod[e] Hemminges
mæg. Ealo-drin-
cende oðer sēdan,
þæt hīo lēod-bealewa
læsgefremede, inwit-
niða, syððan ærest
wearð gyfen gold-
hroden geongum
cempa, æðelum

Diebus itaque sub eisdem regnante in Francia
Karolo Rege magno ac uictoriosissimo, quedam
puella facie uenusta, sed mente nimis inhonesta,
ipsi regi consanguinea, pro quodam quod patra-
uerat crimine flagiciosissimo, addicta est iudicia-
liter morti ignominiose, uerum ob regie dignitatis
reuerentiam, igni uel ferro tradenda non iudicatur,
sed in nauicula armamentis carente apposit[a],³
uictu tenui, uentis et mari, eorumque ambiguis
casibus exponitur condempnata. Que diu uariis⁴
procellis exagitata, tandem fortuna trahente,
litori Britonum est appulsa, et cum in terra sub-
iecta potestati Regis Offe memorata cimba appli-
cuisset, conspectui regis protinus presentatur.
Interrogata autem quenam esset, respondens
patria lingua affirmauit, se Karolo Regi Fran-
corum fuisse consanguinitate propinquam, Drid-
amque nominatam, sed per tirannidem quorun-
dam ignobilium quorum nuptias ne degeneraret,
spreuit, tali fuisse discrimini adiudicatam, abor-
tisque lacrimis addidit dicens, "Deus autem qui
innocentes a laqueis insidiantium liberat, me
captiuam ad alas tue proteccionis, O Regum
serenissime, feliciter transmisit, vt meum infor-
tunium in auspiciis fortunatum transmutetur et
beatior in exilio quam in natali patria, ab omni
predicer posteritate." Rex autem uerborum su-
orum ornatum et eloquentiam, et corporis puel-
laris cultum, et elegantiam [pendens],⁵ motus
pietate, precepit ut ad comitissam Marcelline
matrem suam tucius duceretur alenda, ac mitius
sub tam honeste matrone custodia, donec regium
mandatum audiret confouenda. Puella igitur

¹ P. v. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 500 ff.

³ MS *apposito*.

² *Beowulf*, 1837, pp. xxxv, xxxvi.

⁴ Written twice.

⁵ *Pendens* inserted by Wats; MS Claud. E IV has *considerans* in the margin (fol. 89a).

*Beowulf**V 2*

dīore syððan hīo Of-
 fan flet ofer fealone
 flōd be fæder lāre
 siðe gesōhte; ðær
 hīo syððan well in
 gum-stōle, gōde
 mære, lif-gesceafta
 lifigende brēc, hīold
 hēah-lufan wið hæ-
 lefa brego, ealles
 mon-cynnes, mīne
 gefræge, pone sē-
 lestan bī sām twēo-
 num, eormen-cynnes.

infra paucos dies, macie *et* palloreper alimenta
 depulsis, rediit decor pristinus, ita ut mulierum
 pulcherima censeretur. *Sed* cito in uerba iactan-
 tie *et* elacionis, secundum patrie sue consue-
 tudinem, prorumpens, domine sue comitisque
 materno affectu eam dulciter educauerat, molesta
 nimis fuit, ipsam procaciter contempnendo. *Sed*
 comitissa, pro amore filii sui regis, omnia pacien-
 ter tolerauit; licet *et* ipsa dicta puella, inter
 comitem *et* comitissam uerba discordie seminas-
 set. Una igitur dierum cum rex ipsam causa
 uisitacionis adiens, uerbis consolatoriis alloque-
 retur, incidit in retia amoris illius; erat enim iam
 species illius concupiscibilis. Clamdestino igitur
 ac repentino matrimonio ipsam sibi inconsultis
 patre *et* matre, necnon *et* magnatibus suis uni-
 uersis, copulauit. Unde uterque parentum, dolore
 ac tedio in etate senili contabescens dies uite
 abreuando, sue mortis horam lugubriter antici-
 parunt; sciebant enim ipsam mulierculam fuisse,
et regalibus amplexibus prorsus indignam; per-
 pendebantque iam iam (ueraciss) ueracissime, non
 sine causa exilio lacrimabili, ipsam ut *predictum*
est, fuisse conde[m]pnatam.

With due allowance for the difference in scale, the general resemblance of the stories, together with the identity of the name, is sufficient to indicate a relation between them. There is occasionally even a certain likeness of phrase. But the differences and ambiguities are important.

Of the two versions in *Beowulf*, taking as nearest to *V 2*, ll. 1931-44 together with ll. 1947-51 (syððan . . . gesōhte) as a summary of the episode immediately preceding Thrytho's marriage to Offa, we find the following difficulties in the way of accepting the identity of the tales:

a) *Beowulf*, ll. 1931-47, seems to imply that the heroine had a habit of killing all the men who looked at her, both before and after her marriage, until Hemming's kinsman stopped the practice. In *V 2*, Drida is accused of only two crimes, the one for which she was banished, which is not described, and the murder

of St. Ethelbert, for which no motive of "pretended insult," as in *Beowulf*, is suggested.

b) L. 1948 seems to describe the formal bestowal of a bride rather than a clandestine marriage with an outcast who had been banished for crime. Compare the description of a bride in ll. 2024, 2025:

Sio gehäten [wæs],
geong, gold-hroden, gladum suna Frōdan.

c) The phrase, "æðelum diore" (l. 1949), becomes ironic when taken in connection with *V* 2, wherein the compiler obviously sneers at the heroine for her pride of race.¹

d) The expression, "be fæder lāre" (l. 1950), is as easily interpreted to mean that she went at her father's bidding (perhaps with him) as that he sent her into exile.

e) "Offan flet sīðe gesōhte" (ll. 1949, 1951) seems rather to imply a definite destination than a chance ending to a wandering in a rudderless boat.

Of these objections the most serious are the first and second. The third can be answered by the simple statement that, whatever her crime, and character in the eyes of the compiler, Drida was still of the lineage of Charlemagne, who was indeed probably her father,² though this is not stated in *V* 2; while the fourth and fifth are too ambiguous to tell much either way.

A partial answer may be made to the second point, in that in several versions of the tale in which a daughter is turned adrift by her father, or flees to escape a hated marriage, she wears a beautiful robe, which is indeed her wedding dress.³

The prime objection may be met in part by the fact that in *V* 2 Drida is described as full of mischief and malice,⁴ and that the compiler has left the character of her early crime (or crimes) vague, except in that he declares it punishable by death; and,

¹ Cf. especially *V*, 23, l. 27, "superbiens eo quod ex stirpe Karoli originem duxerat."

² See p. 28, below.

³ It is especially prominent in *Emaré* (ed. RITSON, *Ancient English Metrical Romances* (London, 1802), II, 204, ll. 80-180, 242, 243, 270; in some cases the girl takes much treasure with her (cf. SUCHIER, *La Manéline* [Paris, 1884], pp. xxix ff.).

⁴ See the Latin on p. 19, above, in regard to Offa's parents; compare also "inexorabili odio uiros memoratos (Humbertus and Unwona) persequabatur, tendens eis muscipulas muliebres" (*V*, 23, ll. 27, 28 and 42-48.) Cf. *Br.*, col. 750, l. 48, "muliebri plena tam hastutia quam malicia."

again, that the motive of "pretended insult" is at least suggested in another version of the Ethelbert story mentioned by Bromton:

Et sicut quaedam aliae referuntur historiae in juvenem regem *Ethelbertum* forma insignem petulantes oculos incesta regina uxor *Offae* coniecit, quem quia nullatenus ad consensum inclinare valuit, tanquam uxor *Puteifar* secunda, *Josephum* alterum in *Ethelberto* reperiens, quasi vipera aculeis exagitata totum virus evomuit in vindictam; sicque mater filiae invidens, & propter repulsam tanti viri quasi confusa plurimum erubescens, vitam viri sancti morte crudeli muliebri malicia statuit terminare.¹

In this state of affairs it is possible to believe that the queen, in urging the murder upon Offa, reversed the situation and made pretense of insult, as did the stepmother in the *Dolopathos* of Johannes de Alta Silva and the stories based upon it.²

2. At this point it is necessary to examine more particularly the differences between the two accounts given in *Beowulf*, with the hope of getting more light upon the peculiarities of the Drida version itself.

Scholars seem to be generally agreed that ll. 1944-57 represent the true and primitive form of the story;³ also, that the Thrytho whose nature was so altered by marriage was none other than a valkyrie, whose attitude toward her suitors was similar to that of Hermuthruda⁴ and Brunhild,⁵ whose practice it was to kill suitors.

According to this view, the original story may be summed up as follows: the fierce queen, who at her father's command crossed the sea and was given gold-adorned to the young hero Offa, after her marriage became so changed in nature that she brought about fewer deaths among the people, but, on the con-

¹Br., col. 751, l. 67—col. 752, l. 9. Cf. V, 23, l. 48: "uirus sue malicie truculenter, euomuit."

²Ed. OESTERLEY (Strassburg, 1873), 33, ll. 28 ff.

³P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 508, 509; *Quell. u. Forsch.*, LXII, 229, 230.

⁴SAXO describes the demeanor of Hermuthruda as follows: "Sciebat namque, eam non modo pudicia celibem, sed etiam insolencia atrocem, proprios semper exosam procos, amatoribus suis ultimum irrogasse supplicium, adeo ut ne unus quidem e multis exstaret, qui procacionis eius penas capite non luisset" (ed. HOLD., 101, l. 39-102, l. 3). Cf. also 102, 26, 27, and 106, 6-19, and OLBRIK, "Kild. til Sakses Oldhistorie," *Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.*, II, Række, 7. Bind, 1-2. Hefte, 93, 94.)

⁵In the *Nibelungenlied*, see especially stanzas 326, 327. SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 509, n. 2) gives several references for the practice in other countries.

trary, was of good report and held in as great honor as her husband himself.

The place of this Thrytho in Germanic mythology has been in a measure ascertained. She seems to be the same as the Norse *Drüðr* who with *Hildir* is mentioned as a valkyrie in a poem formerly considered a part of the *Grimnismál*.¹ As Thor's daughter she personified strength pure and simple; as the daughter of Thor and *Sif*, perhaps, according to Mogk, "die treibende Kraft des Erdbodens, die der Donnergott durch seine Umarmung mit der neuerwachten Erde ins Leben gerufen hat."²

The only bearing which this mythological interpretation seems to have upon the *Beowulf* passage is in its suggestion that the original meaning of the latter was perhaps that Offa was strong enough to tame the very goddess of strength herself.³ And if we may reason from the analogy of Brunhild (in the *Nibelungenlied*) and of Hermuthruda (although the latter indeed foregoes her practice in the case of Amleth), we may conclude that if Offa had not proved the stronger, he himself would have been slain. But this interpretation only removes the primitive Thrytho version farther from the tale of *Drida*, with which, at best, its chief point of contact is l. 1950.

The later version of the story may be summed up as follows: the fierce queen, who at her father's command crossed the sea and was given gold-adorned to the young hero Offa, continued after her marriage her practice of killing all the "dear companions," except her husband, who so much as ventured to look at her, until Offa stopped her career of crime.

Whether or not this later version be considered a part of the original poem, introduced by way of contrast to Hygd, or as in itself an interpolation, it seems to me highly probable that we owe the introduction of the primitive version to the fact that the second hand in the MS begins with *mōste* (l. 1939). The new scribe wrote four lines more of the story, then an abrupt conclu-

¹ *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 75, l. 19.

² MOGK in PAUL'S *Grundriss* (Strassburg, 1900), III, 358, 359, 361. See also MEYER, *German. Myth.*, 171, 203.

³ The only story that seems to be told of *Drüðr*, her abduction by the dwarf *Alf* (*Alvis*), during Thor's absence, and the punishment of the dwarf (MOGK, 359), can have nothing to do with Offa.

sion that gives no details as to the outcome (l. 1944), following this by an outline of another version that he knew—one that was told among “ale-drinkers”¹—in which he adds to a summary of Thrytho’s career, a brief summary of her husband’s.²

This interpretation of the passage does not ascribe to the second copyist any great degree of invention, in supposing that he strung together a few descriptive phrases, which might easily in many instances have been taken directly from the “ale-drinkers’” version.³ The lines from 1945 to 1962 seem to me almost as devoid of poetic spirit as they could well be, and are obviously of the nature of a summary, with obscure allusions that would need no explanation to an audience familiar with the story.

For the difference between these two versions, which existed as early as the eighth century and perhaps much earlier, I cannot offer an explanation;⁴ but I believe that it is possible to show that a later interpretation — i. e., misinterpretation — of the second version (ll. 1931–34 and perhaps 1947–51, as common to both accounts) in connection with a certain historical occurrence might explain the transference of the tale from O1 and its attachment to Cynethryth, the wife of O2.

3. There is good reason for holding that the history of Offa’s daughter Eadburg, which is probably in the main true,⁵ furnishes the clue to the attribution of the crime of murder to the innocent Cynethryth. This idea is suggested somewhat vaguely by Müllenhoff,⁶ and perhaps implied by Earle.⁷ At least, the general resemblance in the character of the tales is evident. According to Asser, Offa’s daughter, the haughty Eadburg, pursued a career

¹ Does this word perhaps imply that the following account was the more popular and widespread of the two?

² See Part I, pp. 27 ff. above.

³ Note, too, the suggestion of hearsay in the conventional “mīne gefræge” (l. 1955).

⁴ TEN BRINK suggests (*Quell. u. Forsch.*, LXII, 229–31, with note) that this may have been due to the resemblance between the names *Thrytho* and *Osthyrth* (*Ostryð*, *Sax. Chron.*, MS Laud, an. 697), the latter being that of a Mercian queen who was killed by her own people in 697.

⁵ It is related by Asser, writing probably within fifty years of the woman’s death (STEVENSON, pp. lxxi–lxxiv), on the authority of King Alfred himself, who knew people who had seen Eadburg in her old age. Mr. Stevenson finds no reason for discrediting the tale (*ibid.*, 205, n. 2, 206).

⁶ *Beowulf*, 76.

⁷ He mentions in connection with Cynethryth the crimes related of Eadburg and adds: “This story seems to pursue the family of Offa” (*The Deeds of Beowulf* [Oxford, 1892], 174).

of crime until upon the death of her husband, who drank the poison she intended for another, she was forced to flee and escaped in a boat with much treasure. Arriving at the court of Charlemagne, she was there offered marriage, but continued her evil life and came to a miserable end as a beggar.

While in its main outline the story as I have told it shows a certain parallel to the early career of Drida, it contains so many differences of detail as, at first glance, to obscure the real likeness. These differences I shall deal with in another connection; and proceed to the reasons for holding that this true history, if it did not give rise to a fiction about St. Ethelbert, at least supplied false circumstances to take the place of the true ones long forgotten.

The story of Eadburg arose between 802 and 893 (Beorhtic died in 802; according to the *Sax. Chron.* in 800). The legend of St. Ethelbert arose between 794 and 1000; the legend of St. Kenelm, between 819 (821) and 1000. The story of Thrytho was in circulation in the eighth century, perhaps much earlier, and was copied in its present double form about the year 900.

From this comparison it is clear that the Eadburg story, with its limit *a quo* between the supposed dates of the martyrdom of the two saints, is known to have existed more than a hundred years before the earliest allusion to legends of these saints. Hence, in regard to date, it is easily possible for the Eadburg story to have been a link in the development of the Thrytho tale into the Drida story, if other evidence of this appear.

Considering that the Thrytho story was certainly known at the time when the Eadburg story came into existence, I find the parallelism between Asser's¹ account and *Beowulf*, 1931-44, significant:

a) "Mōd Dȳrðo wæg, fremu folces cwēn" is very similar to the description of Eadburg: "more paterno tyrannice vivere coepit."

b) Thrytho committed various murders as did Eadburg.²

c) Thrytho attacked the "swāesra gesiða;" Eadburg began "omnem hominem execrari quem Beorhtic diligeret;" i. e., both women were especially hostile to their husbands' friends.

¹ Cap. 14, 15 (ed. STEVENSON, pp. 12-14).

² ". . . et omnes, quos posset, ad regem accusare, et ita aut vita aut potestate per insidias privare. Et si a rege illud impetrare non posset, veneno eos necabat."

d) In both cases the career of wickedness appears to have been cut short abruptly.

In brief, we have in each case the criminal career of a tyrannical princess, with special reference to her murders of her husband's friends, connected with exile or, at least, a journey across the sea.

Now, if we can imagine both these episodes living on side by side, with less and less definiteness as to names and dates, there might have come a time when people, hearing that Thrytho was the wife of an Offa, and that she wickedly murdered any "dear man" who looked upon her, and knowing from the *Saxon Chronicle*, if from no other source, that Offa had beheaded Ethelbert, might have begun to wonder whether Thrytho were not responsible for this crime. Further, having in mind the tale of Eadburg, Offa's daughter, who undoubtedly murdered her husband's dear companions, among them one that he loved especially, they might easily have formed the conclusion that the special *dilectissimus* was Ethelbert and that he was really murdered by Queen Thrytho. If this process took place during the tenth century, the legend of St. Ethelbert (as well as that of St. Kenelm) might well have been developed by the year 1000.

But this hypothesis which suggests an explanation for the parallelisms is not unsupported by facts:

a) Simeon of Durham¹ in repeating Asser's story alters "omnem hominem execrari, quem Beorhtric diligeret, et omnia odibilia Deo et hominibus facere et omnes quos posset, ad regem accusare, et ita aut vita aut potestate per insidias privare. Et si a rege illud impetrare non posset, veneno eos necabat," to "omnes religiosos viros ad regem semper accusare non cessavit, et ita maledicta virum suum constrinxit blanditiis." This change seems to show that the religious element had intruded into the story at least as early as the first half of the twelfth century.

b) "Ad regem accusare" is contrary to the tenor of *Beowulf* (especially l. 1944); but agrees with the demeanor of the king in the legends of St. Ethelbert; i. e., the history of Eadburg serves to explain the chief point of departure between the accounts of

¹ *Opera* (Rolls Series, 1885), II, 66.

Thrytho and of Drida. Thrytho killed her husband's friends; Eadburg accused them to the king, and when she could not procure their death in this way, slew them with poison; Drida accused St. Ethelbert to the king and so caused his martyrdom, or (in *V* 2), failing to persuade the king, killed him herself.

c) Eadburg fled into exile "cum innumerabilibus thesauris:"¹ Drida was "mulier auara" and must have carried much treasure with her when she was exiled, in that she was killed by robbers for her wealth ("auro et argento quo multum (h)abundabat spoliata").² Thrytho too was *gold-hroden*, though probably in quite a different sense.³

That the likeness between the two stories was recognized in later times appears in several ways. Richard of Cirencester (fourteenth century) changes Asser's "more paterno tyrannice vivere" of Eadburg, to "materna tyrannide incitata."⁴ John Hardyng (fifteenth century) in his poetical *Chronicle* attributes to "Edburge (Eburge) of Mers" the murder of Albert (=St. Ethelbert) as well as of Beorhtric.⁵ Again, Higden (fourteenth century) followed by both his translators, confuses the tale of the martyrdom with the murder of Æthelred of Northumbria who married Offa's other daughter Ælflæd⁶ (in *V* 2,⁷ she is said to have been the bride of Ethelbert). The chief significance of this confusion lies perhaps in its showing the ease with which family relationships were altered in the attachment and localization of a legend.⁸

This relation between the three tales suffices to show that Thrytho's killing the *swæstra gesiða* through *lige-torne*, might have developed into the tale of Drida's crimes, interpreted to

¹ ASSER, cap. 15, l. 3 (STEVENSON, p. 13).

² *V*, 25, ll. 17-19.

³ See p. 20, above.

⁴ *Speculum Historiale de Gest. Reg. Angl.* (Rolls Series, 1863), I, 260.

⁵ Ed. ELLIS (London, 1812), 189-91.

⁶ *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series, 1876), VI, 268, 270, 272, 278, 280.

⁷ *V*, 23, l. 35.

⁸ The confusion in later times is endless. Higden (followed by Hardyng in several MSS) substitutes *Ethelburg* for *Eadburg*. Whether this blunder arose from the mistake in connection with the abbess of Fladbury (see p. 17, n. 2, above), or from the legend of St. Ethelburga is uncertain. The latter in *NLA* (I, 419 ff.) is called the daughter of an Offa, and further was so persecuted by her father for her steadfast refusal to marry that she had to flee (cf. the marriage story in *V* 1; only, in the case of St. Ethelburga, it is not clear whom she was to marry). But in *NLA*, the parentage of another St. Ethelburga is confused with that of St. Edburga (*NLA*, I, 308). And so the process continues until the extrication of the original elements seems hopeless.

refer especially to the murder of St. Ethelbert¹ (this in *Br*, clearly, through *lige-torne*), attached to the historic Cynethryth, through a partial identity of name, and by a confusion of a similar killing of *swæstra gesiða* told of Eadburg, Offa's daughter,² the development being doubtless hastened by the parallel legend of Quendrida and St. Kenelm.

If, then, the Thrytho tale had by the twelfth century become so modified by the Eadburg story as to be the chief source of the Ethelbert legends, the fact that *V2* departs from the versions of *Br* (and Gerald de Barri's *Vita*) and *NLA*, not only in many details, but in alone containing the heroine's name³ and the account of her early life, can scarcely be explained by further use of the same source, but would seem to arise from an attempt either to combine two or more versions differing somewhat, or to borrow features from another tale. Does the use of the name Petronilla or the introduction of Charlemagne into the story serve to explain these differences?

4. Undoubtedly the Petronilla feature is the most obscure of any. Suchier attributes this part of the tale to pure invention,⁴ while Müllenhoff⁵ dismisses it with the unexplained remark that Petronilla is the heroine's true name. From what has been shown of the compiler's methods of work, it is difficult to believe that

¹ Whatever ll. 1936-40 mean, they imply first bonds and then death by the sword. So far I think most of the translators agree. In regard to l. 1939 they differ (see note on the line in Wyatt's edition [Cambridge, 1898], p. 82; also especially Bugge in *Zeitschr. f. Deutsch. Phil.* [Halle, 1873], IV, 207, 208, and the glossary in the HEYNE-SOCIN *Beowulf* [Paderborn and Münster, 1888]; but in all the interpretations suggested the fundamental fact that a sword was the means of death remains clear. If Wyatt's text be adopted, another interpretation (though very far-fetched) of ll. 1936-40, in the light of *V2*, might be that after the curtains and bed-clothes had smothered the victim, the sword which cut off his head was destined to reveal the murder (i. e., by miracle). But I do not think that "wæl-bende. . . hand-gewriþene" can mean anything but ropes or fetters. The most natural interpretation of the passage seems to me that after the victim was bound and slain, the sword revealed the murder by the blood-stains upon it.

² I cannot but think that there is some relation between the compiler's careful attachment of the title *queen* to Drida, as if it were an extraordinary thing that she should be so called, and the fact that Eadburg's story was told as the explanation of how in Wessex the title came to be lost. But the meaning of this relation I cannot venture to interpret.

³ In connection with the fact that in *Br* and *NLA* the queen is nameless, it may be observed that in regard to the daughter's name, which in *V2* is *Ælfleda*, *Br* (col. 752, ll. 29-31) reads: "Virgo igitu *Althrida*, quae & secundum quosdam dicitur *Alfrida*," (in *NLA*, I, 414, l. 43, 416, l. 42, *Alfrida*); *Alfrida* may be a corruption of *Ælfleda*; but *Althrida* suggests *Drida*.

⁴ P. v. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 508.

⁵ *Beowulf*, 78.

he would have invented and introduced, without any authority whatever, this element which serves no obvious purpose but that of more deeply confusing his text. And again, I find no indication that Petronilla was the heroine's true name. The word occurs but once, in the passage, "que se Petronillam nominavit,"¹ which taken alone might imply that the exile changed her name, just as she gave a false, and to herself creditable, explanation of her banishment. This inference is not in accord with the passage in which her name is said to have become changed from Drida to Quendrida because of the unexpectedness with which she was made queen,² but if a sufficient source could be found for the connection of a Petronilla with Offa, a discrepancy such as this in the combination of the two legends is exactly what we should expect of the compiler.

At the outset two facts are clear about the Petronilla element: that it has nothing to do with the legend of St. Petronilla,³ and that the name, of classical origin, seems to have been used historically among the French more than among the English⁴—a point which suggests the possible source of the heroine's connection with Charlemagne.

It is stated on good authority⁵ that there was at one time a question of a marriage alliance between the children of Offa and Charlemagne. The author of the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, who must have been born before Charlemagne died, asserts that Charlemagne asked the hand of Offa's daughter (probably

¹ V, 13, l. 15.

² V, 23, ll. 25, 26.

³ The only account of this saint that I have found, in MSS Nero E I and Harl. 624, is a brief narrative in Latin, telling how her father, St. Peter, cured her of paralysis, and how in answer to her prayers she was allowed to die as an alternative to marrying the *comes Flaccus* (Nero E I, fols. 210, 211). Cf. HERZFELD, *O. E. Martyrology* (E. E. T. S., 1900), 88. Cf. also MS Stowe, 949, fols. 154, 155, for a fourteenth-century version.

⁴ See indexes to DUCHESNE, *Hist. Francor. Script.* (Paris, 1636, etc.); BOUQUET, *Historiens de la France* (Paris, 1738, etc.); and PERTZ, *Monum. Germ.* (Hanover, 1826, etc.). The name *Marcellina*, *Marcella* (V, 10, l. 26; 11, ll. 49, 50; 12, l. 48; 13, l. 9), given to Offa's mother, was almost certainly introduced from some foreign source. Its resemblance in sound to *Matrosilie*, the mother-in-law in *La Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne* (ed. TODD, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, IV, 1889, l. 713), is probably accidental.

⁵ "Novissime vero propter filiam eiusdem regis, quam in coniugium expostulabat Carolus iunior; sed illo hoc non acquiescente, nisi Berta, filia Magni Karoli, eius filio nuptui traderetur, aliquantulum potentissimus rex commotus, praecepit, ut nemo de Brittania insula ac gente Anglorum mercimonii causa litus oceani maris attingeret in Gallia. Sed ne hoc fieret, ammonitione ac supplicatione venerandi praedicti patris Gervoldi inhibitum est" (*Gest. Abb. Font.*, ed. LÖWENFELD, 46, 47).

Eadburg) for his son, and that Offa agreed if Charlemagne would grant the hand of his daughter Bertha to Ecgferth, whereupon Charlemagne was so enraged that war between the kings was with difficulty averted.

Whether or not this story is true—and it bears out Einhard's¹ curious testimony that Charlemagne could not bear the thought that any of his daughters should marry—it suggests at least that in the eighth and ninth centuries the names of Offa and Charlemagne were connected in a question of marriage.

The relationship of Drida-Petronilla with Charlemagne might perhaps have arisen from the allusion to Eadburg in the Fontenelle account; but, although Eadburg agrees with Drida in character and in her flight across the sea,² the relationship with Charlemagne belongs rather to Bertha.

The next point must be to determine whether any story told of a Bertha resembles the Drida tale sufficiently to account for its connection with Charlemagne.

The name *Bertha* is peculiarly associated with the emperor: his mother was *Bertha*, *Berthrada*, or *Bertrada*; his granddaughter was *Berthaid*, and his favorite daughter, *Bertha*.³ His sister was the subject of legend (in the Venice *Charlemagne* she is called *Berte*), and his mother was one of the popular literary figures of the Middle Ages. The objection that immediately arises on the ground of difference of relationship is met by the fact that the compiler never once defines Drida's degree of kinship to Charlemagne, using only the expression *consanguinea* and *consanguinitate propinquam*, and possibly alluding to him or his son in the phrase "*alicui transmarino amico suo*."⁴

But in order to show that the Frankish or Romance element in *V2* was really derived through some form of the *Berte* story, it is necessary to trace, if possible, a connection between the names *Berte* and *Petronilla*, and to indicate peculiarities in the text that seem to have been taken from the tale of *Berte*.

¹ *Vita Karoli Imperatoris*, cap. xix.

² From England to France, however.

³ See MOMBERT, *History of Charles the Great* (London, 1888), Index. According to some accounts, his first wife was *Berterad* (*ibid.*, 77, n. 2).

⁴ Cf. *V*, 12, l. 33, ll. 40, 41; 23, ll. 27, 45.

There is, of course, no real relation between *Petronilla* (a diminutive formed from the Greek *Peter*) and the Germanic word *Bertha*, which comes from a root meaning *bright*.¹ But the name *Bertha* in the Middle Ages existed in a variety of forms and combinations, some of which depart very far from the original word. For example, it is *Berte* (*Bierte*) and *Bertain* (*Biertain*)² in French. It is quoted from various German sources in forms as diverse as *Perahta*, *Berhta*, *Berchta*, *Berchte*, *Perchtha*, *Precht*, *Perchtel*, and even in such extensions as *Prechtölterli*, *Brechtölterin*, and *Prechtölterin*.⁴ It occurs in Latin records of Merovingian and Carolingian times in the variants and combinations: *Berta*, *Berthaid(is)*, *Bertrada*, *Berchtrudis* (= *Berthe-trude*), *Bertilia*, *Bertildis*, *Bertranda*, *Bertana*, *Bertilla*, *Perhta*, *Perhterat*, *Perhtrada*, and others.⁴ Undoubtedly other variants existed;⁵ and among them may have been some form that could have become confused with *Petronilla*,⁶ which was a common name in the twelfth century.⁷

In other words, if there is sufficient evidence of influence upon *V* from any form of the legend of *Berte*, the name *Petronilla* is not a serious objection in the way of admitting it.

Aside from its function in relating the tale to Charlemagne, the influence of the *Berte* legend in *V* appears in three ways:

1. Allusions in the text to a possible conquest of England by Charlemagne.

¹ GRIMM, *Deutsch. Myth.* (ed. MEYER), 184 and 660, n. 3.

² See PHILIPPE MOUSKES, *Chronique rimée* (ed. DE REIFFENBERG, II, 2696, 2707, 2715, 2717, 2722, 2736, 2737).

³ GRIMM, *Deutsch. Myth.* (ed. MEYER), 226-34.

⁴ Indexes to DUCHESNE, BOUQUET, PERTZ.

⁵ *Bertanilla* (cf. *Bertana*, *Bertilla*), for example, does not seem impossible, although I have not found it.

⁶ Especially by the compiler. Wishing to identify his *Humbertus*, archbishop of Lichfield, with the historical *Berhtun* (*Byrhtun*), who was bishop of Lichfield some years before (see HADDAN AND STUBBS, III, 435, 446), he does it as follows: "*Humbertus, quem quidam Bertum appellant, syllaba subtracta*" (*V*, 22, ll. 15, 16).

⁷ It is not impossible that an historical allusion may underlie the form *Petronilla*. Obviously the compiler did not love the French (as appears from: "*in uerba iactantie et elacionis secundum patrie sue consuetudinem prorumpens*" (*V*, 12, ll. 51, 52); and clearly Abbot John de Cella had no good reason to love King John, who actually claimed jurisdiction over St. Albans and had to be bought off at a heavy price. This king was notoriously under the influence of his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and she had a sister *Petronilla* (cf. BOUQUET, XII, 116C, 410B, 471D, E). Is it impossible that in this picture of a haughty, avaricious, unscrupulous Frenchwoman called *Petronilla* an indirect stab at the queen-mother herself may have been intended?

2. The introduction of the innocent, persecuted woman theme.
3. The original character of Berte as compared with that of Drida.

1. Gaston Paris has pointed out traces of a lost *chanson de geste* treating of the conquest of England by Charlemagne.¹ At least three other allusions to such an event may be given:

a) *J* says: "Porro iste, sicut alia regna, sic et Angliam tempore huius regis Offe sibi subegit."² Such an assertion, in the absence of all historical evidence, could have come only from legend, popular literature. If the author of *J* is also the compiler of *CM 1* and of *V*, the extension of reading shown between *J* and *CM 1* would have led to the correction of the blunder in the latter, while *V*, with its account of the unsuccessful attempts of the queen to bring the kingdom under the rule of her Frankish friend, may represent an attempt to combine history and legend.³

b) The second allusion to the conquest of England is in Walter Map's story of Gado⁴ (=Wada, Wade). In this, Offa is king of "insulam nostram, id est Angliam," the builder of the great dyke; but his connection with Wade suggests also a confusion with O 1. The invading army comes from Rome, headed by an emperor, who is called by a punning name, obviously substituted for his real name for the sake of abusing him.⁵ This tale is either unique in its subject-matter or is related to that branch of the Arthur literature that deals with a war in Brittany against the Romans who were intending an invasion of England, and in that case has nothing to do with Wade or with either Offa; or a fictitious Roman invasion came to be connected with Charlemagne by virtue of his coronation at Rome. The probability that this last view is correct is increased by the suppression of the emperor's true name⁵ and by Map's assertion, "Multa inter

¹ *Hist. Poët. de Charl.* (Paris, 1865), 295. Note especially MOUSKES, *Chronique rimée*, l. 4642, and the English poem, *Rouland and Vernagu* (E. E. T. S., *Eng. Charl. Rom.*, VI, pp. 37 ff.), ll. 7-9, which adds, "& emperour he was of rome," l. 14.

² Fol. 13a; GALE, III, 529.

³ The compiler seems to boast of special knowledge of Charlemagne's campaigns against the Saxons (cf. *V*, 14, 7-9, 15, 16). This may have been derived from historical records; but "*que speciales tractatus exigeret*" implies an abundance of material that suggests Bodel's *chanson de geste* or its predecessor.

⁴ *De Nug. Cur.*, Distinc. II, cap. xvii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁶ In form it suggests most nearly the name of Conan (Meriaduc) who, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the leader in a fabulous conquest of Brittany. But this identification leads to endless difficulties.

Romanos et Anglos audivimus ad utrorumque lacrimas facta conjugia, quorum hoc unum," which is in perfect keeping with Drida-Petronilla's trouble-making propensities in *V* 2,¹ and might have arisen from the hint in the Fontenelle account.

c) A different legend implying also the conquest of England is preserved in the *Weihenstephan Chronik*. According to this, while Charlemagne was absent in a war, his wife came to the point of marrying the king of England; but, informed by an angel of the event, he returned in time to stop the proceedings, and reduced the English king to submission.²

These hints, when taken in connection with the narrative of the Fontenelle monk, seem to furnish grounds for a legendary marriage between a daughter or other kinswoman of Charlemagne to Offa, by reason of which discord arose between the two countries.

2. Drida's excuse that she was banished through the machinations of a disappointed suitor (or suitors?) is borrowed from some form of the innocent, persecuted woman tale. Whether *quorum nuptias ne degeneraret spreuit*"³ refers to a social or a moral⁴ objection, the phrase, taken in connection with the banishment, is suggestive of a class of tales peculiarly associated with Charlemagne,⁵ as I shall endeavor to show; hence, if Drida-Petronilla made use of it to explain her banishment, she is herself thereby doubly connected with Charlemagne.

3. In the absence of any testimony as to the details and character of legends connecting Charlemagne's daughter Berte with a conquest of England, and on the basis of influence from the legend of Berte aux Grands Pieds, Charlemagne's mother, upon both marriage stories in *V*, we may perhaps look to find in this

¹ Map's allusions to the avarice of the Romans (86, 87) and Drida's avarice may also be compared.

² I have not seen the chronicle itself, and ARETIN gives no further details (*Älteste Sage über die Geburt und Jugend Karls des Grossen* [Munich, 1803], 85, 86).

³ *V*, 12, l. 42.

⁴ More probably the objection was moral, as that interpretation accords with the greater number of these tales (cf. *Emaré*, 251-64). But there may have been a social element in it as well. Cf. Petronilla's pride because of her relationship to Charlemagne (*V*, 23, ll. 26, 27) with the description of Bertha by Helperic (or Angilbert) in "Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa" (*Poetæ Lat. Aev. Carol.* (ed. DÜMMLER, Berlin, 1881), I, 371, ll. 219 ff.). She alone of Charlemagne's daughters is described as the feminine replica of her great father. Suchier assumes that it is social (P. u. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 506).

⁵ See pp. 37, 43 ff., below.

widely known story the reason for the introduction of Charlemagne into the Drida story.

The poem, *Berte aus Grans Piés*, by Adenés le Roi, dating from the thirteenth century, was based upon older popular versions for which the courtly minstrel professed great scorn,¹ claiming that he himself had found the only true account among the records of the Abbey of St. Denis.

How these versions differed from the versions of Adenés, it is impossible to say; but it is clear at least that he has borrowed from them his title, which he neither explains nor uses in any way in the plot of the poem. Fortunately there is no doubt as to the meaning of "aus grans piés." The identification of the *reine pédauques* culptured in the portals of several old French churches, with the legendary Berthe of the Middle Ages, seems to have been pretty generally accepted,² and by this identification Bertha of the Big Feet, the Goose-Footed Queen (*Bertha mit dem fuoze*, *Berte aus grans piés*, *Baerte metten breiden voeten*), is seen to have been a swan-maiden, the mediæval representative of the valkyrie. Thus in German folklore she was regarded as a sort of witch, having one foot (sometimes both feet) large, broad, and unshapely.

"Die wilde Berchta," in Germany at least, was regarded as a being akin to "Frau Holle" (indeed, personifying attributes of the same heathen divinity), whom she resembled in her wild rides through the forest and her sudden raids to work mischief upon mankind.³

Of this being there is no trace in the work of Adenés. His Berte is a beautiful, innocent princess, who is by treachery separated from her husband and exposed to die in the forest; and her story thus resolves itself into a variation on the theme of the innocent, persecuted woman.⁴

¹ ED. SCHELER (Brussels, 1874), ll. 5-16 especially. He says:

"Apprentic jongleur et escrivain mari

Ont l'estoire faussée, onques mais ne vi si" (ll. 13, 14).

Cf. also ll. 897-903.

² BULLET in his *Dissertations sur la Mythologie Française*, 1771, pp. 33-63 (published again by LEBER, *Coll. des meilleurs dissert.* [Paris, 1830], 140-61) identifies her with Bertha, the queen of Robert II (died 1031); but see, also, a note by DE REIFFENBERG in the *Chronique rimée* of Mouskes, p. 96, l. 2338; GRIMM (ed. MEYER), *Nachtrag*, 90, 91; and MEYER, 275, 276.

³ GRIMM (ed. MEYER), 226-34; MOGK, 280, 281.

⁴ Cf. PAULIN PARIS, *MSS Français* (Paris, 1845), VI, 42.

In mediæval popular lore, however, there was also a being, called sometimes "die stampfende Trud," who in her character and actions shows a strong resemblance to "die wilde Berchta." The adjective "stampfende" suggests that she, like Broad-Footed Bertha, may have been originally a swan-maiden (a valkyrie). Her derivation from the Old Norse *prūðr* (O.E. *prȳðo*), however, does not seem to be proved;¹ nor is there any evidence to show that she was known in England,² except in the persistence of the name *Thrytho* in women's names, which is parallel to the persistence of *trud* in Germany.

However, this much seems clear: if Bertha and Trude (*Drute*, *Drude*, *Trute*)³ were known in mediæval folklore at the same time and represented with similar characters, and if a tale of the valkyrie Thrytho as the wife of O 1 was known in England (later, by reason of a partial identity of name and the similarity between the tale and the wicked career of Eadburg, transferred to O 2), and the tale of a valkyrie Bertha was known in France and attached to the name of Charlemagne, and if there was an historical account of a question of marriage between Offa's son (readily supplanted in legend by Offa himself)⁴ and a Bertha, who was the daughter of Charlemagne, we have, barring the corruption of name, all the elements required to explain the confusion in this part of *V* 2.⁵

¹ Mogk (268) objects to Grimm's derivation of the word from Old High German *trūt* = *dilectus*, on the ground of a difference of quantity, but suggests a possible affinity to the Swedish (dialect of Gothland) *druda* = *liederliches Frauenzimmer*. SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 509 n.) had previously mentioned, although with much doubt, a possible relationship to the Celtic *druth* (*meretrix*). Mogk objects also to the identification of the *Trude* with the valkyrie on the ground that the former represents merely a personification of the oppression of nightmare. But, in any case, beings of very different origins become more or less assimilated in popular lore.

² Nightmare seems to be personified as *Alp* in southern and central Germany, *Trude* in central Germany, *Schrat* in southern and central Germany, and *Wältriderske* (which suggests the connection with valkyrie) in Friesland and Oldenburg, all of which seem to be much the same thing (MEYER, 118; MOGK, 268, 269).

³ MEYER, *Germ. Myth.*, loc. cit.

⁴ In the story of Eadburg, Charlemagne offers her the choice of himself or his son Carloman (ASSER, cap. xv).

⁵ Both names are combined in that of the legendary *Berchtrudis* (*Berthetrude*), queen of Chlotarius II. (cf. *Lotaires in La Naiss. du Chev. au Cygne*), mother of the legendary Dagobert (cf. the *Chroniques de St. Denis*, in BOUQUET, III, 272 D, E, 273 A, B, 275 D, and 277 A; also 120 E, 121 D, 350 D). Whether any material connected with this name assisted the compiler in his amalgamation of the stories it is impossible to say; but if he studied in Paris he would almost certainly have made use of the records of St. Denis.

VI.

The marriage story in *V1*, for which the Danish accounts furnish no parallel, is abruptly joined to the summary that follows the account of Offa's accession to the throne; and shows no manner of resemblance, in matter or in style, to the first part of the text.

That the two parts were originally distinct is shown by a discrepancy in regard to the hero's age. At the end of the first part Offa is said to have been thirty-four years old. In the beginning of the second part we read "*More iuuenili*," and then "*Post hec aliquot annis elapsis*." *Aliquot* cannot mean less than three, and suggests more; therefore when we put together the two parts,¹ we must conclude that the king was nearly forty before it occurred to his councilors that he should marry, and yet the description of him distinctly implies early youth: "*Etatis enim iuuenilis pubertas, morum maturitas, et urgens regni necessitas necnon et honoris dignitas, itidem postularunt*."² It is inconceivable that they would have waited until the king was past middle age before urging on him these considerations.³

The two most striking characteristics of this story are its immediate connection with the foundation of St. Albans and its apparent identity with the popular mediæval tale of the innocent, persecuted woman.

1. The grounds on which the compiler was justified in introducing this tale in place of the Thrytho story, which originally belonged to *O1*, will be discussed later; but here the fact is patent that, as it stands, it suits his purpose admirably. By the prayers of a hermit the king's children, who have been killed and mutilated (their hands and feet cut off) in fulfilment of the forged commands, are restored to life; and they and his wife are kept alive by this same hermit, at whose hut Offa finds them. In the excess of the king's gratitude the hermit suggests the founding of a monastery in that place. Whatever the original content of the story may have been, nearly seventy lines at least of the

¹ Cf. *V*, 6, ll. 8, 9, and 43.

² *V*, 6, ll. 47, 48.

³ Suhm attempted to reconcile the Danish and English sources, on the hypothesis that this was a second marriage (SUHM-GRÄTER, I, 129, 130).

text may safely be regarded as foreign matter, introduced either by the compiler or by some earlier monkish authority whom he used.¹

2. The tale of the innocent, persecuted woman, of which eighteen mediæval versions, more or less literary, and more than forty versions in popular folklore, are known, finds its earliest representative in the second part of *V1*.² The story has three centers of action: (*a*) the heroine's native land; (*b*) her husband's land; (*c*) the place of the second exile; and an examination of the localization of these shows the original home of the legend. Out of the eighteen mediæval versions:

- (*a*) in three cases is Rome.
 in five cases is France.
 in one case is Rome and France.
 in one case is Constantinople.
 in two cases is Hungary.
 in one case is Russia.
 in one case is Dacia.
 in three cases is England.
 in one case is uncertain.
- (*b*) in seven cases is England, Scotland, Wales.
 in three cases is France.
 in one case is Rome.
 in two cases is Greece.
 in one case is Vienna.
 in four cases is uncertain.
- (*c*) in ten cases is Rome.
 in two cases is France.
 in one case is France and Rome.
 in one case is England.
 in one case is Germany.
 in three cases is not specified.

The heroine's father is in sixteen cases out of eighteen³ a king or emperor, and in nine cases connected with France or Rome, or

¹ The account of the miraculous restoration extends over twenty lines (*V*, 8, ll. 23-46), preceded by the marvel of the children's cries after death (ll. 15-18). Then forty-seven lines are given to the promise of founding the Abbey (9, ll. 26-57, and 10, ll. 1-16). The children become in his eyes martyrs. "Nec sine martiri palma," etc., he says (8, l. 22).

² Cf. SUCHIER, *La Manékine*, pp. xxiii ff.

³ Of the other two: in one, he is Comte d'Anjou; in the other, Duc de Guienne, her mother being daughter to the king of France.

both; her husband in seven cases is king of England, Scotland, or Wales,¹ and the place of the second exile is in ten cases Rome. In the remaining versions the localization is either vague or widely varying. From these facts alone, it would seem that the original tale had to do with the daughter of a king of France or emperor of Rome² (and Charlemagne indeed might have been regarded as either or both), who was exiled and married a king of England, was again exiled and went to Rome. Considering that of the remaining cases several do not specify the localities, while England appears three times as the original home, France three times as the scene of the first exile, and two as the scene of the second (besides Rome and France, in one case), we must conclude that an early and popular form of the tale took the form suggested above.³

The next point to be determined is whether there is any basis for transferring this tale to a king of France or emperor of Rome, from a king of York. The name that at once suggests itself, both as combining the two titles and as a point of attachment for legends, is Charlemagne. The only historical basis for the application to him of the tale of which *V1* is the oldest known version is a sentence of Einhard's referring to his daughters: "dicens, se earum contubernio carere non posse" and "Ac propter hoc, licet alias felix, adversae fortunae malignitatem expertus est; quod tamen ita dissimulavit, ac si de eis nulla umquam alicuius probri suspicio exorta, vel fama dispersa fuisset."⁴

These words seems to imply that disgraceful stories were spread abroad about him,⁵ and in an age when *Apollonius of*

¹ SUCHIER (P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 517, with n.1) claims that Galys = Galicia in Spain; but examples of this spelling referring to Wales are not uncommon.

² Constantinople, Hungary, Dacia, and Russia might have been related to the Byzantine Emperor. The first two may have been suggested by the *Reute* story.

³ It may be still further noted that the main scene of action in six important versions: *V1*, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, *La Manékine*, TRIVET's *Constance*, *La Fille du Roi de France*, and *Emaré*, which are either among the oldest or derived from a primitive tradition, is in England, Scotland, or Wales; in the first four, Northumbria or Mercia.

⁴ *Vita Karoli Imperatoris*, cap. xix. This may allude, however, to the way in which they deceived him.

⁵ A verse written 825 accused Charlemagne of being given up to vice. Like Arthur, he was accused of incest with his own sister. Cf. BOUQUET, V, 399, *Hist. Polt. de Charl.*, 378 ff.; GAUTIER, *Les épopées Françaises* (Paris, 1878-87), III, 65-67. She is called *Berte* in the *Venice Charlemagne*.

Tyre was one of the popular tales,¹ this is by no means surprising.

The importance of this allusion lies in its suggestion that Drida's excuse in *V 2* was not chosen arbitrarily by the compiler, but represents a genuine tale of this sort attached to Charlemagne.

In endeavoring to trace more definitely the relation of the story in *V 1* to the other members of the group, I shall first compare it with the two versions to which it shows the greatest affinity, Nicholas Trivet's tale of *Constance*² and the lay of *Emaré*.³

<i>V 1</i>	<i>Constance</i>	<i>Emaré</i>
1. Daughter of king of York condemned to die for refusing the unnatural love of her father; but spared by her murderers and left to perish in the woods.	Daughter of Roman emperor Tiberius Constantine (adventure totally different).	Daughter of King Arthur turned adrift in a rudderless boat for refusing to become his second wife.
2. Princess found by Offa hunting in woods and taken home by him. After some years he marries her for her beauty and virtue.	Princess drifts to shore of England, is found by Constable Elda and taken home by him. The reputation of her beauty and miracles reaches Alla who marries her.	Princess drifts to shore of <i>Galys</i> , is found by the seneschal Sir Kadore, serves in his household, and wins the king's love by her demeanor in waiting upon him, and becomes his queen.
3. Some time after his children are born, Offa departs to help the king of Northumbria (to whom he promises his daughter in marriage) against the Scots.	Before his child is born, Alla goes to fight the Scots.	Before his child is born the king of <i>Galys</i> goes to help the king of France against the Saracens.

¹ Over a hundred Latin MSS are known. In the twelfth century MARIE DE FRANCE alludes to such a story in her *Douz Amanz*; GODFREY OF VITERBO introduces it into his *Pantheon*; the romance of *Jourdain de Blaie* retells the Apollonius tale, placing the scene in the time of Charlemagne.

² *Originals and Analogues* (Chaucer Society, 1872, Part I), pp. 1-53.

³ RITSON, *Ancient English Metr. Romances*, II, 204 ff.

V 1

*Constance**Emaré*

4. The messenger whom Offa sends to announce his victory goes through York, where the queen's father lives, is drugged, and his letter replaced by one commanding that the queen and her children shall be cast into the woods and, with hands and feet cut off, left to die, because she is a witch and has brought defeat upon him.

Messenger sent to announce birth of a son goes through Knaresborough (near York) where Alla's mother lives. She drugs him and replaces his letter by one in which the child is said to be a monster. Upon his return, the letter, in which Alla commands that mother and child shall be cared for, is replaced by one ordering exposure in the boat in which the woman came.

Very similar to *Constance*, except that the mother-in-law's place of residence is not specified.

5. The queen is rescued by a hermit who restores her mutilated children to life and keeps her and them for some years.

The queen after five years of various adventures arrives at Rome and lives there twelve years at the house of the senator Arsemius, who educates her son.

The queen in seven days floats to Rome, where she is taken home by a merchant in whose house she and her son remain for seven years.

6. The king finds his family accidentally while hunting in the forest and promises the hermit to build an abbey there, but afterward breaks his word.

The king undertakes a penitential pilgrimage to Rome for having in his wrath killed his mother. At Rome he finds his wife and son. His wife then makes herself known to the emperor, her father.

Very similar to *Constance*.

The resemblances between these three versions may be summed up in the statement that all treat of the two persecutions of an innocent woman, turned adrift in the forest or on the sea, by a near relation (father or mother-in-law), through the drugging of a messenger and the forging of letters (a letter) in which she is accused of being a witch (of demonic origin). The first exile

is from the father, the second from the husband, to whom after various adventures she is finally restored.

With this common basic plot, there are noticeable several striking differences of detail:

1. The exposure in *V1* is in the forest; in *Constance* and *Emaré*, in a rudderless boat.¹ But *Drida-Petronilla*, who in *V2* plays the part of the innocent, persecuted woman, is turned adrift in a boat.

2. The persecutor in *V1*, in both instances, is the father; in *Constance*, in both cases, a mother-in-law (but not the same);² in *Emaré*, as in the majority of the later versions, it is first by the father, and second by the mother-in-law.

3. In *V1* the whole action is confined to central and northern England (Mercia and Northumbria); in *Constance*, the greater part of it occurs in Northumbria, but it begins and ends at Rome; in *Emaré* it is vague, and though the chief part of the story happens in Britain, both France and Rome are introduced as well.

4. In *V1* the command is twice given to cut off the heroine's hands and feet, although it is not carried out. Her children, however, are thus mutilated and miraculously healed by the hermit. In *Constance* and *Emaré* there is no question of mutilation³ and there is but one child.

5. In *V1* the children are born before the father's departure, hence there is no charge of a monstrous birth, and but one letter is forged; in *Constance* and *Emaré*, and in nearly all the later versions, letters are forged alike during the messenger's outward and return journey.⁴

¹ The later versions of the tale differ, although the majority agree in exposure by sea: eleven as against six in the forest, and one in which each method is used twice. See SUCHIER, *La Manékine*, Introduction, especially pp. liv ff.

² The opening incident in the tale of *Constance* appears to be a duplication of the second persecution, borrowed perhaps from some saint's legend, and introduced in order to avoid the popular story. It is, at least, unique among the different versions of the tale, and in its present character can scarcely have been earlier than the time of the Crusades.

³ In *V*, 6, ll. 30-36, the command is simply "eam in desertum solitudinis remote duci, uel pocius trahi, et crudelissima morte condemnatam bestiis ibidem derelinqui;" but the text continues: "seductores . . . miserti pulchritudini illius eam ibidem sine trucidacione et membrorum mutilacione uiuam . . . dimiserunt." In the second case the mutilation is commanded, apparently as a form of punishment. See GRIMM, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, (Leipzig, 1899), II, 291 ff.

⁴ Cf. *V*, ll. 39-44; *Const.*, pp. 27-31; and *Em.*, ll. 508 ff., and 565 ff.

6. In *V1* the rescuer is a hermit; in *Constance*, a Roman senator; in *Emaré*, a Roman merchant.

7. Both *Constance* and *Emaré* contain various episodes not found in *V1*: the discovery of the heroine by the king's steward and her life in his household before she is brought to the notice of the king;¹ and in *Constance*, episodes in connection with her second journey.

8. In *V1* she is after each exile discovered by her husband who is hunting in the forest; in *Constance* and *Emaré* she is first brought to the king's notice through his steward, and is afterward found by him at Rome, whither he has gone on a penitential pilgrimage for the murder of his mother.

In this obvious mixture of elements is it possible to pick out the strands of the separate, original stories?

In the first place, it must be granted that *V1* is both narrow and definite in its localization and logical in the development of its parts. It is the only version in which the second persecution grows naturally out of the first. In *Constance* and *Emaré* (taken as representatives of the class) the connection between the two persecutions seems at first purely arbitrary. The clue as to the manner in which they came to be joined together is found, I think, in the charge brought against the queen, which suggests at once one of the most popular groups of tales in the twelfth century, that of the mortal (king, prince, nobleman) who marries a supernatural being (fairy or ghost). This group of tales divides itself into several classes:

1. Those in which the wife, who is generally caught by a trick, insists upon a taboo, the breaking of which by the husband causes him to lose her.²

2. Those in which she bears children that show marks of their supernatural origin—a fact which the jealous mother-in-law uses to bring about the separation of husband and wife. These stories have usually a happy ending.³

¹ In *Emaré* she serves in the steward's household and attracts attention by her beautiful embroidery (ll. 58–60, 67, 373–96); in *Constance* she works miracles and converts the heathen, and is falsely accused of murder, much as is the heroine in the poem *Florence de Rome*.

² MAP, *De Nug. Cur.*, Distinc. II, cap. xi, xii, xiii; and IV, cap. viii, ix.

³ To this class belong the romances of the Swan cycle. In *Dolopathos* (ed. BRUNET AND MONTAIGLON, Paris, 1856), ll. 9228–39, she is plainly a fay; in *Chanson du Chevalier au*

If, at the time when these tales of the marriage of mortals with supernatural beings were popular, there existed also the story of a daughter who was banished by, or had to flee from, her own father, and if the daughter was silent as to the cause of her exile, the jealous mother-in-law, knowing only that she was found in the woods (or had drifted in a boat from an unknown country), would readily find a means of persecution in inventing the story of a monstrous birth, which might really have occurred, according to the popular notion, had the heroine been what her mother-in-law chose to think her. If this is reasonable, it suggests that two elements enter into the composition of the tale of the innocent, persecuted woman:

1. The daughter (a mortal) persecuted by her own father.
2. A supernatural being wedded to a mortal and persecuted by her mother-in-law.

In keeping with this theory are the facts that, while *V1* represents the first tale in double form, and several forms of the second are known to have existed in the twelfth century, the earliest known version in which they are combined dates from the thirteenth century.

There seems no doubt that the valkyrie of Old Germanic literature had become the swan-maiden and the fay of twelfth-century literature; and that these two beings were at that time regarded as practically the same.

Swan-maidens¹ or fays were usually found by a fountain in the woods. This fact suggests how the story of the wife of *O1*, found in the woods and banished on a charge of witchcraft² came

Cygne et de Godefroid de Bouillon (ed. HIPPEAU, Paris, 1874) her supernatural character is almost lost; in *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne* (*Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, IV, 1889) the heroine dies early (ll. 1236 ff.), although she is once called a fay (l. 1635), but the children are exposed in the forest by their grandmother. In *Constance* (p. 29) the child is described: "que ne recembre pas a fourme de homme, mes a vne maladite fourme, hidouse & doloureuse." So in *Emaré*, ll. 536-40.

¹ The *silvestres virgines* of Saxo (ed. HOLDER, 70, ll. 11-26; 76, ll. 8-23; cf. MOOG, 269-271) seem, like valkyries, to determine the fortune of war and like Norns to foresee the future. In the *Lay of Weyland* (*Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 169) the fairies are found spinning on the sea-shore, but come and go through *Mirkwood*.

² In *V1* the heroine is alluded to in the forged letter as *perditam et maleficam* (7, l. 50); in *Const.* she is called "malueise esprit en fourme de femme" (pp. 27-29); in *De Nug. Cur.*, IV, ix, which WRIGHT (p. 168) considers the foundation of *V1*, the beautiful girl found weeping in the woods is in reality a *pestilentia*. *Malefica* and *pestilentia* seem to be the equivalents of *venefica*, which, significantly enough, is translated into Old English as

under the influence of swan-maiden tales. The woman exposed in the boat was originally the innocent, persecuted daughter (as Drida pretended to be). But if we are to believe that the valkyrie Thrytho came over the sea, and Bertha, originally a valkyrie, was left to die in the woods, then it might well follow, not only that Drida should find her excuse in the tale of the innocent, persecuted woman, but also that the story of Bertha might have influenced the account of the woman in *V1*.

The nature of this influence it is perhaps impossible to show in detail, since the version of Adenés certainly departed widely from the common accounts, and the version in *V1* is by no means simple and original. However, the general resemblance of situation is noteworthy. An innocent woman is dragged into the forest to be slain, but the murderers, touched by her beauty, leave her uninjured (in *V1* they were to have cut off her hands and feet; in *Berte*, to have cut out her heart). In both cases there is question of a hermit, but his function is different: in *V1* he affords the first night's shelter, after Offa has found the princess; and afterward saves the woman and her children and suggests the founding of the abbey; in *Berte* he refuses the wanderer shelter.¹

Considering, then, the hint of supernatural character in the wife of O1, the resemblance between her situation and that of *Berte*, who was originally a valkyrie, the fact that Drida avails herself of the excuse of the innocent, persecuted woman and that

wælcyrge = valkyrie (MEYER, 175; GRIMM, ed, MEYER, 346; also BOSWORTH-TOLLER). The punishment for witchcraft was banishment (LIEBERMANN, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* [Halle, 1898], I, 134, 135). Drida, too, is called *regina malefica* (*V*, 24, ll. 14, 15).

¹ That the *Berte* story influenced the development of the *Constance* group after the time of *V1* seems to appear in several ways: (1) the incident of the bloody knife (*Orig. and Anat.*, pp. 21-23; Adenés, ll. 412-35), though this more closely resembles a similar incident in the *Florence de Rome Le Bone* (*Flor. of Rome*, ll. 1593 ff.) group; (2) the heroine's concealment of her origin, which is common; (3) her sojourn in the household of a nobleman (in *Berte* the nobleman's wife is a *Constance*, ll. 1125-33); (4) her fine embroidery (ll. 1379-1426; cf. *Emaré*, 58-60, 67, 376, 377, 382-84); (5) the burning of the old woman who causes the trouble (ll. 2268, 2303, 2304), which appears in several versions.

Further mixture of the stories is indicated in the fact that the king of York's daughter tells the truth, while Drida, like *Berte*, invents a fiction; and, again, *Constance* is accused of being able to bring destruction upon the land ("qe si ele en la terre demorat, ceo auendreit a guerre et destruccioun de toute la terre par estraunge naciouns," p. 31), as Drida certainly tried to do. And, again, the daughter whom O1 promises to the king of Northumbria is evidently borrowed from O2. She may be the fourth daughter named in the Chertsey charter (*Æthelþitthe* = Althrida? Alfrida? Æthelswith?), BIRCH, I, 251, whom the compiler could not place in *V2*.

many of these tales were later attached to Charlemagne, and in view of the historical association of the names of Offa and Charlemagne also in connection with a Berte, I conclude that all these hints point toward the inference that some form of the *Berte* legend (*Petronilla* being derived either by corruption or wilful variation) has influenced the text of *V1*. But another feature in *V1* is perhaps due to *Berte*. It seems clear to me that the question of mutilation is not an original feature of the tale as it is in *Berte*, for the reason that in the *Constance* group it is often lacking, and where it exists is motived in such a variety of ways as to suggest that it has been introduced without sufficient reason, while in *Berte*, with some changes of detail, the original motive, which is at once primitive and logical—the demand for the heart, eyes, tongue, or other organs as evidence of death—is regularly preserved.¹

In seven versions² of the story of the innocent, persecuted woman the mutilation feature is lacking altogether. *La Belle Hélène* alone resembles *Berte* in regarding the mutilated member—in this case, stupidly enough, a hand—as a token of death. In *La Manékine*³ the heroine cuts off her own hand, the left, apparently to avoid the hated wedding ring. In several versions she cuts off one hand or both hands because her father had admired their beauty,⁴ and in Einkenkel's *Chronique* she cuts off her hair and scratches her face for the same reason.⁵ In *V1* the mutilation is directly connected with the foundation of the abbey; hence, later narratives would have to explain its introduction in different ways.

¹ In the *Berte* legend a sow's heart or a dog's tongue is used as proof of death (ADENÈS, ll. 656-77; ARETIN, pp. 22-25). In the story of Charlemagne's wife, St. Hildegard (BRUSCH, *Chronolog. Monaster. German. Praecip.* (Sulzbach, 1682), 93-97), she is first condemned to be thrown into the river, and the second time to be killed in the forest. The eyes of a young dog (*catulum*) are used as proof of her death.

² *Mai und Beafstor*, *La Comtesse d'Anjou*, *Ystoria Regis Francorum*, *Il Pecorone*, *La Fille du Roi de France*, *Emaré*, and Fazio's *De Origine inter Gallos et Britannos Belli Historia*.

³ In this connection it is interesting to note that in the *miracle* based upon *La Manékine*, the heroine calls herself *Berthequine* or *Bethequine* (*Miracles de Nostre Dame* [Paris, 1880, Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr., V, No. 29], ll. 689, 763, 793, 1501). Once the author slips and calls her *manequine* (l. 1519).

⁴ Cf. the story of the nun in JACQUES DE VITRY's *Exempla* (London, 1890), LVII.

⁵ See SUCHIER, *La Manékine*, Introduction, for a summary of all the versions.

The original substance of the tale, then, when stripped of extraneous matter, reduces itself to a double persecution of an innocent daughter and wife by some enemy. Is it possible to trace this story still further toward its source? The suggestion has several times been made that *The Wife's Complaint* is not a separate lyric, but an epic fragment. Conybeare, who did not recognize that the speaker was a woman, mentioned the Hildebrand saga;¹ Grein, that of Genevieve.² Wülcker,³ however, agrees with Ten Brink⁴ in holding that the poem is an independent lyric, although he suggests that it belongs to the Offa saga, if to any. Mr. Brooke⁵ holds a similar view.

Wülcker's chief objection to considering this poem a part of the Offa saga, aside from its apparent completeness, was the absence of the child or children. But these in *V 1* play no part except as they are connected with the foundation of St. Albans.⁶

Ten Brink sums up the question as follows:

In den übrigen [i. e., omitting *Deor's Lament*] Denkmälern der altenglischen Lyrik lässt sich eine Beziehung auf die Heldensage wenigstens nicht nachweisen und ist auch nicht wahrscheinlich. An Eigennamen fehlt es in ihnen durchaus; die Andeutungen über Personen, Orte, Begebenheiten sind ziemlich allgemein gehalten, oft recht dunkel. Ob nun aber diese Dichtungen durchweg als unmittelbare Gefühlsäusserungen des jedesmaligen Dichters zu fassen seien und nicht vielmehr die Empfindung eines Dritten darin objectiviert werde, scheint keineswegs so sicher, wie man wohl angenommen hat.

The objections here indicated I shall take up in order; and first, to show whether or not there is any relation between the Offa saga and *The Wife's Complaint*, I shall quote the latter in full as it stands in the Grein-Wülcker text.

Ic pis giedd wrece bi me ful geomorre,
minre sylfre sið; ic þæt secgan mæg
hwæt ic yrmþa gebad, sippan ic up weox,
niwes oppe ealdes, no ma þonne nu :

¹ *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), 245, n. 1.

² *Bibliothek der A. S. Poesie* (Göttingen, 1837), I, 363.

³ *Grundriss*, III, §§ 172, 173 (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 224-26.

⁴ *Geschichte der Eng. Lit.* (ed. BRANDL, 1899), 72.

⁵ *Eng. Lit. from the Beginning to the Norm. Conq.* (New York, 1898), 156.

⁶ Wülcker suggests that the charge on which the wife was banished was either witchcraft or faithlessness in love; the former is the charge in *V 1*.

- 5 a ic wite wonn minra wræcsipa!¹
 Ærest min hlaford gewat heonan of leodum
 ofer yþa gelac: hæfde ic uhtceare,
 hwær min leodfruma londes wære.
 Ða ic me feran gewat, folgað secan
- 10 wineleas wræcca for minre weapearfe:²
 ongunnen þæt þæs monnes magas hycgan
 purh dyrne gepoht, þæt hy todælden unc,
 þæt wit gewidost in woruldrice
 lifdon laðlicost and mec longade.³
- 15 Het mec hlaford min her heard niman:
 ahte ic leofra lyt on þissum londstede,
 holdra freonda. Forþon is min hyge geomor,
 ða ic me ful gemæcne monnan funde,
 hearsæligne, hygegeomorne,
- 20 mod miþendne, morþor hygendne,
 bliþe gebæro. Ful oft wit beotedan,⁴
 þæt unc ne gedælde nemne deað ana
 owiht elles: eft is þæt onhworfen,
 is nu swa hit no wære
- 25 freondscipe uncer! Sceal ic feor ge neah
 mines fela leofan fæhðu dreogan!
 Heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe
 under actreo in þam eorðscræfe:
 eald is þes eorðsele, eal ic eom oflongad;
- 30 sindon dena dimme, duna uphea,

¹ In these lines it is clear that the speaker is a woman who has suffered many hardships, both new and old, since she grew up, never more than at the time when she is speaking. L. 5 is not clear; but the meaning seems to be, "Always I got suffering through my exiles," i. e., "My suffering has always come through exiles."

² The first five lines form an introduction. The details begin with *Ærest*. Her sorrow is double; first, because her lord departed across the sea; and then because she herself, a friendless exile, had to depart to seek subsistence (literally, a *retinue* or *following of servants*, or *service as a follower*) or service (elsewhere), being in dire necessity.

³ These lines explain clearly, what the preceding passage left vague, that the separation of husband and wife was brought about deliberately by the man's relations, apparently through hostility to the speaker (l. 14), that she might be made to suffer.

⁴ From this passage it is clear that her present dwelling was the result (direct or indirect) of her husband's command, and that her sorrow comes through her discovery that the husband whom she loved ("I had found a man well suited to me"—i. e., a fit consort, l. 18) had been harboring murderous intentions toward herself with a pretense at "blithe bearing" or kindly demeanor (cf. *Beowulf*, l. 436). Ll. 16 and 17 are not clear: *þissum londstede* seems to refer more naturally to her place of exile; but *ahte* is past tense. I interpret the sentence, "I had too few dear ones in this country—too few beloved friends," to mean that her friends in her husband's country were not numerous enough to prevent her exile. This thought, together with the earlier assertion that it was her husband's kinsmen who had conspired to separate her from her lord, suggests that she was a stranger.

In l. 15, for *her heard*, Grein reads (1) *her eard*, (2) *herh-eard* = *habita culum in nemoribus*.

- bitre burgtunas, brerum beaweaxne,
 wic wyнна leas. Ful oft mec her wraþe begeat¹
 fromsiþ frean. Frynd sind on eorþan
 leofe lifgende, leger weardiað,
 35 þonne ic on uhtan ana gonge
 under actreo geond þas eorðscrafu!
 þær ic sittan mot sumorlangne dæg,
 þær ic wepan mæg mine wræcsiþas.
 earfoþa fela, forþon ic æfre ne mæg
 40 þære modceare minre gerestan
 ne ealles þæs longæres, þe mec on þissum life begeat.²
 A scyle geong mon wesan geomormod,
 heard heortan geþoht, swylce habban sceal
 bliþe gebæro, eac þon breostceare,
 45 sinsorgna gedreag: sy æt him sylfum gelong
 eal his worulde wyn, sy ful wide fah
 feorres folclondes, þæt min freond siteð
 under stanhliþe storme behrimed,
 wine werigmod, wætre beflowen
 50 on dreorsele! Dreogeð se min wine
 micle modceare; he gemon to oft
 wynlicran wic. Wa bið þam þe sceal
 of langoþe leofes abidan!³

¹These lines seem clear in meaning. They express her bitter sense of the contrast between the time when she with her husband exchanged vows of undying love and the present when she far or near must bear his hatred. They add the important detail that she is living in a cave in the forest. L. 27 is significant in that it seems to indicate that the husband's command did not come from him directly (in which case there might have been a chance for explanation or appeal), but indirectly through others (*Heht mec mon*).

²The meaning of ll. 32, 33, may be that her husband's departure has often made her sorrowful (*wraþe* being either the adverb or the feminine accusative of the adjective, agreeing with *mec*); but the sense seems to me to be rather, that it brought hostility upon her. However, I see no satisfactory construction for the dative of the noun *wraþ*. Further, the interpretation of the form in the text, as used absolutely in allusion to the mother-in-law, is not warranted by any other passage in the poem. Conybeare and Thorpe translated ll. 33, 34, to mean that her friends were dead (thus bringing a contrast almost Homeric into l. 34); but later interpretations (Grein, Brooke, Bosworth-Toller) make the entire passage, ll. 33-41, a contrast between the state of happy lovers and her own forlorn condition—a contrast that is in perfect keeping with the situation of the banished wife in *V 1*.

³Whether these lines are interpreted as a curse upon the author of her exile, or as a sorrowful prediction of the trouble that would come upon her husband, they are in keeping with the situation. The chief difficulty of the passage is in making a connection between ll. 42-47 which seem general in character (but these, inasmuch as they show a certain parallelism of phrasing to ll. 19-21, refer perhaps to the husband) and ll. 47-52, which contain a definite description of the husband in circumstances (apparently referred to the future) similar to her own. A possible explanation of the sudden turn of thought I will suggest later (see p. 53, n. 1, below). For different interpretations see TRAUTMANN, in *Anglia*, XVI, 222-25, and ROEDER, in MORSBACH'S *Studien zur Eng. Phil.* (Halle, 1899), Heft 4, *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen*, 112-19.

The plot suggested by this poem shows a strong likeness to the situation in *V 1* as it stood after the second exile of the heroine; and, curiously enough, most of the points in which the two seem to differ can be paralleled from later versions of the innocent, persecuted woman tale. The chief of these are:

1. "Ofer ypa gelac" (l. 7). In *Hélène*, *La Manékine*, *Emaré*, and other versions the husband crosses the sea.

2. "Feran gewat" (l. 9) may seem to imply voluntary action; but this is contradicted by ll. 15 and 27. In several versions, *Hélène*, *Mai und Beaflo*, *La Manékine*, *La Comtesse d'Anjou*, *Il Pecorone*, and *Novella della Figlia del Re di Dacia*, the first exile is in reality a flight, not a punishment.

3. "Folgað secan" (l. 9). In many versions the woman earns her own livelihood during the first exile; in *Emaré* she does beautiful embroidery and waits upon the table; in *La Fille du Roi de France* she becomes a cowherd and also does exquisite needlework; in *Novella della Figlia del Re di Dacia*, during the second exile she is a nurse. Sometimes she takes refuge in a convent; and again, during the second exile, she finds charity with a hermit, a merchant or a Roman senator. Berte, too, dwells in the household of a nobleman and earns her living by teaching embroidery.¹

4. "Monnes magas" (l. 11) agrees better with all the later versions in which the mother-in-law is the persecutor; but if the command came indirectly from the king through the nobles (probably enough kinsmen of his), she might well, being ignorant of the cause of her exile, have accused them of conspiracy.² Certainly the situation and mood of the poem accord with the form of the saga contained in *V 1*.

The second objection, the absence of names, can best be considered in connection with some study of the modifications which Old English poetry suffered at the hands of those who preserved it. That the bulk of what remains is religious is shown at once by the fact that of the four chief MSS, the Junian and Vercelli MSS contain nothing but religious matter, the Exeter Book

¹See p. 41, n. 1, above.

²Cf. *V*, 7, l. 51, in which the king said that he had married the outcast "absque meorum consensu."

(barring some of the *Riddles*) contains almost nothing that has not at least been edited by someone whose chief concern was the saving of the soul,¹ while Cotton Vitellius A XV contains, in addition to the originally pagan but much edited epic *Beowulf*, the religious epic *Judith*.

The Old English epics, as growing out of the ancient mythology that Christianity was at that time struggling to supplant, have fared worst. Of the great mass of epic literature that seems to be implied in *Widsith*, only one poem, *Beowulf*, has been preserved in a form approaching completeness, and fragments of two others, *Waldere* and the *Fight at Finnsburg*,² have been accidentally saved in the bindings of books.

Clearly the monks of the ninth and tenth centuries had two ways of dealing with the old pagan literature:

1. To supply its place among the people, by imitating its manner with religious matter,³ as is seen in the Caedmonian poems, and *Elene*, *Judith*, *Andreas*, *Juliana*, *Christ*, and *Guthlac*, especially.

2. To edit it in such a way as to make it more or less innocuous in its effects, as is seen in the *Beowulf*.

The chief proof of this second attitude of mind lies in the fact that, while owing to natural accidents, much Old English literature has been lost, almost nothing that is purely heathen has been preserved. An examination of the Exeter Book, collected by Bishop Leofric or under his direction, and by him presented to Exeter Cathedral, will illustrate this point.

At first glance, it seems that the Exeter Book, notwithstanding its ecclesiastical origin, contains various secular pieces. But the *Phoenix*, the *Whale*, the *Panther*, and the *Partridge* have all been interpreted by means of Christian allegory; while the *Riddles* are so various in character, and their interpretation is so often a matter for doubt, that it is not very safe to draw conclusions as to

¹ In THORPE's *Codex Exoniensis* (London, 1842), 424 pages out of 498 (500 are numbered, but two contain a poem taken from the Vercelli MS for purposes of comparison) are either religious in their origin or contain allusions to Christianity.

² This may have been only a short heroic ballad—the sort, however, out of which epics developed.

³ Bede's story of Caedmon distinctly implies this attitude of mind (*Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iv, cap. 24).

their content. It seems clear, however, that they were a popular form of amusement in the monasteries; and, whatever their ultimate sources, received the seal of approval for that reason.¹

There remain for consideration: *Widsith*, *Deor's Lament*, *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *The Wife's Complaint*, *The Husband's Message*, and *The Ruin*.

It is at once clear that *The Seafarer* has been used for purposes of allegory (ll. 64-115) much as was the case with the *Phoenix* and the *Physiologus* poems. *The Wanderer* has a religious setting, consisting of prologue and epilogue (ll. 1-5, 110-15) that suggests the remedy for the sorrows lamented in the poem itself. It also contains several ethical passages, especially ll. 58-72, and 106-10, which are akin in thought, and sometimes in phrasing, to portions of the *Blickling Homilies* (cf. especially pp. 59, 99, 115, 195, ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., 58). *The Ruin* is a fragment, showing a strong resemblance in thought and sentiment to a passage in *The Wanderer* (ll. 73-105). The text of *The Husband's Message* is imperfect, but l. 31 contains a distinctly Christian allusion, which may have considerably affected the meaning of the broken passage. *Deor's Lament* contains one stanza (ll. 28-34) that is obviously a Christian interpolation, which is not unlike the mood of *The Wife's Complaint*, ll. 42-47. Mr. Brooke (*Early Eng. Lit.*, 1892, 7) says of *Deor's Lament*: "I suspect we owe the preservation of this lyric to the zeal of the interpolator."

Widsith has certainly been tampered with, witness the Christian allusions in ll. 131-34, and 141-43, and the introduction of biblical nations into ll. 82, 83. *The Wife's Complaint* then is the only poem in the Exeter Book (barring the fragmentary *Ruin* and the *Riddles*) that has not to a certain extent been edited.

Widsith, with its catalogue of heroic cycles, may well have been preserved for the information that it contains; but *The Wife's Complaint*,² aside from its lack of the Christian element, at

¹MR. SCHOFIELD has interpreted the "First Riddle" as a fragment related in matter to the *Volsunga saga* (Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc., XVII, No. 2, 262-95).

²The hortatory tone of ll. 42-47 may perhaps point to an attempt at introducing the didactic element (cf. *Beowulf*, l. 20). "Swā sceal [geong g] uma," etc. A similar thought occurs in *The Seafarer*, 103-11, in which *sceal* is followed by *scyle* without any apparent reason for change of mood: "stieran mod sceal strongum mode" and "scyle monna gehwyle mid gemete healdan," etc. Cf. also *Gnomic Verses* (Exeter MS), 178.

once groups itself with *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* and with the fragmentary *Husband's Message* and *Ruin*. All these poems share the peculiarity of implying a definite dramatic situation of which the details are more or less obscure, and an entire absence of names of persons and places to assist in the interpretation.

This second feature may perhaps be understood after a comparison of the Old English *Phoenix* with its source, the Latin poem attributed to Lactantius. Here the Christian's method of dealing with pagan mythology is clear: he tampers with all allusions to classical divinities and personages, omitting them altogether where he cannot easily introduce the name of his Deity in their place.¹

This method of treatment suggests that the names in the elegies may have been omitted for the same reason, i. e., to get rid of the pagan associations in adapting the poems to a Christian audience.

The third objection to regarding the poem as an epic fragment, the general character and the obscurity of the allusions to persons, places, and circumstances, may be answered after consideration of the first two. They are general in so far as they allude to a familiar situation, in regard to which too much detail would not have interested an audience;² and they are obscure only when we try to interpret them without reference to a particular set of circumstances.

I find various difficulties in the way of regarding *The Wife's Complaint* as a complete and independent lyric. Setting aside the fact that this point of view involves the hypothesis that a peculiarly modern form of verse developed in Saxon England centuries before it appeared elsewhere in Europe, and is not to be traced in English literature (aside from these five elegies) before the eighteenth century, there is still the problem of deciding whether the poet represents the speaker³ as an imaginary person

¹ For example, Deucalion's flood (l. 14) becomes the biblical flood (ll. 41-46); *Aurora* . . . *rosea luce* . . . *Phoebe nascentis* . . . *Sol* (ll. 35-43) become: *Fæder fyrngeweorc* . . . *torht tacen Godes* (ll. 95, 96).

² The situation itself is not vague; it is peculiar. But it is summed up in order to keep the stress on the emotions. Mr. Bradley in the *Academy* (March 24, 1888, p. 198), says that the obscurity may be due to the absence of context and the monodramatic form.

³ The old view that the speaker is the poet himself seems to be giving way to the belief that he is speaking dramatically for a third person (cf. TEN BRINK, *loc. cit.*, and KER, *The Dark Ages* [Edinburgh and London, 1904], 266).

whose sufferings are at once complicated and obscure, or as an historic being who is either forgotten or no longer connected with this situation. In the former case it is difficult to see how the lines could ever have been clearly understood, or have appealed to an audience brought up on epics; in the latter, there seems no sufficient reason for the absence of all names.

But indeed, as Ten Brink admits, all these lyrics have an epic character in that they express, not a moment, but an enduring situation—perhaps a life-history;¹ and they are written in an epic verse, set over against *Deor's Lament* and the *First Riddle* (*Signy's Lament*), which have a refrain. For these reasons, I hold that they are specimens of the *giedd* or short monologue arising from a dramatic situation, such as occurs frequently in *Beowulf*. This does not necessarily mean that they all at some time formed part of a long epic, although this may have been the case;² but it does mean that they were composed in epic times for epic audiences about heroic personages.

For these reasons it seems to me highly probable that *The Wife's Complaint*, which agrees in all essentials with the marriage story found attached to O1 in V1, is an epic lay; or, it may be, a fragment,³ which was selected on utilitarian grounds by Bishop Leofric of Exeter or his assistants, but was never adapted

¹ *Geschichte* (ed. BRANDL), 73.

² This phase of the subject demands much further study. I may just add that *The Wanderer* shows resemblances to one or two situations in *Beowulf*: that described by Wiglaf (2864-91), and perhaps that of Hengest (1125 ff.). *The Ruin* resembles *The Wanderer* (73-105), and has been compared with the lament in *Beowulf*, 2247-66. *The Seafarer* suggests in some respects the saga of Ragnar Lodbrok; and again, in its contrast of moods, the fragmentary Norse dialogue of Niord and Skadi:

"Quoth Niord: I loathe the mountains; I was not long there, nine nights only. The howl of the wolves seemed evil to me after the song of the swans. Quoth Skadi: I cannot sleep in the resting-places of the sea (shore) for the shrieking of the sea-fowls. The mew, coming in from the sea, wakes me every morning" (cf. *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, I, 128, with Saxo's song of Hading and his wife, ed. HOLDER, 33, ll. 5-24, 28-33, which shows some resemblances of phrasing to passages in *The Seafarer*).

³ Suchier favors the hypothesis of an Old English poem as the basis of many of the versions of the innocent, persecuted woman tale (*La Manékine*, pp. lxxiii ff.). BÄCKSTRÖM (*Svenska Folkb.* [Stockholm, 1845, 1848], pp. v, 184) had previously maintained that the *Constance* story goes back as far as the eighth or ninth century. Trivet's version alludes to "les chaunsounez que les pucels de la terre fesoient & chantoyent de lui" (*Constance*, p. 27), which suggests that he knew perhaps lyrics on the subject. From another point of view, Mr. BRADLEY in the *Academy* for March 24, 1888, p. 198, remarks upon the strong resemblance in motive and treatment between the *First Riddle* and *The Wife's Complaint*. If the former is epic in its relationship, why not the latter?

to a Christian purpose¹ as were the poems that bear a strong resemblance to it, *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.

Whether it belonged originally to Offa or was afterward drawn into the cycle that gathered about his name is a further question suggested by the fact that Trivet tells the story of Ælle of Northumbria, who died in 588—a question that is not perhaps to be answered without much consideration of the sagas that have disappeared except as they have left traces in mediæval Latin. On this point, however, I will observe that while in *Constance* the localization is narrower and more definite (the neighborhood of York), thus suggesting that the original hero was Ælle, and that the story came to be told of O1 through the fact that Ælle was

¹ It is perhaps worth consideration whether the poem, following *The Wife's Complaint* in the MS, *The Last Judgment*, can be related to it. The former poem is written on fols. 115, 115b, and the first six lines of the latter are also contained, all but the last word, on fol. 115b. As far as MR. GOLLANCZ's edition extends, the end of a poem in the MS is almost always marked :-:7, or even more elaborately; while the end of a section of a poem is marked only :7. Commonly there is a space of two lines between two poems; but sometimes there is only a line or part of a line, as is the case between sections.

Chancellor Edmonds of Exeter Cathedral has kindly examined the MS in regard to *The Wife's Complaint* and writes that *abidan* (l. 53) ends a line. The next begins *Dæt gelimpan sceall þætte* (*Last Judgment*, l. 1), with a single capital, and leaves a space, while *lagu* begins the line following. The evidence of the MS then is not conclusive in favor of a new poem beginning at this point; but is, if anything, against it. The chief reasons for holding that the two poems belong together are:

(1) *The Last Judgment* begins with an account of a flood that suggests an application of the flood scene in which the woman pictures her husband:

"Dæt gelimpan sceal, þætte lagu floweð
flood ofer foldan: feores bið et ende
anra gehwylcum. Oft mæg se þe wile
in his sylfes sefan soð geseþcan!
Hafað him geseþcan hider þeoden user
on þeom mæstan dæge, mægencyninga (fol. 116a) hyhst.
wile þonne forþearn brego moneynnes
lond mid lige."

—*Last Judgment*, ll. 1-8.

(2) The general thought that the wicked shall be judged severely, and the good that suffer in this world comforted, might well have been suggested by the theme of *The Wife's Complaint*.

(3) The emphasis laid upon the joyless home—the sorrowful journey—that must be taken by him that betrays his friends (ll. 23-26) is again suggestive of *The Wife's Complaint* (cf. also ll. 81-88).

(4) The general course of thought in *The Last Judgment* is far more easily derived from *The Wife's Complaint* than is the second part of *The Seafarer* from the first, to which, indeed, it shows no manner of relation and is moreover joined in the middle of a line (64) without any connection of ideas. The poet says that his thoughts turn seaward:

"ofer holma gelagu; forþon me hatran sind
dryhtnes dreamas þonne þis deaðe lif."

Considering the general character of the Exeter Book, I think it less strange that *The Last Judgment* should be a moral or religious tag to *The Wife's Complaint* than that this situation, which suggests so naturally a religious application, should be the only instance of heathen poetry copied (always excepting some of the *Riddles*) without apparent object, although showing signs of editorial supervision at least in the omission of all names.

the son of an Yffi,¹ this Ælle having become confused with the third king of that name, who undoubtedly does figure in popular lore² (Ælla), who was slain at York in 867. In the absence, however, of any testimony to show that the second Ælle was the subject of saga *The Wife's Complaint* must belong to Offa (O 1), if to either of the two. Again, *La Belle Hélène*, which, with all its confusion of names and places, preserves the scene of action mainly in Northumbria, and seems to be definitely and distinctly connected with the monastic foundation at Tours, probably had its origin at Tours from sources derived from York³ in which the story of the innocent wife had come to be influenced by some legend of St. Helen, mother of Constantine,⁴ perhaps through a confusion of Tiberius Constantine with Constantine the Great. Further, when Ælle who was slain at York had become a legendary figure, he was perhaps confused with the earlier Ælle, son of Yffi, whose date was sufficiently near to that of Tiberius Constantine and Maurice; and that Yffi was therefore identified with Offa, and Ælle substituted later for him.

Whether the story represented by the Thrytho tale in *Beowulf* (the primitive version) and that of which the oldest form known may be *The Wife's Complaint* (V 1), were originally the same, it is difficult to decide. The later *Beowulf* version is in all probability fundamentally the same as the *Dríða* tale, which is distinct from the original form of the *Constance* legend, as Suchier observed.⁵ But while the identification of Constance with the heroine of V 1 and *The Wife's Complaint* rests upon reasonable grounds, in the case of the primitive version of the Thrytho tale, the only facts that stand out clearly—her fierce pride that led her to “work people-bales” (i. e., to kill men whose death would be a disaster to the people) and her journey across the sea—make

¹ Cf. the *Uffo* of Saxo and Sveno.

² Cf. SAXO (ed. HOLDER, 305, l. 11; 312, ll. 33, 36; 313, l. 39; 314, l. 11; 315, ll. 6, 11, 19, 32); and GAIMAR, *L'Estorie des Engles* (Rolls Series, 1888), I, ll. 2699-2836 and pp. 328-38. For his connection with the saga hero Ragnar Lodbrok, cf. *Corpus Poet. Bor.*, II, 339-53.

³ Cf. a letter from Alcuin to Charlemagne urging that his books may be brought from York to him at Tours, so that they may be known in France as well as in England (JAFFÉ, 346).

⁴ Who had also a sister Constantia, who married a barbarian king and had a somewhat tragic and romantic history. See GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1896), I, 401, n. 23, 425, 440; II, 206.

⁵ P. U. B., *Beitr.*, IV, 520, 521.

against the identification of the two. There is no indication in the text that the heroine of *The Wife's Complaint* was a valkyrie, while in *V 1* the supernatural element is so obscure that it may have been reflected from the *Drida* or the *Bertha* of popular lore.

VII.

The chief of these oral traditions that the compiler used undoubtedly referred to Offa of "Ongle" who seems to have been included in a cycle in association with Garmund, Hildebrand, and Wade especially,¹ and through them with Weland, Widia, Hama, and Theodoric.²

There is no evidence to show that this heroic matter was ever worked up into a single epic. The confusion of the compiler's text, together with his obvious efforts to distinguish between O 1 and O 2, points rather to an unfixed mass of floating traditions, some of which, at least, were probably in poetical form. Still, on the whole, he has managed (with one exception, the *Drida* tale) to attach the epic matter to O 1; but his account of O 2, highly colored as it is, does not lack hints of the existence of "uncertain and apocryphal material," such as the account of the Welsh Wars, and the Petronilla tale, which he has in part omitted and in part attempted to combine with other sources. It may be that *The Wife's Complaint* is the only surviving fragment of an epic on O 1, to which allusion is made in *Widsith* and *Beowulf*; but there is no evidence to show that the stories of the combat and of the marriage were ever combined. On the other hand, it seems to me highly probable that O 2 became a legendary figure soon after his death, partly perhaps through his own exploits, but more through his connection with Charlemagne and through the romantic career of his daughter Eadburg, and that by the twelfth century, epic material concerning O 1 was being converted into romance of which O 2 was the central figure.

But the process was never completed. Had O 2 lived earlier,

¹Garmund, Offa, *Beowulf*; Garmund (= Waermund), Offa, Hildebrand, (Sueno), *V 1*; Hildebrand, Wade, *Wade* fragment; Wade (= Gado), Offa, (Suanus), *De Nugis Curialium*.

²That these were known to Old English literature is clear from *Widsith*, *Deor's Lament*, and *Waldhere*. Their relation to Riganus (Rig?), Mitunnus (Mithotyn?), Aliel (Aðil or Alewih?), Otta (Óttar?) and Milio, I have not been able to determine; but the entire list opens up a great range of literature.

we might have had an amalgamation similar to that of Beowa and Beowulf. As it is, epic-making was dead long before the Conquest; and the fresh literary impulse that came with the Normans found little to do with the old Saxon heroes. A few tales were transformed into the *lai* or *chanson de geste* or *roman d'aventure*—*Havelok*, *Horn*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hampton*; but *Wade* was lost and also, I believe, a similar mass of popular traditions about Offa, of which the St. Albans compiler has saved us some few crumbs.

This study, from the size and intricacy of the subject, is necessarily incomplete and tentative; but I believe that further investigation of the mediæval chronicles in connection with the remains of vernacular literature might perhaps recover something of old tales concerning Hereward, Waltheof, Edric the Wild, Ragnar Lodbrok, Athelstan, and others. If this could be done, it would be well worth while, in that it would deepen and broaden our knowledge of the meaning of life for some of the long procession whose years have passed into "yesterdays many."

EDITH RICKERT.

LONDON.

ERRORS AND EMENDATIONS IN PART I.

- P. 1, n. 7, read UKERT for UKENT.
 P. 3, n. 1, read -50 for -54.
 P. 7, n. 3, l. 5, read (*ibid.*, 539) . . . (*ibid.*).
 P. 10, n. 3, l. 2, read 250 for 249.
 P. 13, n. 1, l. 2, read *Alcuiniana* for *Alcuini*.
 P. 17, middle column, insert 11.
 P. 20, l. 33, read *planies* for *planes*.
 P. 23, n. 1, l. 1, omit *-hearted*; l. 3, read *Hjerte* for *Hjæerte*.
 P. 29, n. 5, l. 10, read *is Offa's son*, *Angelbeow*; l. 12, read *Geat* for *Great*; l. 23, add: For errors due to mistaking epithets for names in the Nennius genealogies, see *Y Cymmrodor* (London, 1888), IX, 149, 169 ff.
 P. 30, n. 1, l. 7, read LIUTPRAND (lib. VI, cap. iv), for JOHN OF SALISBURY (*Polycrat.*, VIII, 12).
 P. 31, n. 5, read *Beovulf* for *Beowulf*.
 P. 35, n. 3, l. 4, read 249 for 219.
 P. 37, l. 19, read *Qualmhul* for *Qualmweld*; n. 2, l. 2, read æ for æe.
 P. 38, n. 1, l. 2, read *Eadwardes* for *Eadwardes*; n. 2 and n. 3, read æ for æe.
 P. 39, l. 7, read *se* for *sē*; n. 8, read 1004, 1005 for 1002, 1003; l. 7, read *rudon* for *rādon*.
 P. 40, l. 11, after *year* add *after 994*; n. 1, l. 1, read *V* for *Y*; l. 2, read *wælstowe* for *wælstowe*; n. 2, l. 4, read 20 for 24; n. 3, read 993 for 937.
 P. 44, l. 9, read *V 1* for *V 7*; n. 3, read *Grimm* for *Grimm's*, and *XI* for *XL*; n. 5, l. 5, add: KEMBLE (*Codex Diplomaticus*, Index) gives *Rugganbroc*, Warwickshire.
 P. 47, n. 4, add: Cf. also *Y Cymmrodor*, IX, 149.
 P. 48, n. 1, omit *Halfrun*.

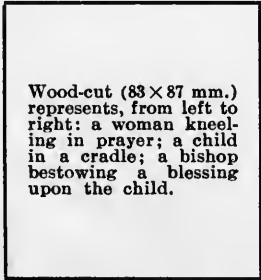
A NEGLECTED EDITION OF LA LEYENDA DEL ABAD DON JUAN DE MONTEMAYOR.

WHEN Sr. Menéndez Pidal edited the chapbook¹ concerning Abbot John of Montemayor, he was limited for his text to a unique (?) copy of the Valladolid edition of 1562. Other editions noted by Sr. Menéndez and previous bibliographers have for the moment disappeared, if indeed they are not lost. There is, however, in the British Museum Library a copy² of a Seville edition of 1603, hitherto unnoticed. This edition belongs to the same family as the Valladolid print, and so argues neither for nor against Sr. Menéndez's theories as to an *otra redaccion diferente*. Nevertheless, it would seem to be of considerable value for the establishment of a critical text.

On the present occasion I shall limit myself to the reproduction of the opening paragraphs; for the remainder only such passages as Sr. Menéndez has sought to emendate, and a few of the more striking variants, will be noted.

TITLE PAGE.

Abad don Juan.



Wood-cut (83 × 87 mm.) represents, from left to right: a woman kneeling in prayer; a child in a cradle; a bishop bestowing a blessing upon the child.

Comiença la hystoria | del Abad don Juan Se. | ñor de fMonte | mayor. |

¹ *La leyenda del abad don Juan de Montemayor*. Publicada por RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. Dresden, 1903. 8vo. Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Vol. II.

² Sixteen leaves; quarto; imperfect; wanting the second and the fifteenth leaf. Signatures, (A)-AVIII. The title-page, which alone is in black-letter, measures (compositor's form) 168 × 111 mm.—the others are 6 mm. narrower.

Verso.—Prologo. | Porque Dios nvestro se- | ñor hizo el cielo, y la tierra, y todas las co- | sas que en el (*sic*) son entre las quales señaladamen | te hizo al hombre, en el qual puso entendi- | miento, y mandò que hiziesse en este mun- | do todas las cosas que fuessen buenas, y que fuesen a su seruicio, y que no hiziessem (*sic*) las cosas malas y desonestas, para el cuerpo y para el anima. Y porque la vida del hombre es muy breue, y no sabe quando à de morir, deue primeramente, y sobre todo temer a Dios, que es criador de todas las cosas, y guardar sus mandamientos, y apartarse de las cosas malas, y falsas que algunos traydores falsos hizieron en otros tiempos passados, y hazen hasta el tiempo presente en que estamos, mayormente en tal hecho como este, el qual acaecio al Abad don Iuan, Señor de Monte Mayor, (*sic*) con su criado don Garcia que el criò, segun adelante oyreys y escriuimos en este libro. Lo qual escriui (*sic*), porque todos los hombres deste mundo que lo oyeren, tomen exemplo, y sepan guardarse de no hazer traycion, ni cosa porque pierdan los cuerpos ni las almas, y porque se lo lean a quien bien quisieren, y a todos los que de su linage descendieren.

¶ Comiença el Libro del Abad don Iuan, Señor de Monte mayor (*sic*): en el qual se escriue todo lo que le acontecio con don Garcia su criado.

Este Abad don Iuan era de muy buena vida, y religioso, y señor de todos los abades que eran en aquel tiempo en Portugal, y moraua en vn Castillo que se llamaua Montemayor (*sic*), y hazia nuestro Señor muchos milagros por el. Acaecio que vn dia el abad don Iuan yua a oyr maytines de la fiesta¹. . . nas passados (*sic*) para el y para sus compañeros, assi mesmo les mando luego dar de comer buenas viandas, y todas las otras cosas que auian menester, a toda su voluntad. Y eran tan honrados del Abad don Iuan, que hombre del mundo no lo podria contar (*sic*).

Como don Garcia cometio (*sic*) y ordenò de dexar la Fè Christiana, y tornarse moro.

Vn dia acaecio, que don Garcia andando a caça con su compaña en vn monte, auia salido a vn rio, en el qual auia muy gran plazer, donde cometìò vna gran traycion, la qual puso luego por obra, y llamò dos escuderos de aquellos de su compaña, en quien el mas fiaua, è dixoles. Amigos dezir os quiero vna puridad si me la tuuieredes guardada, y pienso que serà vuestro prouecho, è muy grande. Y conuiene que vosotros me hagays pleyto omenage de tenerme puridad, como hombres hijos dalgo de lo que os dixere. Ellos le dixeron, señor no ay cosa eneste mundo, que vos hagays, que nosotros no la tengamos en puridad, y el que no la tuuiere que sea traydor por ello. Este omenage os hazemos, como a nuestro señor proprio, guardaremos en puridad todo lo que nos

¹ The verso ends here. Folio A^{II} is wanting. The transcription is, therefore, resumed from fol. A^{III} (cf. Sr. Menéndez's edition, p. 26, l. 7).

dixeredes agora y en qualquier tiempo, segun nuestro poder, aunque pensassemos morir por ello. Entonces les dixo. Amigos, la puridad es, que yo he parado mientes y tengo, que la Fe de los Christianos no vale nada, ni es ninguna cosa. E otrosi he entendido que la Fe de los moros es mejor y vale mas, y querria que fuessemos a vn lugar, do me tornasse moro, y vosotros comigo, y quitarme è este mal nombre, y ponerme he otro mejor que este, por lo qual yo con vosotros y con mis compañías, haremos tanto mal a los Christianos, que yo y vos valgamos mucho con el Rey Almansor, y esto sabed que es mi voluntad. Y el traydor les dixo tanto y les prometio que les daria, que ellos se lo tuuieron en puridad que nunca lo supo el abad don Juan, y el y los escuderos, ve(vo.)nian, y sus compañías de la ribera de aquel rio, hasta el castillo de Monte mayor, y el abad don Iuan los recibio bien y comieron con el muchas viandas y bien adereçadas,

Como el traydor de don Garcia demandò licencia al abad, etc.¹

P. 27 [l. 14] guerrear contra [l. 16] Leuantose Garcia en pie, despues que vuieron comido ante el abad don Juan, y ante su compañía, [l. 19] en llegar [l. 20] ("tanta y," wanting) compañía [l. 21] de merced [l. 22] aquella compañía que el tenia [l. 23] de Almansor que con la merced de Dios el ("que," wanting) [l. 24] pensaua hazer . . . con el ayuda . . . compañeros [l. 25] de llegar a Granada [l. 26] Respondio el Abad

P. 28 [l. 1] y sabed, . . . gran recelo tengo [l. 2] que es Rey que tiene grandes [l. 3] Don Garcia dixo, que si supiesse morir [l. 4] Entonces el abad dixo. [l. 5] ("hijo," wanting) esse [l. 6] ruego os [l. 7] ("toda," wanting) Don Garcia ("y," wanting) [l. 9] y los christianos bien pasarian a pesar de los decreydos moros [l. 10] desque esto oyò a don Garcia su criado, holgose mucho de coraçon, [l. 12] lo haria . . . ("por la boca," wanting). [l. 13] ("el abad don Iuan entonces," wanting). [l. 14] agora [l. 15] ("y," wanting before "ruego").

From here (fol. A^{III}) on only the passages which Sr. Menéndez has sought to emendate, or which seem to require further emendation, are noted. Such of Sr. Menéndez's corrections as are supported by the text of 1603 are passed over in silence. The passages which Sr. Menéndez compares with the *Historia Manlianense* are noted only where they differ from the Valladolid text.

¹ For the present paragraph all the variants of the 1603 edition are given, down to p. 28, l. 15, of Sr. Menéndez's reprint.

- P. 28 [l. 25] Dellas seran Escaris de lienço, y dellas de otro mas delgado [l. 35] gracias a Dios nuestro Señor, y al abad don Iuan,
- P. 29 [l. 16] que vaya con vos, è acompañà vos a el y el a vos
- P. 32 [l. 23] y daua gracias a nuestro señor Dios
- P. 33 [l. 5] trompetas [l. 6] y alaçores, y atabales ("çoleymas," wanting). [l. 26] embia [l. 30] siguientes, è las compañías ayuntadas, de Moros andaluzes que vinieron, y de otros lugares, eran de tantas partes, que no se entendian los vnos a los otros. Y segun puedo pensar en mi coraçon podia ser esta cantidad de moros que estauan en Cordoua con el rey Almansor, mas de ciento è cincuenta mil caualleros, y trezientos mil peones. Estos eran sin el poder de Cordoua, eran tantos que era marauilla. De manera que todas las sierras, y todos los valles estauan cubiertos de moros de suerte que no quedaua ninguno que se escapasse a vida, [l. 13] Villa Franca de Benalcaçar, y destruyeronla toda
- P. 35 [l. 29] Santiago, y holgo con su mujer encima del altar, y despues el perro descreydo hizo muchas vellaqueras, por la qual maldad fue la voluntad de Dios que luego rebentò el cauallo que tenia dentro en la Iglesia, y despues que todo esto vuo hecho como aueys oydo se fue para el Rey Almansor y dixole. Señor yo no querria que fuessemos mas adelante
- P. 39 [l. 9] era tambien guardado de los suyos, que era marauilla. [l. 14] el abad don Iuan alli parecia entre su compañía como vna seña
- P. 41 [l. 9] y arrojoles su lança con gran furia tanto que la metiò por la tienda y la passo, y la hincó en el tablero [l. 13] Como los moros se fueron empos del Abad don Iuan, y el Abad con los suyos tornaron a ellos y mataron muchos.
- P. 43 [l. 19] y tomarnos an nuestras mugeres, y nuestros hijos [l. 22] las almas
- P. 44 [l. 31] El abad don Iuan dixo. Hermana y señora, plazeme de todo esto que dezis, mas esto durarà poco.
- P. 45 [l. 12] y no tomasse
- P. 46 [l. 32] para quemar [l. 33] hallò
- P. 50 [l. 13] trezientos monges de a cauallo
- P. 51 [l. 5] En tal manera lo dixo que no lo pudo conocer (*sic*). Y don çulema tendio el braço para tomar el espada, y el abad don Iuan alçosse en los estribos, è diole con ella vna muy grande herida, en manera que no se pudo el traydor mas valer del braço derecho y luego le dio otra gran herida en la cabeça. Y los monges [l. 13] y sabed por cierto, que no vuo monje que no matasse *su* moro. [l. 21] Socorrednos, que es muerto don çulema. Y quan¹

¹The fifteenth leaf is wanting. The sixteenth begins: "donde estaua el rey Almansor, y adonde fue" (Sr. Menéndez's edition, p. 53, l. 29).

P. 54 [*l.* 3] para que [*l.* 7] del Abad don Iuan, sieruo y amigo de Dios, [*l.* 8] despedidos por el abad don Iuan, ("su señor," wanting.) [*l.* 23] grandes milagros por los ruegos deste santo abad.¹

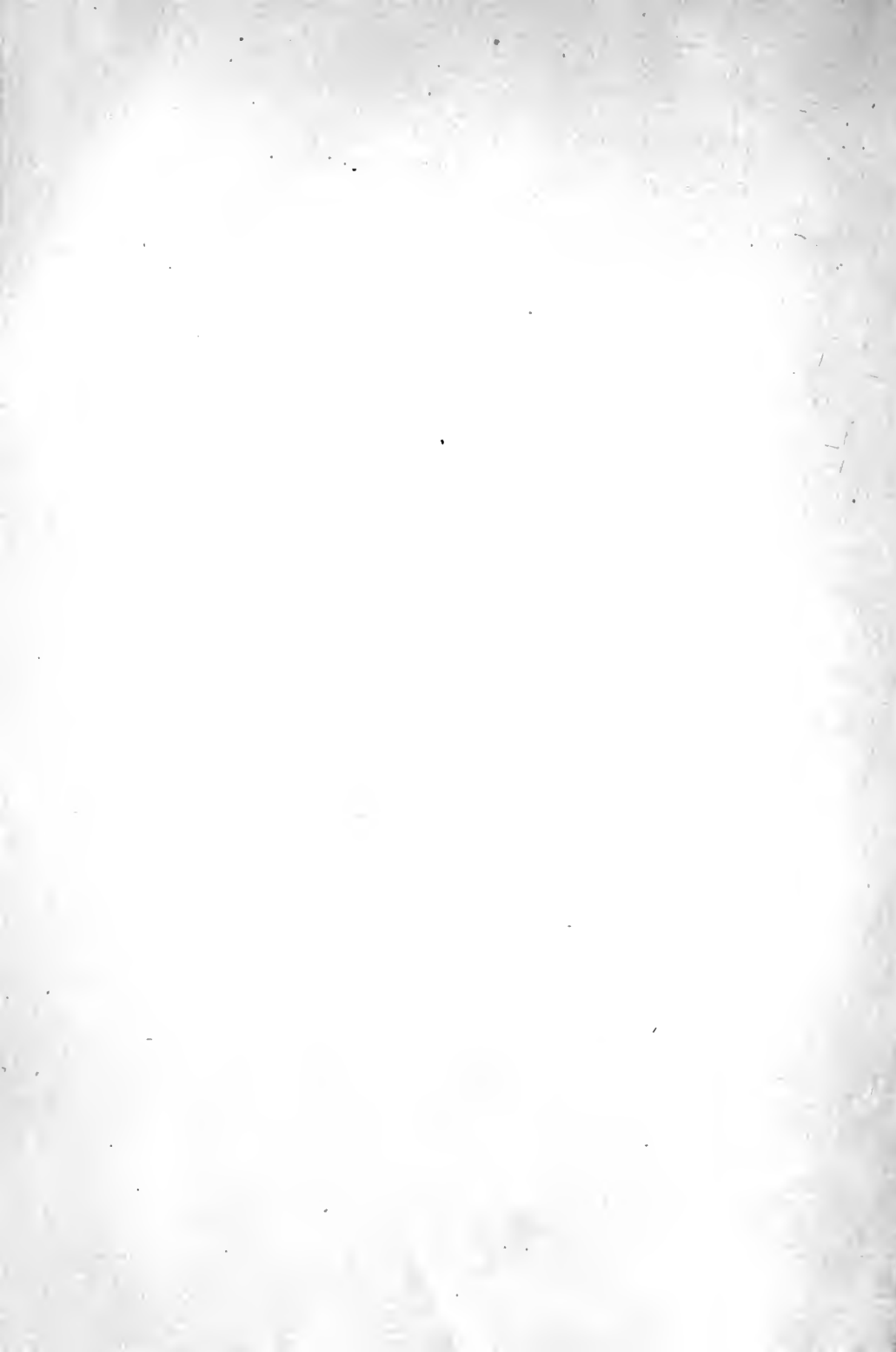
| ¶ Deo gratias. |

¶ Fue impressa en la muy noble | y muy leal ciudad de Seuilla en casa de Iuan de Leon Im- | pressor de libros, junto a las siete rebueltas. | Año de mil y seys cientos y tres. |

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¹A manuscript note says: "Los hallò vivos a todos."



SCHILLER'S THEORY OF THE LYRIC.

THOUGH Schiller was not primarily a lyric poet, he has played an important part in the history of German lyric poetry by the originality of his production in this form and by his influence upon other poets, as well as by the great and lasting popularity of many of his poems. Furthermore, as few great poets have been so prone to ratiocination about their art as was Schiller, his theory of the lyric must be a matter of interest to the investigator in this field; and even if the study of his theory shall tell us more about Schiller than about the lyric, the result will justify the investigation. In view of the profound changes in Schiller's manner and attitude from the days of *Die Räuber* to those of *Die Braut von Messina*, it is clear that the basis of our study must be chronological, unless we arbitrarily isolate some one period in the poet's life and ascribe to it "classical" value—a dogmatic assumption that has no right to be in a descriptive paper. Since Schiller's works include no formal study of the lyric, his theory must be inferred and pieced together from various indirect sources: his æsthetic treatises, his criticisms of himself and other poets, and the utterances scattered through his correspondence.¹ It is hardly necessary to state that the indications given by this fragmentary material are often vague and incomplete.

It seems probable that Schiller never looked upon lyric poetry as equal in rank and dignity to the epic or drama; most of his utterances rather seem to stamp it as an inferior form. Thus in 1782, in his anonymous review of *Die Räuber*, he threatened to relegate the author of this play from the drama to the ode, somewhat as if that would imply a descent (*Werke*, XIII, 198). In 1788, he gave "poems" the fourth place in the list of his interests, after dramas, stories, and "historical tableaux" (*Briefe*, II,

¹SCHILLER's works are referred to in BELLERMANN's edition, *Bibl. Inst.*, Leipzig (*Werke*); his letters in JONAS's complete edition, *Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt*, Stuttgart (*Briefe*); the correspondence with Körner in GEIGER's edition, with Humboldt in LITZ-MANN's third edition, Cotta, Stuttgart (*Briefwechsel*); GOETHE's works and letters in the Weimar edition (*Werke, Briefe*).

148). In 1789, in answer to Körner's advice to adopt the lyric as his specialty, he not only confessed that lyric poetry was "an exile" for him, but characterized it as "the pettiest and most ungrateful of forms" (*Briefe*, II, 237 f.)—a judgment that was clearly influenced by the self-depreciative mood of the moment, but that persisted for some time; several weeks later, he was still determined, after the disproportionate amount of labor he had expended upon *Die Künstler*, to eschew lyric poetry for a long time to come (*Briefe*, II, 262). In 1791, indeed, while he was working at his *Thirty Years' War* and his translation from the *Æneid*, Schiller told Körner that he was saving his "best hours" for a lyric poem—probably *Das Lied von der Glocke* (*Briefe*, III, 143); but this is to be read in connection with his feeling that lyric poetry is far more dependent upon "mood" *Stimmung*, than any other form (*Briefe*, IV, 61; V, 406). In the treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795), "merely lyric" treatment is contrasted with the treatment of characters and actions as implying a limitation in the poet (*Werke*, VIII, 355 f.); and in 1802 the "merely lyric" treatment of his own *Kassandra* is again contrasted apologetically with a possible dramatic treatment (*Briefe*, VI, 415). Fragmentary and desultory as these utterances are, the fact that practically all of them point in one direction gives us reason to suppose that Schiller did consistently and seriously consider the lyric a relatively "petty" form.

Schiller's earliest utterances on the subject of lyric poetry are found in the long letters written in 1778 to his schoolmates Scharfstein and Boigeol at the Military Academy; here the young poet enters a solemn protest because his friends have impugned the genuineness of his emotion (*Briefe*, I, 5, 10). The test is that of sincerity, but here conceived rather as a moral quality in himself than as an æsthetic quality in his poetry. "Fancy" (*Phantasey*) is used about in the sense of insincerity, and with it is contrasted "feeling" (*Gefühl, Herz*) as the genuine element in poetry. The themes mentioned here are God, religion, friendship, with an indefinite "etc." that might be conceived to stand for love or patriotism. As qualities of style, elevation and

metaphor (*Schwung, Bilder*) are emphasized. The influence of Klopstock, the very thing charged by the two friends, is quite evident in the conception of the lyric that appears in these letters.

In 1781, when Schiller first appears as a critic in the public press, the supreme test he applies is still that of sincerity, and "fancy" still appears as opposed to truth. It is interesting to find Schiller here (*Werke*, XIII, 179) bringing against his rival Staudlin precisely the same charge that he had repelled with such indignation three years before, when his schoolmates brought it against him—that one of his religious poems is "rather the effusion of the poet than of the Christian." Apart from sincerity, the tests of variety, moderation, and knowledge of good authors (*gute Lektüre*) are applied. In the reviews Schiller published in 1782 we find the storm-and-stress quality of originality emphasized as the principal requisite (*Werke*, XIII, 207, 209 f.), and both Schwab and Staudlin criticised for their lack of individual emotion. The test of sincerity is again in evidence, and from this point of view the favorite Swabian form of occasional or "casual" poetry, to which Schiller himself was then much addicted, is condemned as a "bastard daughter of the muses" (*Werke*, XIII, 204 f.); and Schwab is mildly ridiculed for cultivating poetry merely as an avocation (*Werke*, XIII, 206 f.), a thing that had been the common pretense of most German poets not long before. In spite of the demand for originality, an acquaintance with good models is still accounted a virtue (*Werke*, XIII, 207, 214); and Schiller admits the "modest" claims of Kleist, Uz,¹ and Gellert to be recognized as models, after the "ancient Greeks and Romans." Schiller's critical vocabulary at this time is naturally rather vague; so far as can be inferred from his terminology, his theoretical conception of the lyric may be expressed in the following formula: A lyric poem is the sincere expression in elevated language, in melodious verse,² of original, individual emotion (or thought), in an enthusiastic mood, tempered by moderation, under the influence of the

¹ Fourteen years later, Schiller counts Kleist and Uz among the obsolete authors of a dead past (*Briefe*, IV, 462; V, 33).

² *Wohlklang*, and a versification that is *rein, angenehm und fließend*, are virtues noted in the poetry of Staudlin and Schwab (*Werke*, XIII, 210, 207).

best models. It is especially interesting to note the calm, judicial tone of the critic Schiller, coincident with the extravagance of the storm-and-stress poet Schiller; indeed, the critic directly condemns the extravagance of the poet in the brief review of his own *Anthology* (*Werke*, XIII, 212 f.). We may remark in passing that during this period Schiller not only infuses his dramas with lyricism, but as a matter of theory definitely demands subjectivity of the dramatist; the dramatic poet must sympathize with his heroes, love them, identify himself with them (1783; *Briefe*, I, 114 f.). The inevitable recantation of this position is found in the treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (*Werke*, VIII, 331 f.).

The next period in Schiller's career as a critic may be called his first philosophic period, and delimited as that of his early friendship with Körner, before his study of Kant's philosophy; the critical utterances of this period begin in 1785, and are finally summed up and rounded out in the review of Bürger's poems in 1790. There are still occasional echoes of phrases characteristic of the earlier period; as when Stolberg is found lacking in sincerity, and his *Phantasie und dichterische Malerei* are opposed to *Natur und Empfindung* (1786; *Briefe*, I, 325). But on the whole this period wrought a great change in Schiller's attitude toward poetry. On the one hand, his own tendency toward philosophic speculation was greatly furthered by Körner; on the other hand, Wieland's frank criticism of him made such a deep impression on Schiller that he earnestly sought to acquire the polite qualities that Wieland said he lacked—"correctness, clearness, delicacy, refinement, good taste" (July, 1787; *Briefe*, I, 361). A year later Schiller wrote to Körner that he was reading "only the ancients" in order to "purify his taste"¹ and to acquire simplicity and "classicality" (August, 1788; *Briefe*, II, 106). Meanwhile Schiller found the spirit of the absent Goethe everywhere present in Weimar, and felt himself rather repelled than attracted by Goethe's contempt for all speculation, his attachment to nature,

¹It is an interesting indication of Schiller's taste that as late as January, 1787, he could find BLUMAUER'S *Ode an den Nachstuhl* "quite charming" and adapted to reading at the table (*Briefe*, I, 330). Compare the grotesque passages he quotes with high praise from Schwindrazheim in 1782 (*Werke*, XIII, 205 f.).

"carried to the point of affectation," and his frank sensuousness, *Resignation in seine fünf Sinne* (August, 1787; *Briefe*, I, 381). The dowager duchess, too, came in for severe reprobation, because "sensuousness" was the basis of her enjoyment of art (*Briefe*, I, 362). But, in spite of his hostility toward Goethe (cf. especially *Briefe*, II, 249), Schiller could not help confessing Goethe's superiority to himself—his greater genius, wider range of knowledge, "surer sensuousness" (which here appears as an advantage),¹ and his æsthetic sense, chastened and refined by "art-knowledge of every sort" (February, 1789; *Briefe*, II, 238); and half unconsciously, and at first quite involuntarily, the younger poet began to yield to the influence of the older—an influence that was to affect his theory of poetry profoundly.

During the period in question Schiller's theory of the lyric centers in his two poems *Die Götter Griechenlands* and *Die Künstler*. Stolberg's criticism of the former leads him to insist that poetry never treats the real, but always only the ideal, here defined as that which is selected by the poet for his artistic purpose from the raw material of the real; that a poem should be judged only by its own rule of beauty, of its "æsthetic arrangement," and that a practical test, moral or religious, is quite irrelevant (December 25, 1788; *Briefe*, II, 187 f.). In connection with the slow process of molding and remolding *Die Künstler*, the relation between philosophy and poetry naturally occupies him. He insists, in spite of Wieland's and Körner's doubts, that this work is a poem, and not a philosophy in verse (March 9, 1789; *Briefe*, II, 247; "verse does not make a poem, a poem is a poem, even in prose," he writes to Körner, March 26, 1790; *Briefe*, III, 66). He exalts the claims of the imagination, which must not be held in check by the reason (*Verstand*); the poet must not fear the "momentary frenzy" (*Wahnwitz*) of the creative process (December 1, 1788; *Briefe*, II, 165). Moritz's demand that every work of art must be a "complete and rounded whole" at first seems to him excessive (January 3, 1789; *Briefe*, II, 200); but, as Wieland too insists upon unity, Schiller strives to round

¹The vacillation on this point finally found its solution in the discovery that the æsthetic occupies a sort of middle ground between "sense" and "reason."

out his poem into a "complete circle" (February 25, 1789; *Briefe*, II, 236). The main question, he now thinks, is whether the central thought of the poem has the highest degree of concreteness, *Anschaulichkeit*. The facility of Wieland and Goethe he must confess that he has not yet attained. The influence of the atmosphere of Weimar in chastening his taste appears from his criticism of the grossness of Propertius (April 17, 1789; *Briefe*, II, 276) and of the commonness of Bürger (April 30, 1789; *Briefe*, II, 283, 285). But he still recalcitrates against Goethe's sensuousness and realism: "Seine Philosophie holt zu viel aus der Sinnenwelt, wo ich aus der Seele hole. Überhaupt ist seine Vorstellungsart zu sinnlich und *betastet* mir zu viel" (November 1, 1790; *Briefe*, III, 113). Goethe's dictum that all philosophy is merely subjective also offended Schiller's faith in the reality of the absolute.

The effect of the various influences acting upon Schiller during the six years from 1785 to 1790 appears clearly in his review of Bürger's lyric poems, published in January, 1791 (*Werke*, XIII, 336 ff.). Schiller speaks here with the dogmatism of a young university professor, with the absoluteness of an amateur philosopher, with the zeal of a recent convert to "good taste," with the assurance of a critic who has won his spurs by reviewing Goethe's *Iphigenie* and *Egmont* frankly and fearlessly. His criticism is neither psychological nor historical, neither descriptive nor technical, but metaphysical, as he himself afterward confessed. It is unscientific, since it is based, not upon an induction from empirical investigation, but upon a deduction from *a priori* principles. This fact makes it easy to gather from the criticism what Schiller's theory of the lyric is at this time, though this theory is not expressly formulated. The principal demand here made upon the poet is idealization—by which is meant conformity to the highest ideals of a refined and cultivated soul—and coupled with it generalization. That is: while "all that the poet can give us is his individuality," it is necessary that this individuality be purged of all that is sensual and merely characteristic, ennobled and chastened up to the standard of the "purest and highest humanity;" and the personality of the poet

is worth while only for what is typical in it of the race as a whole. The poet must collect all the scattered rays of perfection in his object, or if he express himself, concentrate all that is beautiful, noble, and excellent in him into one radiant beam, make every detail serve the harmonious unity of the whole, and raise all that is individual and local into the sphere of the universal. If he shall claim to be a "popular" poet, his popularity must appear in the selection of his material and the simplicity of his treatment, not in any concession to the crude taste of the vulgar mob.¹ The poet must compose at an ideal distance from the passion or emotion to be expressed, so that it may not master him in the process of expression; he must avoid all extravagance, and in general recognize the "principles of good taste." He must not forget the ennobling influence of true art, and as a popular poet he must strive to refine and educate the rude soul of the people. The theory that underlies this whole criticism may be summed up in the following formula: Lyric poetry should be the beautiful and tasteful expression in fit words of the idealized, generalized emotion (or thought) of a cultured soul, in an exalted mood, but free from the immediate stress of any strong feeling. It is not difficult to see in this theory and criticism the ideas and ideals expressed with such enthusiasm and poetic rhetoric in *Die Künstler*. It is a significant fact that the name of Goethe does not appear in the list of poets whom Schiller plays out as trump cards in his reply to Bürger's protest—Denis, Göckingk, Hölty, Kleist, Klopstock, von Salis! One wonders what the result would have been if Schiller had at this time attempted a criticism of the lyrics inspired by Friederike, Lili, and Frau von Stein.

The second philosophic period in Schiller's development as a critic opens with the study of Kant's *Kritik der Urteilkraft* in 1791, and continues until the friendship with Goethe begins to exert its profound influence in 1794. As it happens, this period too culminates in an extensive criticism of a lyric poet, Matthisson. A reaction from the former period is evident immediately,

¹ It is worthy of remark that Schiller pays no attention to the *Volkslied*, the influence of which had helped to work a complete transformation in Goethe's lyric poetry, and was to dominate the romantic lyric.

in that Schiller now asserts that philosophic subjects are absolutely unsuited to poetic treatment (November 28, 1791; *Briefe*, III, 170). With the modesty of a learner sitting at the feet of Kant, he confesses that he is a mere dilettante in æsthetic theory (May 25, 1792; *Briefe*, III, 202); that criticism has really been an injury to him as a poet, in that theoretical introspection has chilled the ardor and boldness of his earlier years and checked the freedom of his imagination; but he hopes (foreshadowing his later theory) that when "conformity to art" has become a second nature to him, his imagination will again be free, recognizing only the limits it sets itself. Under the influence of Kant, he sharply differentiates the æsthetic from the ethical; art cannot have a moral purpose; its object is "free enjoyment" (disinterested pleasure), in which the reason (*Vernunft*) and the imagination are active, and in which emotion depends upon conception, not upon sense-impression (*Über den Grund des Vergnügens an tragischen Gegenständen*, *Werke*, VIII, 13 ff.). With Schiller's university lectures on the drama we get a classification of literary forms: wrenching Aristotle's famous *μῦθος* (which he knows through Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*), Schiller differentiates drama and lyric, as "imitation," from narration and description; while the lyric is included in the concept of tragedy as an immediate "imitation" of emotion and passion, it differs from tragedy in not representing action, and in not sharing the purpose of tragedy to arouse pity (*Über die tragische Kunst*, *Werke*, VIII, 30 ff.). What the "different purpose" of the lyric is he does not state.

Schiller's attempt to supplement Kant's æsthetics by discovering an "objective principle of taste" led him, in December, 1792, to formulate a new theory of beauty that naturally had a great deal to do with fixing his standards of art. This theory, in its briefest form, runs thus: "Schönheit ist Freiheit in der Erscheinung," or in another formula, "Schönheit ist Natur in der Kunstmässigkeit" (*Briefe*, III, 232, 237 f., 246, 256 f., 266 f., 269), "nature" here standing for freedom in the realm of sense, and beauty being the "self-determination reflected to us from certain phenomena of nature," and expressed by a "technique" that

exists through conformity to law; a law not imposed from without, but coming from within, necessary and innate in the thing expressed (*Briefe*, III, 273). Though this relation may be impossible as an actuality in art, there must at least be the impression that the form is essentially one with the thing formed. Schiller goes so far now as to say that pure art beauty is possible only in an imitation of nature itself, in which self-determination is complete (*Briefe*, III, 273, 275, 279). This theory is based, so Schiller asserts, upon self-observation; he now holds that one must be more than a philosopher, one must be a practical artist as well, in order to arrive at a valid theory of art (February 9, 1793; *Briefe*, III, 248). And yet the *a priori* character of his theory in the preceding period is still in evidence. Schiller still believes in absolute laws of art, founded on what is necessary and eternal in human nature, in *den Urgesetzen des Geistes*, independent of the "accidental and often depraved taste of the time." The genius of the Greeks and of a few moderns akin to them has expressed these laws in eternal and henceforth unattainable models. To formulate these laws is one of the most difficult problems that philosophic reason can attempt to solve—to reduce the processes of genius to principles, and reconcile freedom with necessity (July 13, 1793; *Briefe*, III, 338f.). As to the form of expression, every trace of the artist's individual taste is mannerism; only the highest independence of all subjective and all accidental objective conditions deserves the name of style—pure objectivity is the essence of good style. As to the substance of art, the essay *Über das Pathetische* (*Werke*, VIII, 119 ff.) still makes expression of the supersensual the purpose of art; feeling *per se* is indifferent, and its expression as such without æsthetic value. We here have the imagination definitely recognized as "*the æsthetic sense*;" but the æsthetic process is still conceived as one of generalization—"rising from the real to the possible, from the individual to the race."

In the review of Matthisson's poetry (1794; *Werke*, XIII, 359 ff.) we shall expect to find an application of Schiller's new æsthetic theory; and so indeed we do, for the principles of "freedom" and "necessity" form the basis of the criticism.

Beautiful art and merely agreeable art are alike free, but only the beautiful is necessary. Poetry is defined as the art of arousing definite emotions through the free action of our creative imagination. The imagination must have free play, and yet inerrantly arouse a definite emotion. To the first end, the poet must be able to calculate the empirical effect of association; he will succeed in this only by following the objective connection of the phenomena involved, as "pure objects," stripped of all that is accidental. But the purpose of this play of imagination is the arousing of certain definite emotions; to this end, the poet must put off all that is accidental and merely individual in his emotion, and appeal to what is universal in his reader. Two properties may be demanded of a poem: objective truth (not reality), or a necessary relation to the object; and subjective universality, or a necessary reference of this object to the emotional nature. The grand style lies in the pure expression of the necessary. So we have the generalization and idealization of the earlier theory reasserted, but on a new basis.

Now, Schiller finds that freedom and necessity are united only in the sphere of human life, hence man is the only possible object of beautiful art. The question therefore arises how to make a place for Matthisson's nature poetry in the scheme of the fine arts. Schiller proceeds first by recognizing a new form, landscape poetry, bearing a similar relation to epic, drama, and lyric as landscape painting does to the painting of human beings and animals. Then he argues that even unconscious nature can be "played over" into the realm of highest beauty—the realm of the human—by a symbolic operation; and nature can become a symbol of the human as a representation either of emotions or of ideas; the former by means of melody, inasmuch as music expresses the form of emotion; the latter according to the laws of the symbolizing imagination. The landscape poet can make up for the essential inferiority of his subject by making his expression highly musical, and by suggesting ideas to the imagination of his reader. It is evident that Schiller is far removed from a complete appreciation of the "nature-sense" of romantic poetry as a mode of lyric emotion.

Having thus constructed a theory of landscape poetry, Schiller finds that Matthisson fulfils all the demands that can be made upon the landscape poet, by the truth and concreteness, the musical beauty, and the intelligence in his poems. He has seized what is generic in the nature forms introduced, his description is dynamic, he follows the law of association. But aside from being a perfect landscape poet, in Schiller's opinion Matthisson is no less successful in the direct expression of emotion. As his themes Schiller mentions friendship, love, religious sentiment, memories of childhood, the happiness of rural life. The simplicity and gentle melancholy of his emotion, his contemplative enthusiasm, the disciplined nobility and chastity of his feeling, these are the qualities of a model idyllic poet. The influence of classical models is not overlooked. Matthisson so fully meets Schiller's theory of the idyllic nature-poet that Schiller considers him quite capable of a "higher flight," of the representation of man in action.

Whether or not we consider this criticism a vast overestimate of Matthisson, one thing is fairly evident: the rather sharp condemnation of Bürger and the high approval of Matthisson are really based on the test of "good taste," on a subjective prejudice in favor of refinement, culture, idealization, and "ethical gracefulness,"¹ and against realism and strong individuality. The ethical trend of Schiller's thought, his deep interest in the problem of the conduct of life, unconsciously affects his judgment, and his criticism inevitably expresses the ideal of his own nature. From his present point of view Schiller tacitly condemns all that is strong and original in his own earlier poetry; and, indeed, he has already frankly laid this poetry on the altar in his reply to Bürger.

It is interesting to notice that at this time Schiller recognizes an empirical science of criticism apart from the philosophy of criticism, with its absolute and eternal laws, which he applies as a test of the value of poetry. Genius by its productions establishes rules of art; these rules may be collected and compared by science, the attempt made to sum them up in more general rules, and finally in a single principle. But since this science of art is based upon experience, it has only the limited authority of an

¹ *Sittliche Grazie* (*Werke*, XIII, 377).

empirical science. It may lead to the skilful imitation of given cases, but never to a positive extension. All extension of the field of art must come from genius; criticism can produce nothing better than correctness (February 3, 1794; *Briefe*, III, 419 f.).

While Schiller was attempting to reconcile his earlier metaphysics of art with the philosophy of Kant, and applying his principles with surprising results to Bürger and Matthisson, he had before him a phenomenon of vastly greater importance in the field of literature—a phenomenon so great that even his absolute principles must curtsy to it, as customs do to kings. Even the words just quoted, on the creative monopoly of genius in the domain of criticism, while based upon Kant, also betray the influence of the phenomenon Goethe upon Schiller's theory. This influence, which had gradually been growing upon the reluctant Schiller during the five preceding years, was finally confessed in the willing and generous homage of the famous letters of August 23 and 31, 1794 (*Briefe*, III, 471 f., 480 f.). Schiller admits that Goethe's calm and clear-eyed observation, his sure intuition, have saved him from the errors into which both metaphysical speculation and an unbridled imagination may fall. Goethe's imagination is the recognized representative of his whole intellectual being, while Schiller himself as a "symbolizing" (or rather allegorizing) poet suffers from a duality of imagination and abstraction, logic and poetry. The unity of Goethe's spirit is the highest state to which man can attain—if he succeeds in generalizing his intuition and giving his emotion a universal validity (here the theory again raises its head). Schiller now tells Körner (September 4, 1794; *Briefe*, IV, 6) that he has "put on a new man" poetically in the last three or four years; and though he still talks of "anarchy in criticism" and a code of objective laws of taste, and in his review of Matthisson frankly appears as both "lawgiver and judge" (September 7; *Briefe*, IV, 8 f.), yet the days of *a priori* metaphysics of poetry are numbered, and Schiller begins to base his theory upon observation of Goethe and of the contrast between his own nature and Goethe's. And now for the first time he begins to take note of Goethe's lyric poetry, and he praises the *Roman Elegies*, admitting, indeed,

that their content is "hardly decent," in the conventional sense of the word (September 20, 1794; July 5, 1795; *Briefe*, IV, 19, 202), but defending them against the charge of immorality, on the ground that only form and the relation of form to content are subject to æsthetic judgment.

In the *Æsthetic Letters* (1794-95; *Werke*, VIII, 170 ff.) we still have the Kantian formula, the ideal arising from the union of the possible and the necessary, and again form is emphasized as the only æsthetic element in a work of art, so that passionate or didactic or moral art would be a contradiction in terms. From the point of view of pure theory, the postulate of universality is carried so far that pure or perfect style is made contingent upon the breaking down of the specific limitations of each art—so that "music in its noblest reach becomes plastic form, and plastic art in its highest perfection becomes music," while poetry, in its appeal to both imagination and emotion, is both musical and plastic. But we find quite different things in the treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtuny* (1794-95; *Werke*, VIII, 310 ff.), the first great monument to the influence of Goethe and of Greek literature upon Schiller's theory. We seem to be on old ground here when we find the purpose of poetry defined as the completest expression of humanity; but the new light immediately appears in the emphatic recognition of realism as equal, and in a limited sense even superior, to idealism as a principle of art. And Schiller is no longer in the realm of metaphysics, but bases his conclusion upon direct observation of Goethe's genius and his own, when he co-ordinates simple poetry, as the complete expression of the real,¹ with sentimental poetry, as the expression of the ideal. It is especially interesting to note how, while tacitly yielding the absolute demand of idealization and generalization formerly made upon all poetry, Schiller now vindicates the dignity of the poetry that does not idealize by contending that simple poetry has an infinity with respect to form, by its complete individualization, just as sentimental poetry has its infinity with respect to matter, by its complete idealization.

The further discussions of this treatise have little bearing

¹The "real" is of course still differentiated from the "actual."

upon our topic, as the interesting distinctions made between the elegiac and the satirical, and between elegy and idyl and the two types of satire, refer, not to literary forms, but to the general attitude of the poet toward his subject-matter. We need only add that the quality of Schiller's "classicality" remains unaffected; he still demands nobility and moderation of the poet, and calls attention to the opposite extremes to which realism and idealism may lead—the servitude of the sensualist, and the caprice of the phantast. The last words of the treatise imply a total condemnation of the type of romantic poetry cultivated by the Tieck-Schlegel group.

In spite of Goethe's influence, Schiller was still led by the hypercriticism of Humboldt (*Briefwechsel*, pp. 105 f.) as late as September, 1795, to a denial of the "lyric" as Goethe always cultivated it. Schiller admits to Humboldt (*Briefe*, IV, 256) that his poem *Die Ideale* is "too subjectively and individually true to be judged as real poetry, for in it the individual (poet) satisfies a need and frees himself from a burden," and he recognizes as a limitation in his poem that it "communicates the emotion from which it arose"—i. e., unidealized and ungeneralized. Yet Schiller has a feeling, belying his theory, that this elegy has something in it that makes it more poetic than any of his former productions. Not long after, he expresses the opinion that the modern poet had better treat the ideal than the real (October 26; *Briefe*, IV, 301), and that in such a prosaic time the poetic spirit must withdraw from the real world (November 4; *Briefe*, IV, 314). A few months later, however, Schiller notes as an astonishing thing how much more realistic increasing years and the influence of Goethe and the ancients have made him (March 21, 1796; *Briefe*, IV, 437). And now one of Goethe's most individualized and characteristic lyrics makes an indelible impression upon him—Mignon's song "So lasst mich scheinen, bis ich werde," from *Wilhelm Meister*, Book 8; and in his own poems he feels the transforming influence of Goethe (August 12, October 17, 1796; *Briefe*, V, 52, 87). He strongly advises Hölderlin, in whom he recognizes a spirit akin to his own, to avoid philosophic subjects, to cling more closely to the world of sense; to practice concentration,

economy, clear and simple expression; and to form his own rules from a study of the great masters (November 24, 1796; *Briefe*, V, 117 f.). Again, one of Goethe's ballads, *Der Schatzgräber*, shows him how a small and simple subject is capable of the highest æsthetic effect through perfect representation (May 23, 1797; *Briefe*, V, 195). He admits that Goethe is teaching him induction—rising from individual cases to great laws, instead of descending from the general to the particular, as had been his wont (June 18, 1797; *Briefe*, V, 201).

By the middle of the year 1797 Schiller has arrived at a point where he clearly and frankly repudiates his own earlier position. He now emphasizes the importance of the characteristic, and even of the base and ugly, in Greek art, and he condemns the æsthetic philosophy that makes the concept of beauty a mere empty abstraction; he even proposes to substitute "truth" for the much-abused word "beauty" as a technical term (July 7; *Briefe*, V, 216 f.). And from this time on he keeps repeating a formal recantation of his earlier "principles of art," at least as bases of criticism. With reference to Humboldt's critical essay on Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, Schiller questions whether philosophy of art has anything to say to an artist, who rather needs "empirical and special formulas that are too narrow for the philosopher;" he asserts that works of the imagination can be judged only by the imagination, that abstract terms cannot adequately express intuition and emotion. He confesses that he was in error when he applied the "metaphysics of art" directly to concrete cases, as in the criticisms of Bürger and Matthisson (June 27, 1798; *Briefe*, V, 393 f., 397). How Goethe regarded this matter at about the same time appears from such utterances to Schiller as these: that praise and blame are always subjective, that many famous axioms are only expressions of an individuality, that there is no connecting link between the practical and the theoretical (Goethe, *Briefe*, XIII, 8, 137, 198). So Schiller was moved by Apel's criticism of his *Jungfrau von Orleans* to insist that there is no bridge leading from transcendental philosophy to fact, to protest against the futile use of empty formulas, and to call for relative and "dynamic" criticism, for recognition of a poem as an organic whole, to be

judged by the law of its own internal economy (January 20-22, 1802; *Briefe*, VI, 332 f., 336, 339 f.). Indeed, Schiller now goes so far as to express serious and quite heretical doubts as to the value of "æsthetics and the theory of art," aside from the "practical" theory that the poet evolves for himself without reference to æsthetic philosophy (*Briefe*, VI, 340); and he repeats these doubts and reasserts his total estrangement from all speculative theorizing in the last months of his life (December 10, 1804; April 2, 1805; *Briefe*, VII, 190, 228).

So much being premised as to Schiller's general attitude at this time, it is not surprising that very little theory of the lyric can be gleaned from the utterances of his later years. We find, indeed, that his tendency now is to ignore the fine distinctions often drawn between the literary forms. So he finds Humboldt's analysis of these forms "too sharp," and reminds him that the imagination easily overleaps the barriers between them (June 27, 1798; *Briefe*, V, 395). He contrasts the lyric rather with the plastic (as he does the musical in the treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, *Werke*, VIII, 356, note) than with the other literary forms; tragedy, though it too is "plastic," tending more than epic toward the lyric because of its emotional content. In the *Schema über den Dilettantismus* (in collaboration with Goethe, 1799; *Werke*, XIII, 152) the lyric is contrasted with the pragmatic, epic and drama being included under this head as representing action. In the further remarks on the lyric in this "scheme" (Goethe, *Werke*, 47, 312) cultivation of the imagination and of the sense of rhythm and idealization of the common things of life are mentioned as advantages of an interest in lyric poetry; since "there are no objective laws either for the essence or the form of poetry," the amateur is advised to follow good models, originality being assumed as the prerogative of genius; and the statement is made that every cultured person should be able to express his emotions in a poetically beautiful way and so to "make a good lyric poem."

Schiller finds that the lyric mood is peculiarly elusive and independent of the will, in that it is quite unsubstantial and resides only in the purely emotional life. In this connection may

be mentioned the frequent discussion during these later years of the unconscious element in poetry. Though the poet must have a definite subject, the choice of this subject is more a matter of feeling and dim foreboding than of conscious selection (September 15, 1797; *Briefe*, V, 258). Schiller finds that unconscious creation and conscious reflection alternate in Goethe, who therefore "works in the dark," while in himself these processes are intermingled—much to his disadvantage. But when Klingemann in his *Memnon* praises Goethe as an unconscious artist, Schiller protests against this as a biased judgment and appeals to Goethe's great care in the elaboration of his works and to his effort at a clear understanding of his processes¹ (July 26, 1800; *Briefe*, VI, 177). Schiller discusses the subject at length in his letter to Goethe (March 27, 1801; *Briefe*, VI, 262), with reference to Schelling's antithesis between art and nature. Schiller here asserts that the poet begins with the unconscious, and that he is fortunate if by means of his most clearly conscious processes he can represent fully the "obscure total idea" of his conception, to express and communicate which is the purpose of poetry. Here we have the clear statement that the poet's purpose is to reproduce in another his own emotional state. And then Schiller suddenly turns to an evaluation of poetry that carries us back to his earlier theory. The grade of a poet, we learn, depends upon the wealth and content that he has within himself and therefore expresses, and upon the degree of necessity in the effect of his work. The more subjective his emotion, the more accidental it is; objective power rests upon the ideal. Totality of expression is a requisite of all poetry, for without it poetry has no character and is worthless; but the perfect poet expresses the whole of humanity. And so we return here to the test of high culture in the poet, and of the idealization and generalization of his emotion. It is doubtless from this point of view that Schiller praises Goethe's elegies and idyls as the "purest and completest expression of himself and the world" (February 20, 1802; *Briefe*, VI, 355); and that he condemns his own famous ode *An die Freude* as "quite defective"—in spite of its emotional fire "a

¹ See GOETHE, *Briefe*, X, 338; XV, 213.

wretched poem," marking a stage of culture that he must leave far behind him in order to produce anything respectable, and satisfying only the "defective taste of the time" (October 21, 1800; *Briefe*, VI, 211). His present dissatisfaction with *Die Künstler* is doubtless due to a sense of its lack of unity, perhaps also to its philosophic character; he writes (September 3, 1800; *Briefe*, VI, 195) that in revising his poems for the collected edition he is trying to rid them as far as possible of "certain abstract ideas."

If we may venture to deduce a final theory of the lyric from the utterances of these later years, we shall arrive at about the following result: Lyric poetry is the immediate and adequate expression, in rhythmic language, of emotion, whether individual or generalized, with the purpose of reproducing in the reader the emotional state of the poet. It is more dependent upon mood than the other forms, and more involved in the mysterious unconscious play of the imagination and the feelings that is beyond the control of the reason and the will; in this sense it is the most subjective form. Even the simplest content is capable of the highest beauty through perfection of form, but the value of a poem will depend upon the content and culture of the soul expressed in it. And, after all, the lyric is not a distinct literary form at all, but rather a mode of soul-expression that may appear in any of the traditional forms.¹

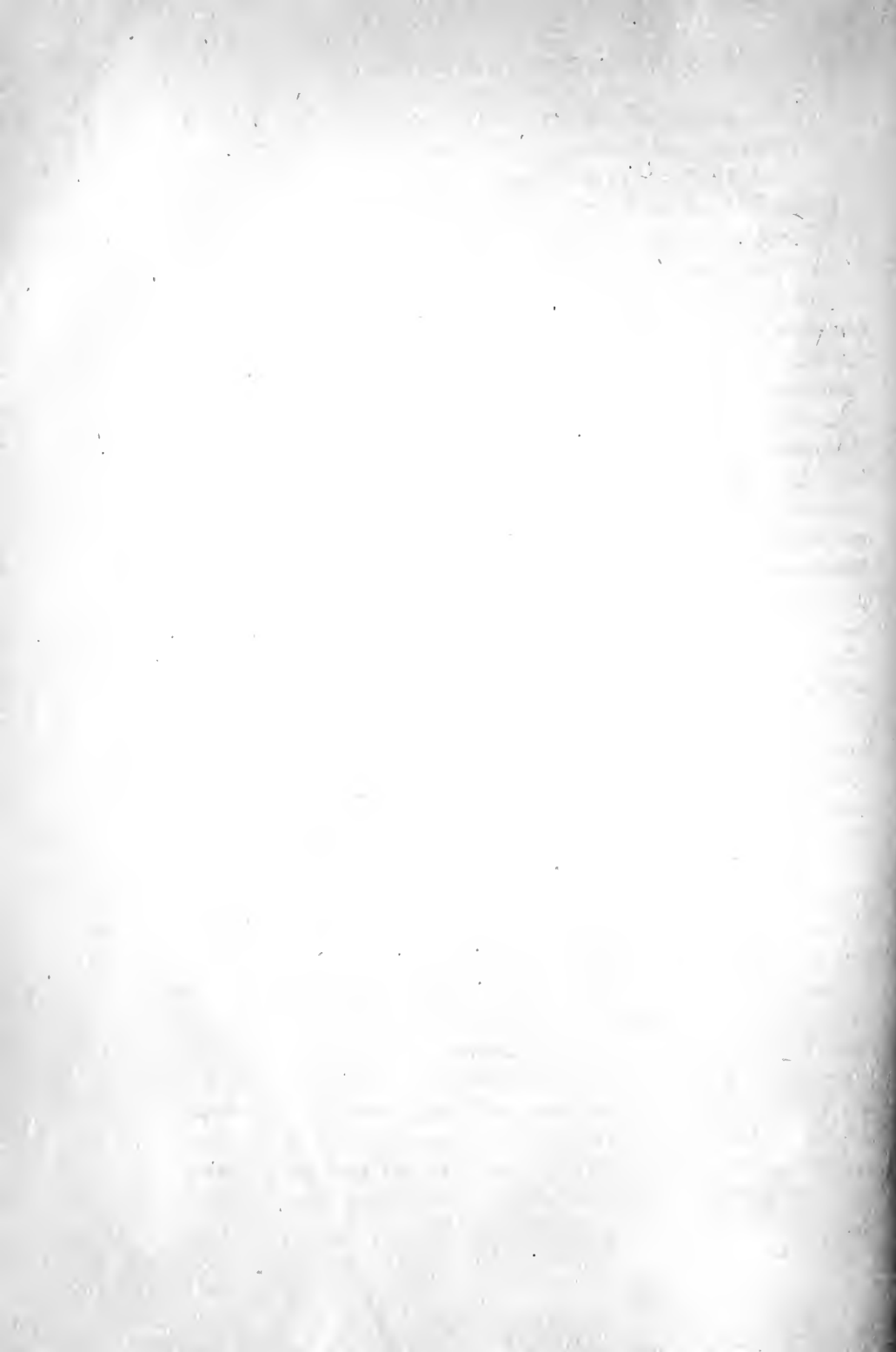
With regard to the external forms of lyric poetry, Schiller has little to say; the subject does not seem to have interested him. Thus we find no theory of the distich or of the epigram in general, though Schiller was perhaps the most successful of German poets in the use of the epigrammatic distich. The sonnet seems to have had no special meaning to him as a form; he praises Bürger and Schlegel as sonneteers because their sonnets "sing themselves when they are recited" (*Werke*, XIII, 348). Of the other imported forms, tercets are pronounced monotonous and distasteful (*Briefe*, V, 350), and *ottave rime* preferred to them as being "more graceful;" Schiller at first looked upon the *Stanze* as essentially an epic form, and he chose it for his trans-

¹ Cf. GOETHE's words, *Briefe*, XII, 381 f.

lation from Vergil (*Briefe*, III, 68, 143; cf. Körner, *Briefwechsel*, II, 207); but in the *Xenien* (Schmidt-Suphan, No. 525) it is characterized as peculiarly adapted to the expression of the tender yearning of modest love, a very different use from that which Goethe makes of it. For the ode (*Werke*, VIII, 49; XIII, 198; *Briefe*, II, 249) and the epistle (*Briefe*, III, 66) there is no discussion of external form; for the hymn (*Briefe*, V, 406) only the question whether it will admit of treatment in distichs. The *Lied* is merely mentioned, without any attempt at definition; the ballad is placed somewhat negligently on the very outskirts of the field of poetry (*Briefe*, V, 269, 370 f., 455), but we have no theory of its form or of the relation of the epic and lyric in it; it is looked upon as essentially epic, and yet capable of the expression of ideas. "Elegy" is used in various senses; in the loose conventional way for a sad poem (1782; *Werke*, XIII, 205), in the classical sense of a poem in distichs (with reference to Goethe's elegies, *Briefe*, IV, 19, 49, 202; VI, 355), and finally in the new interpretation of the treatise *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, referring to the general attitude of the sentimental poet. Schiller sees clearly enough that all classifications and terminologies have but a relative validity, and that the modern sentimental poet must necessarily give a new connotation to the names of forms that have been handed down from the ancient days of "simple" classical poetry (*Werke*, VIII, 369, note). And as he sees the impossibility of confining the emotion and the imagination of the poet within even the wider limits of the traditional greater divisions—epic, dramatic, and lyric—it is natural that he should not attempt to create or to observe a classification or a nomenclature of lyric forms.

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NOTES ON THE ANDREAS.

L. 15: *ūt on þæt īgland*; l. 28: *þāra þe þæt ēaland ūtan sōhte*. There is no equivalent for *īgland* or *ēaland* in the Greek or the A.S. prose versions of the legend. The corresponding passages are: *εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*, Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apoc.*, p. 65, and *ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν*, Bonnet, p. 66; *sē ēadiga Mathēus gehlēat tō Marmadonia þære ceastre*, Bright, *Reader*, p. 113, and *æghwylc man þe on þære ceastre cōm ælþēodisc*, Bright, p. 113. A parallel situation is found in the *Phœnix*; the land in which the Phoenix dwells is twice referred to as an island, *ænlīc is þæt īglond*, *Ph.*, 9, *on þām ēalonde*, *Ph.*, 287, the second phrase being an elaboration of *ēadig ēðellond*, *Ph.*, 279. The corresponding passages in Lactantius, *De ave Phœnice*, are as follows:

Est locus in primo felix oriente remotus,
Qua patet æterni maxima porta poli;

—ll. 1, 2.

Ast ubi primaeva coepit florere iuuenta
Evolat ad patrias iam reditura domos.

—ll. 115, 116.

The word in the above passages is evidently not to be understood in the specific sense of "island," but rather in the literal sense of "water-land," "land that is reached by water." To the insular Anglo-Saxon all foreign lands must be "water-lands;" perhaps in this poetical sense the word also carried with it the connotation of remoteness; in both the *Phœnix* and the *Andreas* it is used for the Orient. Cf. also *Sal. and Sat.*, 1 ff.:

*Hwæt! Ic īglanda eallra hæbbe
bōca onbyrged.*

The elaboration of this passage makes *īglanda* refer to Lybia, Greece, and India, none of them islands.

The usage here supports Bugge's interpretation (*Beiträge*, 12, 5) of *Beow.*, 2334, *ēaland ūtan eorðweard ðone*, in so far as *ēaland* is taken as appositive to *eorðweard* (not as Fahlbeck would read, "the islands as well as the mainland"); but *ūtan*

cannot mean "die aussere seite des ealands," as Bugge interprets the passage. The word indicates rather the direction from which the visitor seeks the "water-land;" *ælpēodisc* in the passage cited above is a sufficient gloss on the word.

L. 36: *heortan* [*on*]*hredre*. The idiom requires the insertion of *on* to govern *hredre*; cf. *An.*, 69, 893, *Chr.*, 641. Perhaps the preposition was lost because of its similarity in sound to the second syllable of *heortan*.

L. 88: *wuldres tācen*. Grein, *Sprachschatz*, 2, 520, and Simons, *Kynewulfs Wortschatz*, p. 134, would supply "sancta crux," "the sign of the cross," as completing the meaning, as though *wuldres tācen* were equivalent to the *sigores tācen* of *Elene*, 88, and elsewhere. But cf. *Ph.*, 96, *torht tācen Godes*, appositive to *Godes condelle*, l. 91, and the corresponding passages in the Greek and A.S. prose: Ταῦτα δὲ προσευχομένου τοῦ Ματθαίου ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἔλαμψεν φῶς, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς φωνὴ λέγουσα, Bonnet, p. 67; *mycel lēoht and beorht onlēohte þæt carcern, and Drihtnes stefn wæs geworden tō him on þæm lēohte*, Bright, p. 114.

L. 109: *synne*. Reading *synne* with the MS and editors, Grein, *Spr.*, 2, 518, glosses the word as inst. sg. (?) of *syn*, "evil," "wickedness;" Simons, p. 124, glosses the form as a reflexive pronoun, but he gives no further clue as to his interpretation of the passage. The translations treat the word as an adverb. But the improbable inst. sg. *synne* is clearly to be corrected to the adjective form *synnge*, appositive to *wærlogan*, 108*a*, to accord with the usual phrasing as found in *An.* 565*b*, 710*a*, 964*b*; cf. also 921*a*. The MS preserves regularly the unsyncopated forms in this word; the form *synne* perhaps looks back to a time when the syncopated forms were still written.

L. 194: *ēað*. Here, as in *An.*, 368*a*, evidently comparative. The form *ēað*, adv., recorded in *Spr.*, 1, 253, and B.-T., 236, is derived from this passage, *Gen.*, 2058, and *Gu.*, 528. But *Gen.*, 2058, demands metrically *ēaðe*, and also the positive degree; *ēað* for *Gu.*, 528, rests upon a false MS reading, the MS having *ēaðe* (cf. *Bib.*, 3, 71). The only authentic passages for *ēað* are consequently these two in the *Andreas*, both of which are com-

parative. Unless other examples are forthcoming, *ēað* as positive may therefore be crossed from the dictionaries.

L. 198: *wēgas ofer wīdland*. All the editors read *wīd land* with the MS; Grein, however (*Germ.*, 10, 423), changes to *wīdland*. The whole phrase as understood by the editors and translators is out of keeping with the rest of the passage. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates, "die Wege über weite Lande;" Kemble, "ways over wide land;" Root, *Andreas*, "the tracks across the boundless land;" Hall, *Judith, Phoenix*, etc., "the ways o'er the wide-lands." But the word is appositive to and amplifies the *sæstrēamas*, *waroðfaruða gewinn*, and *wæterbrōgan* of the preceding lines and can hardly mean "roadways on the dry land." It will be noticed also that in the succeeding lines, though the word *herestræta* occurs, it is limited by the phrase *ofer cald wæter*; the whole passage is consequently descriptive of journeyings by water.

The right understanding of the passage is dependent on the meaning of *wīdland*; as a compound this word is of frequent occurrence and means: (1) "dry land, terra firma," as distinguished from the ocean (cf. *Gen.*, 1538, *wæter ofer wīdland*, and *Gen.*, 155, 156, *nāron Metode þā gýt wīdlond ne wēgas nytte*); (2) "world," "earth," in general (cf. *Chr.*, 605, *welan ofer wīdlond*, "prosperity upon earth"). The second is the sense in which the word is used in the present passage. Again, *wēgas*, appositive to *sæstrēamas*, is the same word as *wēgas* in *Gen.*, 156, nom. pl. of *wæg*, "fluctus, unda, mare." The usual spelling of the word in the *Andreas* is *wæg*, as, e. g., *wāges*, 632, *wāgas*, 373, etc.; but the spelling *wēg* is found, also, in the gen. pl. *wēga*, 932. Read also *wēges weard*, *An.*, 601, "ward of the wave," not *weges weard* (*Spr.*, 2, 655, Hall), "ward of the way."

L. 236: *faruðe*. The two words *faroð* and *waroð* have apparently been confused in all A.S. poetical texts in which they occur. Sweet, *Student's Dictionary*, makes no distinction in meaning between the words, glossing both by "shore." Yet etymologically and in their usage they are two distinct words. *waroð* (cf. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. "werder"),

O.H.G. *werid*, *warid*, "insula," M.G. *werder*, means "shore, sea-shore." This meaning is clearly preserved in numerous passages in A.S., both in prose and verse texts. The following from Bede (ed. Miller, p. 46, l. 6) is a good example: *Swylce ēac on þæs sēs waroþe tō sūddāle . . . torras timbredon tō gebeorghe ðæs sēs.* *farod* is glossed by Grein (*Spr.*, 1, 265) "fluctuatio maris," by B.-T., "the floating of the waves, a billow, the shore." The primary meaning of the word seems to be "motion," as in the verb *faran*; compare O.H.G. *ferid*, "navigium" (Graff, *Althochd. Spr.*, 3, 588; Kluge, *Nom. Stamb.*, p. 47, mentions *ferid*, but does not connect it with A.S. *farod*). *farod* is of less frequent occurrence than *warod*; as simplex it does not occur in prose. For the verse Grein cites eight occurrences; of these one, *Dan.*, 322, falls out as a compound, the MS *brimfarō þæs = brimfarōdes*. Of the remaining seven, the three in the *Andreas*, ll. 236, 255, 1658, and two in the *Beowulf*, ll. 28, 1916, are doubtful, the context in these five passages demanding the meaning "shore." In *Beow.*, 580, *flōd æfter farode*, and *Hy.*, 4, 100 (*Bib.*, 2, 222), *flēot on farode*, however, the meaning "ocean, surge," is clearly defined; in the compounds also, *farod-hengest*, *-lācende*, *-rīdende*, *-stræt*, the same meaning is necessary. The remaining five examples cited above, in which the MSS read *farod*, and the sense demands *warod*, we must explain as due to a confusion of initial *f* and initial *w*. The possibility of such confusion is strikingly confirmed by the MS reading *sēfarōða sand*, *Dan.*, 323, beside the reading in the parallel passage, as the sense demands, *Az.*, 39, *swā waroþa sond*. Similar confusion of *f* and *w* occurs in other words, for a list of which see Napier, *Old-English Glosses*, p. 104 (for this reference I am indebted to Professor J. M. Hart, who first called my attention to this *warod-farod* tangle); the confusion in all the cases cited, according to Napier, is due merely to a graphical error of the copyists, arising from the similarity of *f* and *w* in the writing of the MSS. The comparative frequency of the form *farod* for *warod* indicates that the confusion was an early one, and that some of the occurrences may be due to imitation rather than the miswriting of the scribes. In all such cases, however, *warod* should be restored;

read therefore *waroð* for *faroð* in *An.* 236, 255, 1658, and *Beow.*, 28, 1916. In compounds, besides *Dan.*, 323, cited above, the same restoration is to be made for the MS reading *æt sǣfearoðe*, *El.*, 251. Compare also the two forms *neowol* and *nifol*.

L. 356: *willan in worulde ond in wuldre blæd*. This obvious antithesis of *woruld* and *wuldor*, the latter word being used in the generalized sense of "heaven," occurs less frequently than one would expect. The only other examples are *An.*, 948, and *Gu.*, 370; *wuldor* in *Christ and Satan*, 59, has a different meaning. The same antithesis, though without the verbal play, occurs in *Chr.*, 1237-43. The phrase *in wuldre*, *Chr.*, 1243, Professor Cook (*Christ*, p. 202) says "is not clear; one would like to interpret: 'in the bestowal of glory (upon themselves).'" But is not *in wuldre* antithetic to *fore lēodum*, l. 1238. and *ofer burga gesetu*, l. 1239, and parallel to *on heofonrice*, l. 1245? The resurrection and the judgment are thought of as taking place on earth. The second mark of the saved is that they know that the favor of the Lord (awaits) them in heaven and they perceive that they shall possess bright joys in the heavenly kingdom.

L. 507: *hafast þē[h] on fyrhðe*. The context demands *þēh* here. A similar correction is suggested by Professor Bright for *An.*, 630 (*Modern Language Notes*, 2, 82).

L. 865: *ūs ofslæpendum sǣwle ābregdon*. All the editors print *us of slæpendum*; but it is difficult to see how the phrase can be construed with *of* as preposition. *ofslæpan* as verb is not recorded in the dictionaries, and, so far as I am aware, occurs only in the present passage; in formation, however, it is exactly parallel to *oflystan*, *oflysted*, and *ofðyrstan*, and, as the context and its method of formation demand, it means "sleep soundly." For the construction *ūs* with *ābregdan*, compare *Gen.*, 2638-40:

þē ābregdan sceal
for þære dæde dēað of brēostum
sǣwle þīne.

L. 953: All the editors place a comma after *geliccost*, thus connecting it with *wundum weorðan*, not *faran blōd*. But cf. Bonnet, p. 88, *ita sanguis tuis fluent in terra sicut aqua*; Bright, p. 119, l. 16, *swā þæt þīn blōd flōwð ofer eorðan swā swā*

wæter. The construction of the phrase *faran flōde blōd*, *An.*, 954, is awkward, and the statement is a bit extravagant. Should one read *faran on foldan blōd*? Compare the corresponding passage in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon prose versions quoted above.

Ll. 1317, 1319: MS, *hwæt, gylp*. Read *hwær* and *gild*, and compare the corresponding passage of the Greek: *ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις σου καὶ ὁ φόβος σου καὶ ἡ δόξα σου καὶ ἡ ὑψωσίς σου; . . . καὶ ἐποίησας τὰ ἱερὰ ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμους γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀνευχεθῶσιν θυσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερφεθῶμεν*, Bonnet, p. 104, 105. Cf. *Jul.*, 146, *þā þū goda ūssa gield forhogdest*. Bugge (*Beiträge*, 12, 95) notices a similar miswriting, *gylp* for *gyld*, in *Beow.*, 1749.

L. 1474: MS, *lic ge lenge ne laðes dæl*. Grimm, note, emends to *lice gelenge*, citing the parallel passage in *Beow.*, 2732; Grein (*Spr.*, 1, 421) and Cosijn (*Beiträge*, 21, 18) follow Grimm; Wülker reads *lice lenge*. But the passage still offers difficulties. What is the meaning of *lice gelenge* or *lic lenge*, and what is the appropriateness of *drēore bestēmed*, 1475b, as limiting *lādes dæl*? As Cosijn points out, *Beow.*, 2732 is not a complete parallel to this passage, since the phrase in the *Beowulf* means "related (in blood)," a meaning inappropriate to the passage in the *Andreas*. Apparently there has been a general transposition of the parts of the passage, which should read: *lāðe gelenge nē lices dæl*. A parallel to *lāðe gelenge* is *Jul.*, 371, *leahtrum gelenge*; with *lices dæl* compare *An.*, 1421. The sense of the passage is: "nor bloody wound, of harmful nature, nor part of his body made wet with gore from the sword-wound."

L. 1485: *þæt fram fruman cunne*. The syntax and meaning of this clause have caused some difficulty. Grein (*Spr.*, 1, 353) translates *þæt* by *qui*, a nom. sg. mas. relative, subject of *cunne*, its antecedent being *mann*, 1484a; but this is a plainly impossible translation of *þæt*. Cosijn (*Beiträge*, 21, 18) explains *þæt* as equivalent to *swā æglēaw þæt (hē)*, etc., deriving this meaning from *æglēawra*, 1483b. Pogatscher (*Anglia*, 23, 266) translates: "Dass soll ein klügerer mann auf erden, als ich mich halte, im geiste finden, dass er (nämlich) vom anfang alle die

leiden kenne." Paraphrased this means: "I have not been able to find in my mind all the hardships which he underwent, but a wiser man will discover that he knows them." The two chief faults of this interpretation are that it mistranslates *findan on ferde* and does not do justice to the subjunctive *cunne*. Perhaps the best way to take the clause is as a conditional or limiting clause, *þæt = gif þæt*, "provided that, if that." For this unusual use of the conjunction, see *An.*, 275, 276, which should be translated: "You shall have a reward from God, provided that you are (be) kindly disposed toward us on this journey." *findan on ferde* means "compose;" compare *Fat. Ap.*, 1, 2, *fand on sēocum sefan*, an appositive phrase to *samnode*, and for a discussion of *samnian*, "compose," see Barnouw, *Herrig's Archiv*, 108, 371-75. The whole passage should read as follows: "that (i. e., *langsum leorning*, 1482a) shall a wiser man upon earth than I count myself compose, provided he know from the beginning all the hardships which he [Andrew] endured." The passage is the poets' apology for omitting parts of his original.

L. 1522: *wordlatu*. According to the dictionaries this is the only occurrence of the word, glossed by Grein (*Spr.*, 2, 735), *verbi retardatio*, B.-T. (p. 1266), "delay in speaking;" *latu*, "delay," as simplex, does not occur. That the word, however, is genuine, and is not due to confusion with *wordlaðu*, *An.*, 635, *Chr.*, 664, is probable from the similar expression, *An.*, 1210, *Nis sēo stund latu þæt þē*, etc.; this at least seems a more convincing reason for its retention than Grein's citation (*Spr.*, 2, 161) of *An.*, 215, *ne mæg þæs ærendes ylding weorðan*.

Ll. 1548, 1549: MS, *wrecen*, *mænan*, *galen*. A "corruptus locus," as Ettmüller remarks, and nothing short of a thorough revision will reduce these jangling verb-forms to grammatical good order. Ettmüller suggests changing *wrecen* and *galen* to infinitives, or *mænan* to a past-participle; but either change results in an awkward and improbable sequence of dependent clauses. Still less probable is the explanation accepted by Grimm and Wülker; they retain the MS readings and understand the

infinitive *mænan* as dependent on the past-participle *wrecen*. I suggest making a full stop after *wrecen*, and reading as follows: *Ðær wæs ȳðfynde innan burgum gēomorgidd wrecen; gehðo mæn[d]an forhtferð manig, fūslēoð g[ō]l[o]n.* -an-preterits such as *māendan* are frequent in this MS; for *manig* with plural verb, see *El.*, 231, *Chr.*, 795.

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THE SOURCES OF SPENSER'S "MOTHER HUBBERD'S TALE."

THE conventional statements about the "Mother Hubbard's Tale" are that it is a revision in about 1590 of a poem first written about 1578-79; that it is written in imitation of Chaucer; and that it reflects the bitter experiences of its author while at court. In the matter of the date, most editors adopt the conclusions of Grosart.¹ As to Spenser's imitation of Chaucer, the usual assumption is that the *Canterbury Tales* supplied the model, and that the poet was trying his hand on the beast fable, somewhat after the model of the "Nonne Preestes Tale." Professor Lounsbury, however, thinks that there is no justification for this view.² "The custom of imputing to beasts the thought and actions of men," he says, "is too ancient and too general to be regarded as the exclusive property of any one author." Mr. Lounsbury goes on to say that the extent of Spenser's indebtedness to Chaucer is to be found in the irregular meter; there is no "imitation of Chaucer's matter, or even of his manner."

Apart from this theory of Chaucerian imitation, which in Mr. Lounsbury's opinion at least has narrowed itself down to a question of meter, and the theory that the poem is in part a vigorous expression of its author's view of life at Elizabeth's court, but one important suggestion as to a possible source has been made. In his edition of Spenser's complete works, Mr. Grosart has advanced the theory that in *The Morall Philosophie of Doni, englished out of Italian by Thomas North*, a work published in London in 1570, we have the source of "Mother Hubbard's Tale."³ It is the purpose of the present article to show, if possible, that this theory is untenable, and to propose another source for the poem.

¹ *Complete Works of Spenser*, Vol. I, pp. 82-89; 178, 179.

² *Studies in Chaucer*, Vol. III, p. 56.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 440-42.

I.

North's translation of Doni was first licensed near the end of 1569, and was illustrated with woodcuts imitated from the Italian.¹ Doni's book, *La Moral Filosofia*, was first printed in 1552, and several later editions appeared. This was not the first Italian version of the fables of Bidpai, or Pilpay, for in 1548 a translation by Firenzuola was published, and this passed through three editions in Italy, besides being translated into French. So far as is known, North's translation was the only English version of the fables accessible to Spenser, though, in view of the great popularity of Bidpai, he may have come across some version in Italian or in French. That North's version was his source, Grosart maintains for the following reasons:

1. This was the great fable-book of the time.
2. Things are put exactly as in "Mother Hubbard's Tale," in sarcastic exposure of the doings at court and elsewhere.
3. The Foxe, Ape, and Moyle (mule) of Spenser have traits taken from Doni.
4. This book is used by Spenser in the "Shepheards Calendar" and in the "Visions of the World's Vanity."

5. The Mule's advice on how to thrive at court may be compared with a passage in Doni in which the Mule says that he will go to court, proposing to use arts and subtlety.

I must use everie one with arte, feeding still their humour; to deal in other matters with deceite, and in mine owne to have a subtile witte, devising still all I may to be chiefe about the Prince. . . . In Prince's courts, he that proceedeth not stoutly in his mattere, besides that like he is thought a coward, they take him for a foole.

6. In Doni, the Herdsman renders a false account of his herd.
7. We have in Doni, as in Spenser's poem, "passionate words of suitor's delays."

8. Grosart concludes that the personifications, the prosopopeia, etc., are from this book.

Before considering these arguments in detail, it will be necessary to give some account of those parts of North's translation which might conceivably have influenced Spenser. The

¹Of the first edition but one copy is known to exist, the Bodleian copy. The work was reprinted by Joseph Jacobs in 1888.

opening stories are of the *exemplum* type, are not in any way related to each other, and are not animal tales. The latter part of the book, a version of Bidpai's *Fables*, is preceded by an introduction of its own, this being found only in the Italian. This introduction relates how a herdsman by accident wounds a valuable Bull belonging to the herd over which he watched. The wounded animal wanders near the court of the Lion, who is king of beasts. His curiosity and alarm being excited by the roaring of the Bull, the king sends the Boar to investigate. The messenger soon returns, panic-stricken, and the Lion, who seems a cowardly fellow enough, is also frightened out of his wits. Observing their master's fear, two of his court, the Ass and the Mule, plot against him. The She-ass remonstrates with them, and, to illustrate her point, tells of the ape who meddles with matters not concerning him. This ape-story is not similar to anything in "Mother Hubbard's Tale" (H), but is found in *Æsop* and in Bidpai. The Ass is persuaded, but the Mule is determined to persevere in his plot against the Lion. The She-ass continues to warn him, by means of the story of the wolf who promised a shepherd not to harm his flock if mercy were shown him, but who afterward broke his promise and was slain. All appeals are in vain, and finally the adviser seeks only to give wise counsel to the headstrong Mule. Here follow what Mr. Grosart calls the "passionate words of suitor's delays." The Mule goes to the Lion, and his proffered services are accepted. After a long speech by the Lion, the Mule relates the folly of the turkey who wished not to seem a prisoner. He goes on to say that he is sorry not to see the Lion hunting and offers to free him from dread. During the conference the Bull bellows outside, and the Lion is terrified. After an exchanging of other stories in no way related either to the plot or to H, the Mule goes out to interview the Bull. Much is made of the terror of the Lion when alone, and he is greatly relieved when his new friend returns with the assurance that the Bull is a fine fellow and seeks service. Thus the two are brought together; the Mule is rewarded with high office. In the following book the Mule lies to the Lion about the Bull; after several stories have been told to illustrate

the point, the king is convinced; but in the meantime the crafty Mule has poisoned the mind of the Bull against his lord. At last the two meet, and a great fight takes place, with the result that the Bull is slain. The Ass again appears and remonstrates with the Mule, telling many stories to prove that in the end sorrow will come to him. The next book, "shewing the ende of the treasons and miseries of the Courte of this Worlde," relates how the Lion repents his hastiness, grieves for the loss of his favorite, and turns in anger upon the Mule, who defends himself so well that for the time being the day of reckoning is averted. By a chance, however, the Leopard overhears a conversation between the Mule and the Ass, and reports to the king certain evidence of the Mule's plot. A great parliament is called; the Mule is frightened, but defends himself boldly; he is put in prison, where he is visited by the Ass, a Job's comforter. At the great trial the Fox indeed appears, but he is merely mentioned as one of those who voted that the plotter was deserving of death.

II.

It has seemed necessary to give a somewhat full account of Doni's *Moral Philosophy* (D), because in this way the great differences between it and H are easily made apparent. It is obvious that in H Spenser was very far from following D as a model, because not only the incidents, but the characterization and the entire plan of the story, are widely different. For D, like the *Seven Wise Masters* and other cycles of the kind, is merely a collection of stories having little or no connection other than that afforded by an extremely loose framework. There is somewhat more of a story than the framework of the *Canterbury Tales* affords, but this story is by no means parallel to H, while H has none of the illustrative stories which form such an important part of D, of the *Seven Wise Masters*, and of other cycles of similar character.

Considering Grosart's arguments more in detail, we may note:

1. It is hardly accurate to say that D was "the great fable-book of the time." Only one English edition, the first, appeared in Spenser's time; the second appeared in 1601.

2. The characterization in D is by no means the same as in H. The Lion is no true king of beasts; the Fox plays no part in the main story, though he figures in several of the illustrative tales, usually in some such manner as in *Æsop*. The Ape has no part in D; and the Mule and the Ass, both prominent in D, are not characterized with reference to their nature as animals.

3. Grosart makes much of the herdsman who renders a false account of his herd. In H, it will be remembered, the Ape and the Fox, during the year in which they have charge of the flock, destroy first the lambs and then the sheep. When summoned to account, they beg respite till the morrow, and during that night they seek fresh woods and pastures new. Thus they give no account whatever. In D, on the other hand, the herdsman is no villain. By accident a Heifer falls and breaks her neck; the herder flays the carcass and carelessly throws the hide over his shoulder. This enrages the Bull, who loved the Heifer, and he attacks the man. In self-defense the man wounds the animal, with the result that the Bull rushes off and cannot be found. In giving account to his master, the herdsman tells the truth about the Heifer, but says that the Bull ran away through grief. It is extremely difficult to see how this incident could have suggested to Spenser the idea of the false shepherd in H.

4. The "passionate words of suitor's delays" seem, at first sight, to afford a better parallel. Still, there is no satire in D, and thus the words are not "passionate" in any such sense as in H. As has already been stated, the Ass, seeing that the Mule is not to be dissuaded from going to court, advises him how to conduct himself.¹ He is warned of his duty to be true to his sovereign, and is told of the temptations that he will meet. In reference to his dealings with his king,

for no respect in the world . . . see thou deceive him not of a mite. I do advise thee also to be pacient. For these Lordes and States I tell thee for the most part are fantastick, and I marvell not at it at all; for indeede Princes matters and affaires doth so occupie and trouble their heades that God knoweth they are full of passions, and can you blame them? Therefore, sometimes, will they, nill they, they loove and hate againe.

¹ Ed. JACOBS, pp. 80 ff.

And when thou perswadest thyselfe (by reason of a few smyling lookes they haue ouerwhile giuen thee) that thou art in high fauour, then they seeme not to knowe thee. And thou muste also looke after recompence of thy seruice, though unhappily thou hast perhaps bestowed fife and twentie yeares time, and thy youth withall, and yet notwithstanding hast not bene the better a rush for al this: and another in foure daies is made riche. For thus thou shouldest but wrappe thyselfe in care to thy undoinge, and yet the thing nothing remedied. . . . Therefore he that cannot beare it paciently lifteth up his head, and a flie lighteth on his nose, and byteth him with these and such lyke courtly graces, and so goeth his way; so he that loseth his time and yeres. Pacience therefore that oft goeth to sleepe with Hope, bringeth thee at least to suche ende as thou art to ware of, and some time it carieth meate in mouth and getteth thee somewhat. . . . Thou must feare the enuie of Courtiers, for they will make thee stumble and laye thee flat on the ground upon thy nose. And the more thou growest in fauour with thy Maister, and that he giueth thee, and make thee fatte in purse; so much more take thou heede to thyselfe, and looke about thee.

5. In D the Mule takes no disguises and does not usurp the throne. This is a matter of importance, because H is merely an account of the adventures of the Fox and the Ape in various disguises, ending with the most important adventure of all, the seizure of the Lion's throne. It is true that in D the Lion is the king of beasts, but this is a matter of no significance, because he is not characterized, and because such a situation is a mere commonplace in fable literature. Again, in D the hero has no companion, and his adventures do not bear the least relation to those of the Fox in H.

6. The deception is discovered, in D, by chance; in H, classical mythology is involved. The punishment of the Mule is death; the Fox gets off scot free. This last point is significant, because Spenser tells us of the long search for the guilty Fox, of his capture, of the summoning of the parliament

To heare their doome, and sad ensample see.

But

The Foxe, first Author of that treacherie,
He did uncase, and then away let flie.

This is obviously an illogical procedure; no suggestion of a reason can be found in D, but must be searched for elsewhere.

Thus it appears that in no respect is there anything but the most casual relation between D and H. Even the passage on the delays at court is, in D, not intended as a satire, but as an exhortation to the mule to practice the virtue of patience. It is quite true that Spenser may have been so struck with the passage that he hit upon the plan of using it from a different viewpoint; but is this probable when one reflects that satirical accounts of "suitor's delays" can be found elsewhere, and were very common in that time? Moreover, did not Spenser's own life suggest such an incident in his poem, and had he need of any other source? Even if there is some relationship between D and H at this point, the wide divergence between the two in characterization, in incident, in plan and purpose of work, together with the fact that most of the points upon which Mr. Grosart lays stress can be paralleled in *Æsopian* fables, and formed commonplaces of the animal stories of the time, precludes the possibility of accepting D as in any true sense the source of H.

III.

In looking about for a possible source, one must take into consideration the difference between the literary standards of the sixteenth century and those of, say, the fourteenth. In the earlier period, the author was supposed to follow his original very closely. If he possessed no marked genius, there were few differences; if the author had literary power, his version would show greater skill in characterization and in selection of incidents for emphasis. In dealing with a poet like Spenser, however, one must not expect to find any such slavish following of a source; one must be content if the general relationship of the poem to the hypothetical source can be demonstrated. If, in addition, the author can be proved to betray his knowledge of an earlier work upon a similar subject by some details carelessly or unconsciously copied, the case must be considered clear. And in such a tale as H, which belongs to that great category of animal stories which includes not only D, but the *Æsopian* fables and many others, one must also consider whether the relationship is not so vague as to make it impossible to place one's finger upon some single

work and say that here we have the source of the tale. Manifestly, H is a fourteenth-century work done in the sixteenth century. We shall expect, therefore, to find it in many respects a very original poem.

Before proceeding to compare H with other poems upon a similar subject, it is necessary to analyze the structure of the work. The story is as follows: (a) A dreadful plague is raging, and the narrator is stricken. To cheer him, some friends sit with him and each tells a story:

Some tolde of Ladies, and their Paramoures;
Some of brave Knights, and their renowned Squires;
Some of the Faeries and their strange attires;
And some of Giaunts, hard to be beleaved.

Among the friends was a good old woman hight Mother Hubbard, who, when it was her turn, related the story of the Fox and the Ape. (b) Being dissatisfied with their lot, the Fox and the Ape decide to go on a pilgrimage. (c) They first adopt the disguise of soldier (Ape) and his dog (Fox); they meet a farmer and hire out to him, being set in charge of a flock of sheep; these they destroy during the course of a year, and flee in order to escape detection. (d) Taking to the road once more, they meet a priest, who is an ignorant time-server; by this fellow they are advised to enter the service of the church. Accordingly, the Fox secures a place as priest, while the Ape is made his parish-clerk. Their life in this capacity becomes such a scandal that once more they are forced to flee, and in their wanderings they meet a gaily decked Mule, who tells them of the delights of court life. (e) The result is that the Ape clothes himself like a gentleman, and, taking the Fox with him as his body-servant, goes to court. Here they prosper for a time, chiefly through the manifold tricks of the Fox, but at last are discovered and banished. (f) While wandering through the forest, they find the Lion, king of beasts, asleep. At the suggestion of the Fox, they seize the scepter and crown, and, after a hot debate as to which shall be king, the Ape takes the signs of authority, though he pledges himself to be ruled in all things by the Fox. They are received with respect by the beasts and carry things with a high hand until Jove

interferes and sends Mercury to awaken the Lion. (g) The true king returns, and the traitors flee. After a long pursuit both are captured and are brought back to court, where they are tried and pronounced guilty. The Fox escapes, strangely enough, with no punishment, but the Ape's ears and tail are cropped.

IV.

a) We are now ready to discuss the seven divisions, or incidents, into which the poem naturally falls. In the first place, the character of the introduction makes it plain that Spenser had in mind one or more of the great collections of tales grouped within a certain framework so common in mediæval literature. Examples of such collections are the *Seven Wise Masters*, in which various unrelated tales are told in order to convince the king that he should, or should not, put his son to death; the *Canterbury Tales*, in which a similar use is made of an imaginary pilgrimage to a famous shrine; and the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, in which the tales serve to relieve the tedium of exile during a plague. Of the three, the last is manifestly very similar to the poem which we are considering, with the exception that in H all the tales save one are read by title only. It is possible that the raging of the pestilence in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century put Spenser in mind of Boccaccio's great work, and that he determined to try his hand at a similar compilation.¹ In such a compilation, tales of ladies and their paramours, of brave knights and their renowned squires, would play an important part. For some reason, however, Spenser has worked out, or preserved, but one tale in his series; but the character of the introduction is such as to make it clear that he had in mind some such work as the *Decamerone*. The situation portrayed in the introduction is far more like Boccaccio than like Chaucer.

It is now time to call attention to the remarkable parallel

¹For many years the plague raged steadily in and about London, with terrific outbursts from time to time. According to the records, these special outbursts came in 1563, when no one from London was permitted to enter Windsor on pain of death: in 1568-69; in 1573-74, when people were forbidden to go to plays; and in 1578. After the great plague of 1578, however, there was no very serious outburst of the pest until 1592-93. (For these and other facts concerning this matter, cf. CREIGHTON'S *History of Epidemics in Britain*, pp. 300-351.) Incidentally these facts seem to corroborate the view that H must have been written about 1578.

afforded by the famous mediæval romance of *Renard the Fox*. In spite of Professor Lounsbury's scepticism regarding sources of animal tales, to which reference has already been made, the correspondences between this romance and H are too numerous and too significant to permit one to doubt that some relation exists between the two works. A few general points will first be noted.

1. Spenser need not have depended upon French or Dutch versions of the *Renard* romance (R), since at least two English versions had been printed prior to his time. The first of these issued from Caxton's press in 1481;¹ the second was printed in London by Thomas Gualtier in 1550. That in England, as elsewhere, the story of *Renard* was considered to present a picture of court life, is shown by the title or Incipit of the edition of 1550, which reads:

Here beginneth the booke of Raynarde the Foxe, conteining divers goodlye hystories and parables, with other dyvers pointes necessarye for al men to be marked, by the which pointes, men maye lerne to come unto the subtyll knowledge of suche things as daly ben used and had, in the counceyles of lordes and prelates, both ghostely and worldely, and also among marchauntes and comen people.²

It may not be superfluous to remark that a work which excited the admiration of such moderns as Goethe, Herder, Carlyle, and many others, and which in the mediæval period supplied material for the illustrations of splendid manuscripts, the decorations of tapestries, church stalls, missals, and the like, may not improbably have appealed to the youthful Spenser.³

2. Both R and H are allegories in which, under the form of animal epic, real life is portrayed, usually with satirical intent. It has already been noted that satire is not characteristic of D. In R we are told that those who read "shal nowe understand and fele the forsayd subtyl deceytes that dayly ben used in the worlde."

¹Edited by W. J. THOMS for the Percy Society, 1844.

²THOMS, *op. cit.*, p. lxxix. Caxton's first sentence is very similar.

³A number of instances of the popularity of R as proved by inscriptions and sculptures might be cited. In a cathedral at Strasburg, for example, is a sculpture which represents *Renard* "étendu sur un brancard, porté en procession funèbre par les autres bêtes," MARTIN, *Roman de Renart*, Vol. III, p. 88.

3. In both R and H the Fox is the hero. In H, the Ape is the follower; he never takes the initiative. It may also be observed that in D there is no enmity between the Fox and the Lion. This enmity is common to R and H, and is one of the marked characteristics of R even in the earliest times.¹

4. In both R and H there is genuine characterization. The Lion is in fact king of beasts; in D he is so only in name. The Fox is the same in H as in R—crafty, hated, forced often to flee; plots often against the Lion; is a great liar and flatterer.

5. The disguises assumed by the Fox in H are found also in R. The same is true of the incidents, as will be shown later.

6. The Fox and the Ape are intimately and repeatedly connected in both R and H. This is not true of D.

We are now ready to examine the incidents in H in greater detail.

b) The Fox as Pilgrim. This is one of the most common situations in the different versions of R. Sometimes the Fox is styled a *pèlerin*; sometimes a pilgrimage is the subject of a tale. Moreover, the Fox and the Ape are often associated on the friendliest terms, though the Fox is generally on bad terms with the other animals. One notable instance in Caxton's version² is as follows: The Fox has been summoned to court to answer for his misdeeds. On the way he meets Mertayne the Ape, who addresses him:

Dere cosyn me thynketh ye ar not wel wyth yourself; what eyleth yow? Who hath dysplesyth yow? Thyngs that thoucheth charge ought to be gyven in knowleche to frendis. A triew frende is a grete helpe. He fyndeth ofte better counseyle than he that the charge resteth on.

The Fox tells his trouble, and the Ape at first advises him to go boldly to court and defend himself. This the Fox cannot do, for he has been excommunicated; whereupon the Ape volunteers to go to Rome to get absolution for him. Before this the Fox had made elaborate preparations to go on a pilgrimage to Rome; now he turns the matter over to his friend, who boasts his power in

¹Cf. THOMS, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii. Grimm's collection of Latin poems of the tenth and eleventh centuries contains one of this type; Wright cites another. Of course the great *Roman de Renart*, of the thirteenth century, illustrates the statement.

²Ed. THOMS, pp. 92 ff.

spiritual matters and threatens to "curse" any who harm the Fox, so that for fear of the Fox and the Ape none dare do any harm to the Fox. The close parallel between this situation and that at the beginning of *H* will not escape one. The constant tendency to dwell upon the friendship between the Fox and members of the Ape family is further illustrated by the fact that it is Rukenawe, the She-ape, who eloquently defends Renard, to the surprise of the king, who never before heard aught but ill about the Fox. The fox and the lion, the fox and the wolf, are traditional enemies; the fox and the ape are traditional friends. Thus Spenser, consciously or unconsciously, is in complete accord with the spirit of the tales about Renard, when he makes the fox and the ape friends and companions throughout his story.

c) For the incident of the soldier no good parallel is to be found in *Caxton*. In the French versions Renard often figures as a soldier. As to the dishonest shepherd, it is characteristic of Renard to kill other animals and then by his craft to escape punishment. The different branches of the cycle are full of incidents of this type; the animals are perpetually charging Renard with making way with some of their number.

d) The Corrupt Priest and his Clerk. No incident is more characteristic of the cycle than this. Not only are the instances very numerous in which the story is used to veil an attack upon the corrupt clergy, but this characteristic was so well known that mediæval sculpture often reflects it, while spectacles were devised after the fashion of the Boy Bishop to represent the satire. Branch XVII of the French romance is especially bold.¹ Vigils, masses, etc., are chanted in bad Latin, and Renard's confession, prayers, sermon, etc., are filled with mockery. Martin tells of the use of Renard material for satirizing the clergy in 1300. He says:

Philippe le Bel la fit jouer dans les rues de Paris pour se moquer du pape Boniface VIII. Un homme vêtu de la peau d'un renard mettait par dessus un surplis et chantait l'épître comme un simple clerc. Il paraissait ensuite avec une mitre et enfin avec la tiare, courant après foules et poussins, les croquant et les mangeant.²

¹ MARTIN, *Roman de Renart*, Vol. III.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 88.

In the various branches of the cycle the Fox frequently mocks the priests, or, on occasion, adopts the disguise of a priest. In Caxton's version, when the rascal confesses, he says that he tries to be good, but

thenne fynde I in my waye so many stones, and the fotespores that thyse loos prelates and riche preestys goo in, that I am anone taken agayn. . . . I here there synge, pype, lawhe, playe, and alle mirthe, and I here that these prelates, and riche curates, preche and saye al other wyse, then they thynke and doo. There learne I to lye.¹

Again, when the Cock complains of the wrongs received at Renard's hands, he says:

Atte laste cam he in lyknes of an heremyte, and brought to me a lettre for to rede, sealed wyth the kynges seal, in whyche stode wretton, that the kynge had made pees over al in his royame, and that alle maner beestis and fowles shold doo none harme ner scathe to ony other; yet, sayd he to me more, that he was a cloysterer, or a cloyd recluse becomen, and that he wolde receyve grete penance for his synnes, he shewd me his slavyne, and pylche, and an heren sherte ther under.²

Even more interesting, because of the similarity to the situation in H, is the account in the French romance of how Renard and Tybert hear mass.³ Tybert meets a priest and has fun with him; he examines him on Latin, then runs off with his books and horse. After adopting the priest's disguise, he meets Renard on the way and announces that he must go to the monastery and say mass, expressing regret that he has no clerk for the responses. Renard eagerly offers to go; Tybert pretends not to know him, but at last is convinced, and tells how he served the priest.

De gramaire li demandai,
De soffime et de question,
Ne me sot respondre un boton.

When they reach the monastery,

Les lampes furent alumees
Et lez genz s'en furent alees,
Ce dit Renart 'or comencez!
Par deu, trop vos estez targiez;
Sanz vespres oïr s'en vont tuit.'

¹ THOMS, pp. 86, 87.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ Branch XII (ed. MARTIN) ll. 485 ff.

Tybert puts on the surplice and goes to the altar, but reads matins instead of vespers, until Renard sets him right. They read the service, giving the psalms

Molt hautement a deus envers.

They omit nothing:

Tot mot a mot et tot a ligne,

even giving the Magnificat; while Renard pronounces the benediction. All is told very delightfully, quite in the manner of a Feast of Fools, or a celebration in honor of a Boy Bishop.¹

In another place we have an incident even more like that of H.² Renard enters a monastery and for a time lives an exemplary life:

Les signes fet del moiniage,
Molt le tienent li moine a sage
Cher est tenuz et molt amez.
Or est frere Renart clames,
Molt est Renart de bel service,
Volentiers vet a seinte église.

But this unwonted piety is too much for him, and he steals four capons. The friars at last find him out, and he is promptly expelled.³

Neither of the incidents last mentioned is found in Caxton's version, but there are frequent references to the mock repentance of Renard and to his preparations to go on a religious pilgrimage. Reference has already been made to the interview between the arch-roguer and Martin the ape. Renard says of him that he is "wyser in clergie than somme preest; he hath ben advocate for the bysshop of Earmaryk ix yer duryng."⁴ The ape offers to go

¹ It is interesting to note that the two rogues quarrel at last, reminding one of H.

² Branch VI, ll. 1439 ff. (MARTIN, Vol. I, pp. 237 ff.).

³ Sudre thinks that the source of this type of incident is the wolf as priest found in Latin poems (*Les Sources du Roman de Renart*, pp. 220, 221). He cites many examples, among them two lines from Alexander Neckam,

Non tonsura juvat, juvat aut amplissima vestis;
Si lupus es, quamvis esse videris ovis.

The ultimate source Sudre finds in the New Testament. He also thinks (pp. 34, 35) that these satires on the clergy are a late development. Martin is the false priest, in whom is mocked the ignorance and greed of the priests. Thus the Fox and the Ape stand, in R, as the personifications of the corruption in the church. This is precisely what they stand for in H.

⁴ THOMS, pp. 92 ff.

to Rome to get absolution for Renard, saying that since he is the bishop's clerk he knows the way well and has many friends; he boasts his power with the "cardynal of Puregold," who rules the pope, and whose concubine is a relative of the Ape; he tells Renard to notify the king that if anyone harms his friend he will "curse" the guilty person. So for fear of the Fox and the Ape none dare do any harm to the Fox.

Surely it is not necessary to dwell further upon this matter. In any version of the romance which came to his hand Spenser found abundant suggestion for representing the Fox as a false priest or hypocritical penitent, while suggestions that he was aided in his rôle by a companion such as Tybert or Martin are equally common. In D there are no such situations: an added reason for holding that R and not D supplied the material which suggested the most important incident, save one, in H.

e) We now approach the only incident which finds even a remote parallel in D. How slight is this relation between the satire on court life, as found in H, and the passage in which the Mule, in D, is urged to be patient amidst the delays and disappointments of the court, has already been shown. It remains to show that in R we have not only all that D affords, but that it is coupled with a fierce satire wholly wanting in North's translation.

In the famous passage (ll. 750-850) in which Spenser treats of the knavery of Reynold¹ and the Ape at court, one notes: (1) that the Fox assumes different shapes at will, the better to befool his victims; (2) that emphasis is placed upon the lying and hypocrisy of the court; (3) that there are "passionate words of suitor's delays;" (4) that none are said to thrive at court except such as practice Reynold's craft. Of these, the first is so common in R as to require no special treatment. Renard is continually assuming some disguise in order to play a trick or to commit a crime. As to the second and third, a few passages drawn from Caxton's version may be cited:

To God mote it be complayned how that these false lyars and flaterers now a dayes in the lordes courtes ben moste herde and belevyd, the

¹ It should be noted that Spenser several times uses the name "Reynold" for the Fox. This is of course an adaptation of "Renard."

shrewes and false deceyvers ben borne up for to doo to good men alle the harme and scath they maye.¹

And again :

The lesynges ben moste used in the lordes courtes, certaynly lordes, ladyes, prestes, and clerkes, maken most lesynges. Men dar not telle to the lordes now the trouthe.²

The fox expounds the principles on which he governs his life by saying that it is necessary to lie and cheat in order to succeed. Can he that subtylte in suche wise that he stamer not in his wordes, and may thenne be herrde, this man may doo wonder ; he may were skarlet and gryse : he wynneth in the spyrituel lawe and temporal also, and wheresommever he hath to doo.

Many liars are awkward and are found out,

but who can gyve to his lesyng a conclusion, and prononce it without tatelyng, like as it were wretton tofore hym, and that he can so blynde the peple that his lesyng shall better be bileued than the trouthe, that is the man.

And again :

Men must jape, bourde, and lye, in smale thynges, for who sayth alway trouthe, he may now goo nowher thurgh the world.³

To all this Grinbert, to whom the fox has been confessing, says, What need have ye to shryve you? Ye shoulde *yourself by right be the preest*, and lete me, and other sheep come to you for to be shryven. Ye knowe the state of the world, in suche wyse as no man may halte tofore you.⁴

This note prevails throughout the last half of the work. By his tricks the fox wins the highest favor at court and is next to the king in power. Thus the situation is very similar to that in *H*, where for a time the two fellow-conspirators prosper to their hearts' content.

The fourth point, that none prosper at court save such as practice Reynold's craft, follows in *H* hard upon the situation last described. Spenser bitterly exclaims:

None but such as this bold ape, unblest,
Can ever thrive in that unlucky quest :
Or such as hath a Reynold to his man.

¹ THOMS, p. 37.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 87, 88.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89.

This is very similar to the passage in R in which we are told by the author that any who can lie and flatter as the fox does will have great power with lords spiritual and temporal.

There ben many, and also the moste part that crepe after his waye and his hole. . . . *Who that will not use Reynardis crafte* now, is nought worth in the world now in ony estate that is of myght. But yf one can crepe in Reynard's nette, and hath ben his scoler, thenne may ye dwelle with us. For thenne knoweth he wel the way how he may aryse, and is sette up above of every man. Ther is in the world mucche seed left of the foxe, whiche he now oueral groweth and cometh sore up; though they have no rede berdes, yet ther ben founden mo foxes now than ever were here to fore. The rightwyse people ben al loste, trouthe and rightwysnes ben exyled, and fordriven, and for them ben abyden wyth us covetyse, falshede, hate, and envye. Thyse regne now moche in every courte, for is it in the popes court, the emperours, the kynges, dukes, or ony other lordes where some euer it be, eche man laboureth to put other out fro his worship, offyce, and power, for to make hymself to clymme hye with lyes, wyth flatering, wyth symonye, with money, or wyth strengthe and force. Ther is none thyng byloued ne knownen in the court now a days but money; the money is better byloued than God, for men doo mucche more therfore. . . . Now clerkes goon to Rome, to Parys, and to many another place, for to lerne Reynardis crafte. Is he clerke, is he layeman, everiche of them tredeth in the foxes path, and seketh his hole. The world is of suche a condycion now, that every man seketh himself in alle matters. I wote not what ende shal come to us herof. All wyse men may sorowe wel herfore. I fere that for the grete falsnes, thefte, robberye, and murdre, that is now used so moche aud comonly . . . that God will take vengeance.¹

To sum up the discussion of incident *e*), we may note that in both R and H (1), the fox is the type of the crafty courtier; (2) he is said to represent perfectly the life of the court, in which those only are successful who practice Renard's craft; (3) for a time he succeeds, but at last the other animals turn against him and he is overthrown; (4) the author expresses with bitter contempt his opinion of the life of the time. It may be objected that in R there is not so definite a reference to a suitor's delays as in D, but to this it may be answered: (1) that the passage in D is not satire, but is an exhortation to patience; (2) that the true source of the wonderful lines in H is Spenser's own bitter experi-

¹ THOMS, pp. 164, 165.

ence and that he needed no model or other suggestion for such a passage; (3) that the characters, the tricks, the incidents, and even references to Renardie as the chief practice of the court are common to H and R but are not in D, where an entirely different set of characters and incidents is introduced; (4) that the *spirit* of H is found in R, but is wholly wanting in D.

f) The Usurpation of the Throne. Caxton has nothing similar to the closing scene of H, in which the two conspirators seize the throne and for a time rule in the Lion's stead. In all the MSS of the French *roman*, however, there is a story of how Renard by a trick possessed himself of the Lion's throne. This poem, which forms Branch XI of the *roman*, is undoubtedly of much later origin than the other branches, and was written in order to bring the story to an end of some sort.¹ The poem is purely chivalric, and, as Martin has pointed out, abounds in phrases found in the *chansons*. Many of the heroes die, a chivalric characteristic not found in the true animal epic. The poem consists of two parts, the first telling of the trick by which Renard secured the throne, and the second relating the manner in which he used his power. The trick is not the same as in H, but the manner of rule is strikingly similar in the two poems. As Sudre remarks, the Fox as king in the French poem shows himself "accommodant avec les grands, dur et unpitoyable avec les petits;" while Spenser's reference to the need for one who hopes for preferment to practice the arts of Reynold, already referred to, finds a close parallel in the bitter words of the unknown French writer:

Nus ne puet, ce poise mi,
Au jour d'ui venir a maistrie
Se il ne set de renardie.²

A brief summary of the *Couronnement de Renart* may now be given. Just after killing Tardif, Renard is met by a messenger

¹Cf. MARTIN, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 68. The situation is similar to that of the O.F. *Perceval*, in which several continuations of Chrétien's story were made in an effort to get a conclusion.

²*Les Sources*, etc., p. 36. Sudre concludes his remarks with the statement that from beginning to end the poet seeks to show, "qu'ici-bas seuls triomphent l'orgueil, la médisance et la fausseté dont son héros est la plus parfaite incarnation." This is precisely the thing which the corresponding incident in H so successfully accomplishes.

who says that Noble the lion needs him at once. On the way, the Fox meets Grinbert, whom he takes with him as a page.

"Venes sor cest cheval monter
Si iron moi i vos a cort"
Lors ne fu mie Grinbert sort.
Quant Grinbert ot commandement,
Si est montes isnelement.
Que il ne volt plus delaier:
Or a Renart bon escuier.¹

Thus in the French, as in the English poem, the Fox is not alone; in the later scenes, though Grinbert is not the nominal king, he renders valuable service.

When they reach court they are told that the heathen have invaded the land; Renard counsels that the people be summoned; letters are sent out, and the animals, who have lost every animal characteristic, come forthwith. The king looks on from the window, with great pride. They miss Tardif, but Renard escapes embarrassment by someone's suggestion that the need is too great to wait for news of one reported dead. The process of arming and the departure are told in the conventional chivalric form; the queen is left in Renard's charge, who is nothing loth, for he has long loved her. In the absence of Noble and his companions, Renard takes steps to make himself king. He employs a messenger to ride at great speed, and as if from a great distance, announcing the king's death and saying that Renard had been named his successor and that Noble wished him to marry the queen. Renard feigns grief, a grief so great that he strikes dead the sergeant who brings such evil tidings. The supposed commands of Noble are obeyed to the letter; Grinbert and Tybert are chiefs at court; the poor are oppressed, and the castle strongly fortified. At length Noble, having carried his campaign to a successful issue, returns to his capital. After recovering from his surprise, he gives battle. This is described in the conventional manner of the *chanson de geste*, results in the death of many of the animal-knights, and at length is ended by a personal combat between Renard and Noble in which the Lion is victor.

¹ Ll. 1686 ff. The poem is in MARTIN, Vol. I, pp. 436 ff.; MEON, Branch XI, ll. 1662 ff.

The Fox makes a characteristic plea for his life on the ground of previous services, and is forgiven.¹

Not all the incidents in the *Couronnement* correspond to those in H, but the general situation is the same. In H it is the Ape who is king, but he is king only in name, for after the quarrel over the sovereignty, the Fox proposes to give the Ape the scepter only on condition

That ye ruled bee
In all affaires, and counselled by mee.²

The fox is at the bottom of all the villainy:

Nought suffered he the Ape to give or graunt.

Thus the idea that the Fox, by fraud, becomes king in place of the Lion, is common to both. Again, it may be noted that emphasis is laid in both poems upon the strong guard by means of which the rascals hoped to resist the inevitable discovery of their crime. The outrageous character of the rule, also, is common to both, as well as the purely anthropomorphic character of the accounts. Finally it may be mentioned that though of late origin, the *Couronnement* is found in all the French MSS, and therefore very probably, on account of its great popularity, may have come under Spenser's eye. He alters the story to suit himself; the idea of it, with some of the chief characteristics, he seems to have drawn from R.

g) The Punishment. It remains only to discuss the punishment meted out to this arch-rogue. A characteristic of the animal epic, as Martin remarks, is that the heroes do not die; they represent types of the species, and, like them, are immortal.³ In the *Couronnement*, the late origin is proved by the fact that nearly all the heroes are killed in battle. Yet even here, Renard, the arch-traitor, escapes. This is characteristic of all the branches; Renard is perpetually committing crimes, is perpetually caught red-handed, convicted, and as regularly pardoned. All this helps

¹ For arguments that Branch XI does not form any part of the original cycle, but is of learned origin, cf. G. PARIS, in *Journal des Savants*, 1895, p. 7.

² As to this quarrel, it may be remarked that stories of such disputes among animals are not uncommon. One example may be cited: when Tybert and Renard say mass together they quarrel vigorously at last (Branch XII, ll. 485 ff.).

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 68.

to explain what would otherwise be a surprising close for Spenser's poem. If he had been writing independently of any source, the natural climax would have been the execution of Renard. In view of Spenser's tendency to moralize, it is the more surprising that, after describing in detail the careful search made for the culprit, after telling how a great court of the beasts was assembled and how they all declared the Fox guilty, the poet says:

The Foxe, first Author of that treacherie,
He did uncase, and then away let flie.

This is precisely the situation that is repeatedly met with in R. The guilt is fixed on Renard; a great conclave of the beasts is summoned; the prisoner is solemnly pronounced worthy of death; with no apparent reason he is set free. Spenser does not explain why he ends his story in a manner different from what we should expect; he is, consciously or unconsciously, following the model set by R, and thus giving additional proof that for the source of H we must look not to D but to R.¹

V.

Thus it is reasonable to suppose that in writing H Spenser was influenced by two works. The prologue of the plague and of the stories told to beguile the time was probably suggested by the *Decamerone*, while the general plan of the story—the romance of the Fox and the Ape—is due to the Renard cycle. At least one version of this we know to have been popular in England in Spenser's time, and there can be no doubt that copies of French and Dutch versions must have circulated freely either in printed form or in MSS. Proof of the influence of this cycle is to be found, (1) in the fact that many of the incidents in H are duplicates of adventures narrated in R; (2) in the purpose of H,

¹ It should be noted that the instance just cited of Renard's escape from punishment is not the only case in R. He is repeatedly accused, convicted, and for no apparent reason let off. Caxton, as well as the French versions, supplies examples. It is of one of these that SUDRE remarks (*Les Sources*, etc., p. 35): "La branche du Jugement n'est d'un bout à l'autre qu'une douce moquerie à l'adresse des rois impuissants et des courtisans hypocrites. Ce tableau de Renart revenu à la cour, se plaignant de ce que des envieux ont mis à profit son absence pour le desservir, les insultes de tous ses ennemis, de l'âne lui-même pleuvant de toutes parts sur lui au moment où il est lié au pied du gibet, son faux repentir, son départ comme croisé pour les Lieux Saints, ses insultes du haut d'une crête à toute la cour, à Noble, à la tête duquel il jette son écharpe et sa croix: voilà tout un côté de la société humaine peint avec la plus aimable ironie et une légèreté de touche admirable."

which, like R, presents a satirical view of the life of the time, while D is a book designed for the instruction of princes and is in no sense a satire on the times; (3) in the close parallel in characterization, the Fox and the Ape being friends and companions in both works, while the Fox, in both R and H, is extremely impudent, scorning the Ape and the other animals for obtuseness and cowardice, and priding himself upon his own cleverness; (4) in the unity of characterization and plot, a point not found in D; (5) in such parallels, besides those of incident, as the references to "Renard's craft" as the only sure means of getting on in the world; (6) in the exact correspondence of the two works in what may be called "atmosphere."

The debt of Spenser to his source is the suggestion to a bright mind of the usefulness of the Renard material as a means of satirizing the life of the time. The poet is too great and too original to follow slavishly his source after the manner of the mediæval romancers, but his debt is none the less clear. He has written, in fact, a new branch for the Renard cycle. Like earlier writers who did the same thing, he has used the old incidents in new combinations. The Fox is the hero from beginning to end; the Ape is always secondary. The method is the method of each branch of R: the Fox behaves outrageously, is found out, escapes; this being repeated over and over. Thus the true significance of H consists, not in its real or imaginary imitation of a great English poet of the fourteenth century, but in the fact that it gives us in condensed form a spirited sixteenth-century version of one of the finest of mediæval story-cycles.

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"DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD" AND SHAKESPEARE'S "HAMLET."¹

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

IN the last number of *Modern Philology* (Vol. II, No. 2), October, 1904, Wilhelm Creizenach publishes an article entitled "'Der bestrafte Brudermord' and its Relation to Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'" (pp. 249-60). It is, as he informs us in a footnote (p. 249), a confirmation and defense of views previously discussed in detail (*Berichte der philol.-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1887, pp. 1 ff., and *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Vol. XXIII, 1889).

With the exception of a single point, Creizenach devotes himself exclusively to a reply to Gustav Tanger's "'Der bestrafte Brudermord' oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dänemark und sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'" (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 224 f.), published sixteen years ago, which in turn was an able review of Creizenach's first contribution to the subject (*Berichte*, etc.). Apparently Creizenach is not acquainted with John Corbin's criticism of Tanger's article (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. V, pp. 247 ff.), which is, in its conclusions regarding Tanger's work, almost identical with Creizenach's. Corbin writes (p. 251):

Tanger's argument, in short, though it pretty clearly establishes the scene relationship between the German version and the First Quarto [this point is not touched upon in Creizenach's latest contribution to the subject: does he, too, tacitly admit the validity of Tanger's argument?], fails notably in explaining Creizenach's nineteen particular instances.

¹D = "Der bestrafte Brudermord" (edited by WILHELM CREIZENACH in Vol. XXIII of *Kirschner's National-Litteratur*, pp. 149 ff.).

A = SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*, First Quarto, 1603 (FURNESS, "The Variorum Shakespeare": *Hamlet*, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff.).

B = SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*, Second Quarto, 1604 (W. VIETOR, "Shakespeare Reprints," Vol. II, *Hamlet*: "Parallel Texts of the First and Second Quartos and the First Folio," Marburg, 1891).

Y = CREIZENACH'S lost Shakespearian version, a stage copy.

Z = The so-called *Ur-Hamlet*, ascribed to THOMAS KYD.

The remaining literature which has appeared during the last sixteen years also Creizenach ignores, for the one new argument which he introduces, in connection with the view recently expressed by Schick, has but indirect bearing upon the question in dispute. And even in this instance Creizenach's reasoning seems to be somewhat fanciful. He writes (*Modern Philology*, October, 1904):

Schick, for example, concludes unhesitatingly from D that the traditional legend had been so altered in Z that Hamlet does not reach his goal by means of clever simulation, but meets a tragic end. I think there can be no doubt that when Shakespeare, during his gloomy period, created a new Hamlet tragedy, he treated the traditional story in the same manner as he did the legend of *King Lear* about that very time.

Now it is true that not only in *Saxo Grammaticus* but also in the French version of Belleforest Hamlet completes his revenge without thereby meeting a tragic end. But it is equally true that none of these prose accounts drops the story of Hamlet at this point, but that in all of them Hamlet ultimately finds a tragic death. Besides, there is in Belleforest, even in that portion which precedes the completion of the revenge, a peculiar motif that might easily have suggested not only the tragic end but even the very circumstances under which the dramatic versions present it. The passage occurs in Hamlet's words to his mother: "il faut ou qu'vne fin glorieuse mette fin à mes iours, ou qu'ayant les armes au poing, chargé de triomphe & victoire, ie ravisse la vie à ceux qui rendent la mienne mal-heureuse." These two considerations seem to me quite sufficient to induce any English dramatist of the sixteenth century, especially one like Kyd, to give the fable a tragic turn, and they are, at any rate, I believe, quite as deserving of our attention as Creizenach's reference to Shakespeare's "gloomy period" and "King Lear."

The results of his investigations Creizenach summarizes as follows (*Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 260):

There can be no doubt that (1) D is traceable to a stock-piece of English players traveling in Germany; that (2) the performances of such companies were very often based on stage manuscripts; that (3) in D characteristics of A and B are found that occur in no printed edition;

that (4) the Shakespearian troupe must have played a version of *Hamlet* in which again the characteristics of A and B were combined. Therefore the supposition that D is based on the stage text of the Shakespearian troupe is well founded. This conjecture becomes a certainty after a careful comparison of the parts of D which agree with those of A and B.

With the first three of Creizenach's theses everyone, I think, who has studied the question, will readily agree. The fourth conclusion, however, as Creizenach has not produced any new data, is no more convincing now than it was in 1887. Creizenach's arguments have, so far as I know, convinced but one of the more prominent Shakespearian scholars, and even him only in part. Gregor Sarrazin writes (*Anglia*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 f.):

Ich halte daher den prolog des "Bestraften Brudermordes" für eine Übertragung des Kyd'schen prologs zum Urhamlet. Damit soll indessen nicht gesagt sein, dass das deutsche Stück überhaupt unmittelbar auf den Urhamlet zurückgehe. Vielmehr neige auch ich zur Ansicht Creizenach's, dass eine frühere Shakespear'sche Bearbeitung zu Grunde liegt.

That is, we are to look upon the prologue of the German play as Kyd's work, the play itself as Shakespeare's. Furthermore, Sarrazin does not say what relation this "frühere Shakespear'sche Bearbeitung" has to the two quarto versions. In his later monograph (*Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892) Sarrazin does not refer to Creizenach's theory.

Creizenach, however, is very specific in placing his lost Shakespearian version (Y) between A and B, but nearer to B than to A; cf. *Berichte*, p. 38: "B die Grundlage von Y;" *Schauspiele*, p. 136: "Y die Bühnenbearbeitung von B;" *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 257, 259 ff.:

We shall see presently that the undisputed points of agreement between D and A are not half so numerous as those between D and B. . . . But I shall not discuss further the points of agreement between D and A, as I have dealt with them at length in former publications. I only wish to emphasize again that these coincidences are not nearly so numerous as those between D and B; if we consider only those points of agreement from which the possibility of chance is eliminated, we find that there are eight coinciding with B and three with A, not counting the two mentioned above which I have cited in the *Berichte*, pp. 14 and 32, under No. 10.

In this position Creizenach stands almost alone.¹ The generally accepted theory is quite the reverse, namely, that D is more intimately related to A than to B. In fact, A for a time was regarded as the direct source of D—a theory held by a scholar of no less repute than F. J. Furnivall (Forewords to Grigg's facsimile of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*, p. xi), and with certain restrictions still held by other prominent Shakespearian scholars.

The theory that D is based on the so-called *Ur-Hamlet* (Z), usually ascribed to Thomas Kyd, Creizenach declines to discuss in detail. (*Modern Philology*, Vol. II, p. 249): "This view I shall not discuss in detail in the following paragraphs, as its erroneous-ness must be at once evident to anyone competent to judge." And yet this view is by no means without advocates in England and Germany, while it obtains quite generally in America.

To recapitulate, there are then at the present time three theories regarding D:

(1) Tanger's theory (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XIII, p. 245): "Am wahrscheinlichsten bleibt immer die annahme, dass die verschwindend wenigen auf B hinweisenden punkte durch die lebendige schauspielerische tradition in das im übrigen auf A beruhende deutsche machwerk gelangt seien." This theory has been recently adopted by Edward Dowden and F. S. Boas. Dowden writes in the introduction to his edition of *Hamlet* (London, 1899, pp. xiv f.):

it seems to me far more probable that the German play is a debased adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in its earliest form. Perhaps as Tanger has suggested (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXIII) a few recollections of the later form of Shakespeare's play were woven in by actors who arrived in Germany at a later date.

Boas (*The Works of Thomas Kyd*, Oxford, 1901, p. xlviii), asserts:

Tanger has, I consider, conclusively proved that this piece (D) is nothing more than a version of the First Quarto, with probably a few later additions due to actors familiar with Shakespeare's play in its later form.

¹ Creizenach's theory is accepted by E. HERZ: *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland* (Litzmann's "Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen," Vol. XVIII, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1903), pp. 87 ff.

(2) Creizenach's theory, as stated above, namely that D represents the stage version of B.¹

(3) The theory of those who believe that D represents the *Ur-Hamlet* (Z). And here I will first give the literature not yet mentioned, which has appeared since the publication of Creizenach's first articles.

John Corbin. *The Elizabethan Hamlet*, London and New York, 1895; *The German Hamlet and the Earlier English Versions*, "Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature," Vol. V (1896), pp. 245 ff.

M. W. MacCallum. *The Authorship of the Early Hamlet*, "The Furnivall Miscellany," Oxford, 1901, pp. 282 ff.

M. Blakemore Evans. *Der bestrafte Brudermord; sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeare's Hamlet*, Bonn, Diss., 1902; also announced as Vol. XIX of B. Litzmann's "Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen."

Ashley H. Thorndike. *The Relations of "Hamlet" to Contemporary Revenge Plays*, "Publications of the Modern Language Association of America," 1902, pp. 125 ff.

J. Schick. "Die Entstehung des Hamlet," Festvortrag gehalten auf der General-Versammlung der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft am 23. April, 1902. *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. xiii ff.

The authors do not make the direct attempt in all of these essays to prove the connection of D with Z, although it is the expressed belief of each one. But a careful reading even of those bearing

¹ While by no means an advocate of this view, I have found a few points which, I believe, would tend to strengthen Creizenach's position. They are, however, not incompatible with the third theory.

a) It is supposed that the First Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays represents in the main the stage copies. If then we assume that such be the case, and if we further assume that the First Folio represents the stage copy of B, we might fairly expect to find agreements between D (representing according to Creizenach the stage version of B) and the First Folio. Creizenach (*Berichte*, pp. 42 f.) fails to find anything of importance. Now the Dumb Show in D begins: "Der König mit seiner Gemahlin. Er will sich schlafen legen; die Königin bittet, er soll es nicht thun, er legt sich doch nieder, die Königin nimmt ihren Abschied mit einem Kuss und geht ab." First Folio (111, ii; VIETOR, p. 162): "Enter a King and a Queene, very louingly; the Queene embracing him. She kneeles and makes show of Protestation unto him." Of this there is no trace in the corresponding stage directions of the First and Second Quartos.

b) A, 1426: "No, not so: he tooke my father sleeping," etc. B, 111, iii, 80: "A tooke my father grosly full of bread." D, 155, 17 f.: *Geist*. . . . Wisse, dass ich den Gebrauch hatte, welchen mir die Natur angewöhnet, dass ich täglich nach der Mahlzeit zu Mittage in meinem königlichen Lustgarten zu gehen pflegte, um allda mich eine Stunde der Ruhe zu bedienen."

The German version here evidently represents a text on which both A and B in some way depend.

c) The character of the Queen in D apparently resembles the corresponding rôle in B to a much greater degree than in A. In D and B, though sorrowing for Hamlet's madness, she is entirely passive, while in A she promises Hamlet her assistance and to some extent fulfils her promise. I must, however, reserve discussion of this point for a later publication.

but indirectly upon the subject proves very fruitful, particularly so in the case of Thorndike's paper.

II. EXPOSITION OF THE THEORY THAT D IS DERIVED FROM Z.

The relations of D to Shakespeare may, I think, be more nearly determined. Creizenach's theory fails to convince me, and yet, on the other hand, the arguments already presented to show that D was derived from Z¹ have not seemed to me satisfactory. The demands of Creizenach that, if we are to accept this theory, it must be shown that (1) D retains passages and motives more resembling the prose tales of Hamlet than does Shakespeare; and that (2) if Z were written by Thomas Kyd it should retain agreement with Kyd not evident in Shakespeare, have seemed to me perfectly justified. An examination of the evidence shows that agreement with Kyd is not confined to the prologue of D, as Sarrazin has asserted, and that D retains something of the "English Seneca," which according to Nash exerted so great an influence upon the author of the *Ur-Hamlet*.

My proof is twofold in nature, (A) negative, (B) positive.

A. The negative proof—to show that in certain instances, where D resembles one or both of the Shakespearean versions, it preserves a more original text than either A or B. This would tend to controvert Creizenach's view that the original of D must be placed between A and B.

D, 164, 28 f.:	A, 1235, f.:	B, 111, ii, 85 f.:
<i>Hamlet</i> : . . . Horatio, gieb wohl acht auf den König: wo er sich entfärbt oder alterirt, so hat er gewiss die That ver- richtet, . . . ich bitte dich aber, observire alle Dinge genau, dennich werde simu- liren.	<i>Hamlet</i> : Marke thou the King, doe but observe his lookes, For I mine eies will riuert to his face: And if he doe not bleach, and change at that, It is a damned ghost that we haue seen.	<i>Hamlet</i> : . . . Obserue my Vncle, if his oc- culted guilt Doe not it selfe vn- kennill in one speech, It is a damned ghost that we haue seene, And my imaginations are as foule

¹For a convenient review of these arguments see CORBIN's paper in *Harvard Studies*, etc., Vol. V, pp. 253 f.

D:	A:	B:
<i>Horatio</i> : Thro Durchlaucht, ich werde meinen Augen eine scharfe Aufsicht anbefehlen.	<i>Horatio</i> , haue a care, obserue him well.	As <i>Vulcan's</i> stithy; give him heedfull note,
	<i>Horatio</i> : My lord, mine eies shall still be on his face,	For I mine eyes will riuet to his face,
	And not the smallest alteration	And after we will both our iudgements ioyn
	That shall appear in him, but I shall note it.	In censure of his seeming.
		<i>Horatio</i> : Well my lord,
		If a steale ought the whilst this play is playing
		And scape detected, I will pay the theft.

The parallelism here between D and A is very apparent: D, “*Horatio*, gieb wohl acht auf den König”=A, “Marke thou the King” (cf. also Hamlet’s words “haue a care”); D, “wo er sich entfarbt oder alterirt;” A, “And if he doe not bleach, and change at that” (cf. “alteration” in *Horatio*’s reply); D, “ich bitte dich aber, observire alle Dinge genau,”=A, “*Horatio*, haue a care, obserue him well;” D, “Thro Durchlaucht, ich werde meinen Augen eine scharfe Aufsicht anbefehlen”=A, “My lord, mine eies shall still be on his face.” To be noted are also the two complete lines: “For I mine eies will riuet to his face,” and “It is a damned ghost that we haue seen,” common to both A and B, but which have no counterpart in D. Can it now be due simply to chance that the striking parallelisms between D and A are without exception changed in B, while on the other hand the parallelisms between A and B have absolutely nothing to correspond in D? Here at least we have a passage where it is quite certain that D is more closely related to A than to B. It is likewise evident that B here represents a revised text, that is, that Shakespeare here saw fit to change the phraseology, not the content, of A where it agrees with D. Surely a noteworthy fact.

Creizenach would of course explain the existence of these

parallels between D and A on the one hand, and A and B on the other, by referring them all to Y. How much simpler it would be, however, if we could say, D here represents Z; the parallelisms between D and A represent passages introduced by Shakespeare from Z into his first casting of the play (A), which, however, for poetic reasons were changed in the revision (B); while parallelisms between A and B represent Shakespeare's own additions to Z in the first casting (A), which were therefore preserved in the revision (B). That such an explanation of at least a part of this very passage is not so fanciful as it may appear to Creizenach, we shall soon see.

In that much disputed scene in A, between Horatio and the Queen, which corresponds with no scene in either D or B, we read (A, 1747 ff.):

Hor. : Madame, your sonne is safe arriv'd in *Denmarke*,
 This letter I euen now receiv'd of him,
 Whereas he writes how he escap't the danger,
 And subtle treason that the king had plotted,
 Being crossed by the contention of the windes,
 He found the Packet sent to the king of *England*, etc.

Now I fail to see any possible connection between these two last lines. How can the "contention of the windes" be directly responsible for the finding of the "Packet"? As is well known this "contention of the windes" reappears in D, and the connection is here perfectly logical (D, 181, 23 f.): "*Hamlet*: . . . Nun begab es sich, dass wir eines Tages contrairen Wind hatten, und an ein Eyland nicht ferne von Dovern anker setzten." Then follows an account of the murderous attempt of Hamlet's two companions upon his life, ending so fatally for themselves. Here we have a parallelism between D and A where it is obviously impossible to derive D from either A or B, and where D is more original than even A.¹

It is apparent even to a casual reader of D that this version differs entirely from Shakespeare in certain matters of not unimportant detail. Creizenach would explain these differences by

¹ I am well aware that Creizenach considers the text of D here hopelessly corrupt. I shall, however, present in a later publication grounds for my belief in the originality of D in this passage.

saying that they are simply corruptions of Shakespeare's text due to the English players in Germany. To a few of these differences, however, I would call special attention, for it is only in such passages, where D differs from Shakespeare, that we can hope to find indisputable evidence for or against the theory that D represents the *Ur-Hamlet* of Thomas Kyd.

Hamlet's advice to the players refers in Shakespeare (III, ii, 1 f.) to a proper delivery, something that is not even mentioned in the corresponding passage in D (163, 23 f.), where special stress is laid upon accuracy of costume. Moreover the manner of Ophelia's death is entirely different in D and in Shakespeare. That the beauty of Shakespeare's language and the peculiar charm of his characters should be quite lacking in the German version of the English players, I can readily understand, but that an adapter whose sole purpose was to hold the attention of his audience should omit the crowing of the cock in the ghost scene, or the words of Hamlet when he stabs the concealed Polonius, "a rat, a rat," is beyond my comprehension. Do any of these differences between D and Shakespeare point either to the prose tale, the sources of the drama, or do they show striking resemblance to the works of Kyd?

B. The positive proof—showing:

1. Resemblances between D and Belleforest's prose tale,¹ which do not appear in Shakespeare.

Creizenach (*Berichte*, p. 30) notes the following instance in Amleth's speech to his mother (Belleforest, pp. 222, 1 f.): "souz le fard d'vn pleur dissimulé vous couvriez l'acte le plus meschant;"² D, 170, 1 f.: "*Hamlet*, 'Weint ihr? ach, lasts nur bleiben, es sind doch lauter Crocodillsthränen.'"

This parallelism Creizenach regards as accidental, and to this "völlig vereinzelttes Zusammentreffen" he would assign no importance. But is the case so "völlig vereinzelt"? I believe not.

a) It is at least noteworthy that both in Belleforest and D the above quoted words of Hamlet, "a rat, a rat," are entirely

¹ Belleforest I shall quote according to the critical edition which I hope soon to make public.

² "d'vn pleur dissimulé" is translated in *The Hystorie of Hamblet* (1608) by "of a dissimulating creature"—a bit of proof that Z was based not upon an older print of this version, as has been so often asserted.

wanting, although appearing in all versions of Shakespeare and *The Hystorie of Hamlet*. This is another bit of proof that the *Hystorie* was not published until general interest had been aroused for Hamlet by Shakespeare's drama, but it also shows that D here is closer to Belleforest than is Shakespeare.

b) Belleforest, 219, 15 ff. (marginal gloss, p. 220: "Repentance de la Royne Geruthe"):

Ayant ainsi decouvert l'embusche, & puny l'inventeur d'icelle il (Amleth) s'en revinst trouver la Royne, laquelle se tourmentoit & plouroit voyant toute son esperance perdue: car quelque faute qu'elle eust commise, si estoit elle angoissee grandement, voyant que ce seul fils qui luy restoit, ne luy servoit que de mocquerie, chacun luy reprochant sa folie, vn trait de laquelle elle en avoit veu devant ses yeux: ce qui luy donna vn grand elancement de conscience, estimant que les Dieux luy envoyassent ceste punition, pour s'estre incestueusement accouplee avec le tyran meurtier de son espoux.

D. 170, 29 f.: *Königin* (alleine): Ach Himmel, wie hat doch die Melancholie diesen Prinzen so viele Raserey zugebracht! Ach, mein einziger Prinz hat seinen Verstand ganz verloren! Ach, ach, ich bin viel Schuld daran! Hätte ich meinen Schwager, meines vorigen Gemahls Bruder, nicht zu der Ehe genommen, so hätte ich meinem (Sohn) nicht die Krone Dännemark aus der Hand gespielt.

Note first the similarity of situation in Belleforest and D. In both Hamlet leaves the stage shortly after killing the old adviser, and in both there is a soliloquy, or what amounts to the same thing, on the part of the queen. For an exactly parallel scene I would call attention to Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*, 11, i, 95 ff., a scene between Perseda and Erastus where Perseda accuses her lover of inconstancy. The closing lines read:

Erast. If words, nor teares, nor lookes may win remorse,

What then remaines? for my perplexed heart

Hath no interpreters but wordes, or teares, or lookes.

Per. And they are all as false as thou thy selfe.

Exit Perseda.

(Then follows a monologue by Erastus.) (11, i, 163 f.)

Hamlet. Sehet Ihr nicht den Geist Eures seeligen Ehegemahls?

Sehet, er winket, als wollte er mit Euch reden.

Königin. Wie? ich sehe ja nichts.

Hamlet. Ich glaube es wohl, dass Ihr nichts sehet, denn Ihr seyd nicht mehr würdig, seine Gestalt zu sehen. Pfui, schämt Euch, ich mag kein Wort mehr mit Euch reden. (ab.) —D, 170, 23 f.

(Followed by the monologue of the queen as given above.)

In Shakespeare there is nothing at all similar—Hamlet here affords the queen no opportunity for the monologue. Furthermore, while in all versions the queen is represented as sorrowing for Hamlet's condition, only in Belleforest and D does she accuse herself of being the cause of this madness by having married her former husband's brother. In Shakespeare I can discover no trace of this.

c) Belleforest, 232, 24 f. (from Amleth's speech to his mother): Vous priant que selon l'amitié que vous devez à vostre sang, vous ne faciez plus de compte de ce paillard mon ennemy, lequel ie feray mourir, quoy que tous les demons le tinsent en leur garde, & ne sera en la puissance de ses courtisans, que ie n'en despeche le mode.

D, 181, 7 f.: *Hamlet.* Ich bin nun wieder anhero gelanget, kann aber noch zu keiner Revange kommen, weil der Brudermörder allezeit mit viel Volk umgeben. (Cf. also D, 161, 32 f.)

In Shakespeare there is nothing to correspond.

d) Belleforest, 210, 17 f.: Mais le galant (Amleth) les marquoit avec intention de s'en venger vn iour avec telle effort, qu'il en seroit à iamais memoire; or, Belleforest, 227, 6 f.: Car les desir de le venger sont tellement gravez en mon coeur, que si bien tost ie ne meurs, i'espere d'en faire vne telle, & si haute vengeance qu'il en sera à iamais parlé en ces terres.

D, 157, 31 f.: *Hamlet.* Horatio, ich will mich an diesen Kronstüchtigen, an diesen Ehebrecher und Mörder also rächen, dass die Nachwelt der Ewigkeit davon nachsagen soll.

Here, also, there is nothing to correspond in the Shakespearian versions.

In my dissertation I have noted these and numerous other points of agreement between Belleforest and D. These, however, will suffice to show that the "Zusammentreffen" between D and Belleforest are not so "völlig vereinzelt" as Creizenach believes.

2. Resemblances between D, Kyd's works,¹ and the *English Seneca*.

¹ Kyd I quote according to Boas's edition.

a) To select one example from the prologue of D—D, 150, 11 ff.:

derowegen seydt bereit, den Saamen der Uneinigkeit auszustreuen, mischet Gift unter ihre Eh', und Eifersucht in ihre Herzen. Legt ein Rachfeuer an, lasst die Funken in dem ganzen Reich herumfliegen, verwirret die Blutsfreunde in dem Lasternetz, und machet der Hölle eine Freude, damit diejenigen, welche in der Mord-See schwimmen, bald ersaufen.

Revenge. Be still, *Andrea*; ere we go from hence,
 Ile turne their freendship into fell despight;
 Their loue to mortall hate, their day to night;
 Their hope into despair, their peace to warre;
 Their ioyes to paine, their bliss to miserie.

—*Spanish Tragedy*, 1, vi, 5 ff.

Juno Let hateful hurt now come in anger wood,
 And fierce impyety imbrew himselfe with his owne bloud,
 And errour eke, and fury arm'd agaynst it selfe to fight.

* * * * *

Beginne ye servantes now of hell: the feruent burning tree,
 Of Pyne shake up: and set with snakes her dreadfull flocke to see.
 Let now Megæra bring to sight, and with her mournful hand
 For burning rage bring out of hell a huge and direful brand.

—*English Seneca*, p. 2b.¹

Cf. also *English Seneca*, pp. 22, 22b.

There is absolutely nothing here to correspond in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

b) D, 157, 25 f.: *Hamlet*. . . . aber von dieser Stunde an will ich anfangen eine simulirte Tollheit, und in der selben Simulation will ich meine Rolle so artig spielen, bis ich Gelegenheit finde, meines Herrn Vaters Tod zu rächen.

Or D, 157, 33 f.: ich will itzund gehen und ihm verstellterweise aufwarten, biss ich Gelegenheit finde, die Rache auszuüben.

Hieronymo

And to conclude, I will reuenge his death,
 But how? not as the vulgare wits of men.
 With open, but ineuitable ils,
 As by a secret, yet a certaine meane,
 Which vnder kindnesship wil be cloked best.
 Wise men will take their opportunitie,
 Closely and safely fitting things to time.
 But in extreames aduantage hath no time;
 And therefore all times fit not for reuenge

¹ *English Seneca* according to the translation of 1581.

Thus therefore will I rest me in vnrest,
Dissembling quiet in vnquietnes,
Not seeming that I know their villanies,
That my simplicitie may make them think
That ignorantly I will let all slip:

* * * * *

No, no, *Hieronimo*, thou must enioyne
Thine eies to obseruation, and thy tung
To milder speeches then thy spirit affords;

* * * * *

Till to reuenge thou know when, where, and how.

—*Spanish Tragedy*, 111, xiii, 20 ff.

With the words "thou must enioyne Thine eies to obseruation" compare the words of Horatio in D (165, 13 ff.), already quoted and discussed: "Ihro Durchlaucht, ich werde meinen Augen eine scharfe Aufsicht anbefehlen." Here D offers an almost literal translation of the English. In A a trace of the expression is still to be seen, but in B one quite different has been substituted. Now Hamlet does in Shakespeare (1, v) "put an anticke disposition on," but this is the only resemblance that I have been able to discover between Shakespeare on the one hand, and D and *Spanish Tragedy* on the other. There is no direct intimation in Shakespeare that this "anticke disposition" is assumed, that he may find better opportunity of revenging himself as is the case in D and the *Spanish Tragedy*.

The source of both D and *Spanish Tragedy* is here to be found in Belleforest, where we read (p. 227, 1 f.): "toutesfois faut il attendre le temps, & les moyens & occasions, a fin que si ie precipitois par trop les matieres, ie ne causasse ma ruine trop soudaine."¹

While in Belleforest Hamlet assumes madness to escape the intrigues of his uncle, the motif is somewhat changed in D and *Spanish Tragedy*, where Hamlet and Hieronimo assume madness to better attain their ends. That, however, the change was a conscious one on the part of Kyd would seem to be evident from the following parallelism between Belleforest's *Amleth* and Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*:

¹This is certainly confirmation of BRANDL's thesis (*Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1891, 2, S. 727) that the *Spanish Tragedy* was composed after the *Ur-Hamlet*.

Pist. Now it fits my wisdome to counterfeit the foole.

* * * * *

God sends fortune to fooles. Did you euer see wise man escape
as I have done?

—*Sol. and Per.* (11, i, 320, and ii, 1 f.)

le Prince Amleth se voyant en danger de sa vie, . . . il contrefeist
le fol.

—Bell., 209, 9 f.

Whether Hamlet's madness in Shakespeare be real or assumed is, as everyone knows, a much disputed question. In D there can be no doubt but that it was merely assumed; in this respect and in the further development of the motif D shows evident resemblance to Kyd. In this instance we have what seems to be a clear case of parallelism, both as regards phraseology and motif, between D and Kyd; the source is also apparent—Belleforest.

c) As already stated the death of Ophelia occurs under quite different circumstances in D and the Shakespearian versions.

Königin. Die Ophelia ist auf einen hohen Berg gestiegen, und hat sich selber heruntergestürzt und um das Leben gebracht.

—D, 184, 9 f.

The highly poetical account of Ophelia's accidental drowning in Shakespeare (IV, vii) is too familiar to require quotation. I would refer, however, to the words of Malone, quoted by Furness (Vol. I, pp. 372 f., to line 185): "In the first scene of the next Act we find Ophelia buried with such rites as betoken she *foredid her own life.*" A, 1966, reads in the passage to which Malone refers:

Priest. My Lord, we haue done all that lies in vs,
And more than well the church can tolerate,
She hath had a Dirge sung for her maiden soule:
And but for fauour of the king, and you,
She had beene buried in the open fieldes,
Where now she is allowed christian buriall.

B expresses the same idea, though the phraseology is quite different, and not at all so definite as A.

The idea of suicide is then hinted at in Shakespeare, but in a scene which is omitted in D. D not only plainly states that Ophelia took her own life, but even assigns a manner of death of which there is no hint in Shakespeare, but which is very characteristic of Kyd.

Bel. But say, *Hieronimo*,
What then became of him that was the Bashaw?

Hier. Marrie, thus : mooued with remorse of his misdeeds,
Ran to a mountaine top and hung himselfe.

—*Spanish Tragedy*, IV, i, 126 f.

Or,

Sol.

But, soft, me thinkes he is not satisfied :
The breath dooth murmure softly from his lips,
And bids me kill those bloudie witnesses
By whose treacherie Erastus dyed.
Lord Marshall, hale them to the towers top,
And throw them headlong downe into the valley ;

* * * * *

Why, when, Lord marshall? great *Hectors* sonne,
Although his age did plead for innocence
Was sooner tumbled from the fatall tower
Then are those periurde wicked witnesses.

Then they are both tumbled downe.

—*Soliman and Perseda*, V, ii, 114 f.

This last passage is especially interesting, as it must have been written at a time when Kyd no longer read "*English Seneca* by candle-light." For, in the passage mentioned (*English Seneca*, 117b), Astianax is not "tumbled downe," but, just as Ophelia, he throws himself down.

But whyle on Gods Vlisses cald, and Calches wordes expound,
Inmidst of Pryams land (alas) the child leapt downe to ground.

Another example may be found, *English Seneca*, p. 74b, and p. 201b, we discover why this death was preferred:

Dispatch then quickly with the blade, yet let thy blade alone,
For who with weapon endes their lyfe tis long ere they be gon
I wilbe headlong hurled from a rocke as hie as skies.

Thorndike (*Publications*, p. 161, n. 4) calls attention to the fact that the report of Antonio's death in Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* (IV, i), published in 1602, directly recalls the report of Ophelia's death in D.

Distraught and raving, from a turret's top,
He threw his body in the swollen sea.

Attempts have been made to explain, from the poet's standpoint, this obvious contradiction in Shakespeare. Is it not, however, more probable to assume that Ophelia's death occurred in the *Ur-Hamlet* as preserved in D? This abrupt and inartistic motif of Shakespeare's original he changed in his first version, neglecting, however, to eliminate the reference to the former manner of death in the following act. A study of the two quartos, where A uses much more decided and definite phraseology would tend to strengthen this view.

d) Corambus in D, as the old and tried confidant of the king, corresponds to Jeronimo in Kyd's play of the same name, and announces Hamlet's madness to the royal couple just as Jeronimo tells his wife of Lorenzo's malice:

Corambus. Neue Zeitung, gnädiger Herr und König!

König. Was ist denn Neues vorhanden?

Corambus. Prinz Hamlet ist toll, ja so toll, als der griechische Tolleran jemals gewesen.

—D, 159, 25 f.

Ieronimo. Peace: who comes here? Newes,

Newes, Isabella.

Isabella.

What newes Ieronimo.

Ieronimo. Strange newes: Lorenzo is becom an honest man.

Isabella. Is this your wondrous newes?

Ieronimo.

I, ist not wondrous

To haue honesty in hel?

—*Jeronimo*, 1, iii, 90 f.

Thorndike (*Publications*, p. 162, n. 4) notes the resemblance between the passage quoted from *Jeronimo* with a passage in the second part of *Antonio and Mellida* (11, 2, p. 137), without, however, calling attention to D.

Ant. Hark ye; I'll tell you wondrous strange, strange news.

Maria. What, my good boy, stark mad?

Antonio. I am not.

Maria. Alas!

Is that strange news?

Antonio. Strange news? Why, mother, is't not wondrous strange.

I am not mad—I am not frantic, ha? etc.

e) I have already called attention to the important difference between Hamlet's advice to the players in D and in Shakespeare.

In D (163, 18 f.) he concerns himself almost exclusively with accuracy of costume. Compare with this Hieronimo's directions in the *Spanish Tragedy* (IV, i, 140 f.):

And heere, my Lords, are seuerall abstracts drawne,
For each of you to note your parts,
And act it as occasion's offred you.
You must provide a Turkish cappe,
A black mustacio, and a Fauchion.

Giues a paper to Bal.

You, with a Crosse, like to a Knight of Rhodes.

Giues another to Lor.

And, Madame, you must attire your selfe

He giueth Bel. another.

Like *Phoebe, Flora*, or the huntresse, etc.

Such passages as I have given, illustrating agreement between D and Kyd's works against Shakespeare, I could multiply several times over, but it is not my purpose to exhaust the subject here. Several questions of importance, e. g., the character of the queen in D, or the attempt to murder Hamlet by the two servants of the king, must also be held in abeyance.

Although I have not been able to demonstrate that D must represent Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet*, yet I do believe that I have fulfilled Creizenach's demands that (1) D in certain respects stands in closer relation to Belleforest than does Shakespeare, and that (2) in passages where D varies from the Shakespearian versions it shows undeniable agreement, both as regards phraseology and motif, with the extant works of Thomas Kyd.

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CORRECTION.

- P. 252, l. 8. *For* "MS written in the theater" *read* "MS used in the performance of the Shakespeare troupe."
- l. 24. *For* "twenty of the many points" *read* "many of the twenty points."

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THE SOURCES OF JONSON'S "DISCOVERIES."

THE final pages of Ben Jonson's *Timber, or Discoveries*, which appeared posthumously in 1641, are devoted to a discussion of the nature of poetry and the drama. In the annotated edition of Professor Schelling these pages are about fifteen in number; and in this brief paper I desire to call attention to their sources.

I. Daniel Heinsius, the distinguished Dutch scholar, published his treatise, *De tragædiæ constitutione*, at Leyden in 1611, and it was immediately accepted by critics and playwrights as a work of the highest authority; Chapelain called it "the quintessence of Aristotle's *Poetics*," and it was cited by Corneille and annotated by Racine. The whole of Jonson's final essay, "Of the Magnitude and Compass of Any Fable, Epic or Dramatic" (ed. Schelling, pp. 83-87), is a literal translation of the fourth chapter of Heinsius's treatise. Two other important passages (pp. 78-79, 79-80) are also taken bodily from the same source. I have set the texts side by side, and no further introduction is necessary. To another treatise of Heinsius, *Ad Horatii de Plauto et Terentio judicium dissertatio*,¹ Jonson was indebted in his discussion

¹ This appeared as one of the notes at the end of HEINSIUS's edition of Horace (Leyden, 1612, notes, pp. 78-99), and was republished as a separate dissertation in his edition of Terence in 1635. It has been reprinted many times, and is readily accessible in ZEUNE's edition of Terence (London, 1820; cf. Vol. I, pp. xxxviii ff., lviii) or in that of GILES (London, 1837; cf. pp. xxv ff., xxxix). The marginal note in the original folio edition of the *Discoveries* (1641, p. 129: "*Heins: de Sat: . . . Pug: in comm. 153 & seq.*") evidently refers to this obligation, but the pagination, if correct, is that of some edition which I have been unable to find. Professor Schelling, who seems to have had the same difficulty, refers his readers to HEINSIUS's Horace, 1612, notes, p. 61; if he had turned to p. 78 of that very edition, he would have discovered the actual source of Jonson's indebtedness. Over nine pages in all are due to these two treatises of Heinsius.

of the ludicrous (*Discoveries*, p. 81, l. 6–p. 83, l. 13; also p. 80, ll. 26 ff.); but these passages it does not seem necessary to cite.

II. The Bohemian Jesuit, Jacobus Pontanus, published a treatise on poetry, *Poeticarum institutionum libri tres*, at Ingolstadt, in 1594. This work was received with considerable favor, and was reprinted at least twice before the close of the century. Soon after, Joannes Buchler, of Gladbach, made an abstract of Pontanus's treatise, under the title of *Reformata poeseos institutio, ex R. P. Jacobi Pontani libris concinnata*, and appended it to his poetical dictionary, *Sacrarum profanarumque phrasium poeticarum thesaurus*. The combined work was reprinted many times, and at least five editions were published at London during the course of the seventeenth century. From Buchler's abridgment of Pontanus Jonson has borrowed several important passages, but his debt here is more casual and intermittent than in the case of Heinsius. I cite one example, though I cannot consider it as having any special significance.¹ I have used the eleventh edition of Buchler, which was printed at London in 1632, five years before Jonson's death.

JONSON's *Timber, or Discoveries*.
(Ed. Schelling, Boston, 1892,
p. 78.)

HEINSIUS's *De tragoediae constitutione*.
(Leyden, 1643, pp. 3, 4.)

Aristotle was the first accurate critic and truest judge, nay, the greatest philosopher the world ever had; for he noted the vices of all knowledges in all creatures, and out of many men's perfections in a science he formed still one art. So he taught us two offices together, how we ought to judge rightly of others, and what we ought to imitate specially in ourselves; but all this in vain without a natural wit and a poetical nature in chief. For no man, so soon as he knows this or reads it, shall be able to write

Primus Aristoteles, & quod Critici est accurati, vitia notavit: & quod veri est philosophi, à virtutibus multorum, vnam fecit artem: simulque vtrunque docuit; tum de aliis quid statuendum, tum in nostris, quid sequendum esset. Frustra tamen, ni ingenium accedat. sed poëticum in primis. Neque enim qui hæc sciet, ideo Tragœdiam conscribet: sed si aptus à natura ac ingenio accedat, ideo perfectam scribet. . . . Iam prudentia civilis, ubi magis requiritur? non in sententiis & gnomis modo:

¹For other passages in which Jonson appears to have borrowed from Buchler, cf. JONSON, p. 76, and BUCHLER, pp. 418, 427; JONSON, p. 77, and BUCHLER, p. 421.

the better; but as he is adopted by nature, he shall grow the perfecter writer. He must have civil prudence and eloquence, and that whole, not taken up by snatches or pieces in sentences or remnants when he will handle business or carry counsels, as if he came then out of the declaimer's gallery or shadow furnished but out of the body of the state, which commonly is the school of men: *Virorum schola respub[lica]*.

JONSON, pp. 79, 80.

I am not of that opinion to conclude a poet's liberty within the narrow limits of laws which either the grammarians or philosophers prescribe. For before they found out those laws there were many excellent poets that fulfilled them, amongst whom none more perfect than Sophocles, who lived a little before Aristotle. Which of the Greeklings durst ever give precepts to Demosthenes? or to Pericles, whom the age surnamed Heavenly, because he seemed to thunder and lighten with his language? or to Alcibiades, who had rather Nature for his guide than Art for his master? But whatsoever nature at any time dictated to the most happy, or long exercise to the most laborious, that the wisdom and learning of Aristotle hath brought into an art because he understood the causes of things; and what other men did by chance or custom he doth by reason; and not only found out the way not to err, but the short way we should take not to err. Many

sed, quod felicissime à te præstitum meminimus non semel, cum consilia tractantur. non ex umbra enim ad hæc accedebas: sed cum in Repub. versatus esses, quæ magnatum schola est.

HEINSIUS, pp. 2, 3.

Neque in ea sum opinione, vt ad eas, quas grammatici præscribunt, aut philosophi angustias, poetæ libertatem esse revocandam arbitrer. cum præsertim ante observationes has summi in Tragœdia extiterint poetæ. nemo enim postea ad maiestatem Sophocleam, meo quidem animo, accessit. quem non paucis annis ante Aristotelem, Philosophorum Regem] fato suo functum satis constat. [Verum idem aliis in artibus quoque vsu venit.] Nam quis Græculorum vnquam qui dicendi traderent præcepta, ad diuinam & fatalem vim Demosthenis accessit, qui plerisque multo est antiquior? Nec Pericles ante eum, quem Olympium dixere, quod tonare ac fulgurare videretur, neque Alcibiades, ac alii, quos ante hos fuisse in Republica disertos fama tenet, præceptorem potius quem sequerentur, quam naturam ducem habuerunt. Sed quæcumque aut felicibus natura dictat, aut exercitatio prolixa dat laboriosis, quod Latini nescio an satis recte habi-

things in Euripides bath Aristophanes wittily reprehended, not out of art, but out of truth. For Euripides is sometimes peccant, as he is most times perfect. But judgment when it is greatest, if reason doth not accompany it, is not ever absolute.

tum dixerint, in artem redigit vir sapiens & eruditus. Ita fit, vt & causas intelligat, & quæ forte alii efficiunt aut vsu, ex ratione agat: neque viam tantum ne aberret, sed & habeat compendium qua eat. Multa in Euripide facete Aristophanes notauit; neque ex arte sed è vero tamen. Sæpe Euripides, alibi quæ peccat, alibi plenissime & accuratè præstat. iudicium enim, etiam cum summum est, nisi ratio accedat, non est absolutum.

JONSON, pp. 83-87.

Of the magnitude and compass of any fable, epic or dramatic.

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If a man would build a house, he would first appoint a place to build it in, which he would define within certain bounds. So in the constitution of a poem, the action is aimed at by the poet, which answers place in a building, and that action hath his largeness, compass, and proportion. But as a court or king's palace requires other dimensions than a private house, so the epic asks a magnitude from other poems, since what is place in the one is action in the other; the difference is in space. So that by this definition we conclude the fable to be the imitation of one perfect and entire action, as one perfect and entire place is required to a building. By perfect, we understand that to which nothing is wanting, as place to the building that is

HEINSIUS, pp. 28-38.

Cap. IV.

Ambitus Tragædiæ & magnitudo. Actio quæ tota & perfecta. Quæ sit Vna Actio. quot item modis dicatur Vnam. Quo modo in Tragædia Vna requiratur Actio.

Quemadmodum de ædificio qui cogitat, primo ei locum designare solet; quem mox certa magnitudine ac ambitu definit: ita in Tragædiæ, de qua nunc agimus, constitutione, à Philosopho est factum. Id in quo versatur Tragædia, est actio. Sicut autem ædificio locus, sic Tragædiæ accommodatur actio, magnitudine, ambitu, proportionem. Igitur vt aliam requirit magnitudinem vel regia vel aula, quam priuata domus: ita aliam Tragædia requirit actionem quam Epos. Nam cum vtriusque sit actio, sicut ibi vtriusque est locus; spatio vtroque multum differunt; hic actio, ibi locus. Jam vero, tum perfectæ tum totius actionis imitationem esse Tragædiam, in definitione audiuius: ita vt perfectus ac totus ad ædificium requiritur locus. Perfectum autem id

raised, and action to the fable that is formed. It is perfect, perhaps not for a court or king's palace, which requires a greater ground, but for the structure we would raise; so the space of the action may not prove large enough for the epic fable, yet be perfect for the dramatic, and whole.

*What we understand by whole.*¹

—Whole we call that, and perfect, which hath a beginning, a midst, and an end. So the place of any building may be whole and entire for that work, though too little for a palace. As to a tragedy or a comedy, the action may be convenient and perfect that would not fit an epic poem in magnitude. So a lion is a perfect creature in himself, though it be less than that of a buffalo or rhinocerate. They differ but in specie: either in the kind is absolute; both have their parts, and either the whole. Therefore, as in every body, so in every action which is the subject of a just work, there is required a certain proportionable greatness, neither too vast nor too minute. For that which happens to the eyes when we behold a body, the same happens to the memory when we contemplate an action. I look upon a monstrous giant, as Tityus, whose body covered nine acres of land, and mine eye sticks upon every part; the whole that consists of those parts will never be taken in at one entire view. So in a fable, if the action be too great, we can never comprehend the whole to-

est, cui nihil deest. in loco quidem ædificii respectu, quod construitur: in Tragœdia autem actionis, quæ formatur. vt perfectus autem, non pro regia aut aula, quæ maiorem postulat, sed pro ædificio ipso, ædificii est locus: ita spatium actionis, non pro Epico opere immensum, sed pro Dramate ipso requiratur perfectum. id autem minus est. Jam vero totum est, quod principium, medium habet, & finem. Ita ædificii locus est totus, quamvis minor sit quam aulæ: vt & Tragœdiæ actionem esse totam oportet, licet minor quam Epici. Sic perfectum animal est leo, quamvis multum cedat elephanto. Totum est leonis caput, licet minus sit quam vri aut tauri. Alteri enim differunt specie, & in sua absolutus est vterque: alterum partes habet suas, ideoque est totum. Sicut ergo omni in corpore, ita & in actione qualibet, quæ sit iusti poematis subiectum, certa magnitudine est opus; quæ nec vasta nec exigua sit nimis. Quippe id quod euenire oculis solet, corpus cum videmus, idem euenit memoriæ, cum actionem contemplamur. vastum enim corpus qui videt, dum in partibus quibusque hæret, totum illud vnicumque quod è partibus his ipsis constat, sequi intuitu non potest. In poemate, si magna nimium est actio, nemo totam simul cogitatione complectetur. contra si exile nimium est corpus, nulla ex intuitu illius oritur voluptas. Nulla enim datur contemplanti mora. quia simul sit intuitus & euanescit. Sicut qui formicam

¹This and the following marginal headings of the original folio correspond more or less to Heinsius's chapter headings.

gether in our imagination. Again, if it be too little, there ariseth no pleasure out of the object; it affords the view no stay; it is beheld, and vanisheth at once. As if we should look upon an ant or pismire, the parts fly the sight, and the whole considered is almost nothing. The same happens in action, which is the object of memory, as the body is of sight. Too vast oppresseth the eyes, and exceeds the memory; too little scarce admits either.

✓ *What the utmost bound of a fable.*—Now in every action it behoves the poet to know which is his utmost bound, how far with fitness and a necessary proportion he may produce and determine it; that is, till either good fortune change into worse, or the worse into the better. For as a body without proportion cannot be goodly, no more can the action, either in comedy or tragedy, without his fit bounds. And every bound, for the nature of the subject, is esteemed the best that is largest, till it can increase no more, so it behoves the action in tragedy or comedy to be let grow till the necessity ask a conclusion; wherein two things are to be considered: first, that it exceed not the compass of one day; next, that there be place left for digression and art. For the episodes and digressions in a fable are the same that household stuff and other furniture are in a house. And so far form the measure and extent of a fable dramatic.

What [is meant] by one and entire.—Now that it should be one

videt. nam cum partes fugiant conspectum, totum quoque prope est nullum. Idem sit in actione. Sicut enim ibi corpus oculorum, ita hic memoriae objectum est actio. adde quod vt magna nimium, conspectum, ita & memoriam excedant: parua vix admittant. . . . [*Here Jonson skips from the top of page 31 to the bottom of page 32.*] Primo enim crescere eo vsque recte ac produci posse, putat, donec pro earum quæ aguntur rerum ordine, vel necessario vel commode mutatio infertur. qui supremus hic est terminus: cum videlicet aut prospera in aduersam, aut aduersa in secundam mutatur fortuna. Sicut ergo corpus, sine magnitudine pulchrum esse non potest, ita neque actio Tragœdiæ. Et vt omnis qui pro rei natura est terminus, is habetur præstantissimus qui est maximus, donec crescere amplius non potest: ita ipsam crescere hactenus Tragœdiæ oportet actionem, donec necessario sit terminanda. In quo duo sunt tenenda. Primo vt vnus non excedat Solis ambitum. Secundo, vt digressioni locus relinquatur & arti. Quippe quod in domo est supellex cæteraque ornamenta, hoc in Tragœdia digressiones sunt & Episodia. Hactenus ergo, quantam esse Fabulam Tragœdiæ oporteat & actionem. ✓ Videntum & illud; ✓ vt vnum duobus dicitur, vt plurimum, modis. Vel quod vnicum est, separatim, ac simplex, vt ante. Vel id quod compositum ex pluribus, postquam plura illa jam coaluerunt, vnum esse cœpit. Priori modo, vnum esse oportere Fabulam, nemo eru-

and entire. One is considerable two ways; either as it is only separate, and by itself, or as being composed of many parts, it begins to be one as those parts grow or are wrought together. That it should be one the first way alone, and by itself, no man that hath tasted letters ever would say, especially having required before a just magnitude and equal proportion of the parts in themselves. Neither of which can possibly be, if the action be single and separate, not composed of parts, which laid together in themselves, with an equal and fitting proportion, tend to the same end; which thing out of antiquity itself hath deceived many, and more this day it doth deceive. So many there be of old that have thought the action of one man to be one, as of Hercules, Theseus, Achilles, Ulysses, and other heroes; which is both foolish and false, since by one and the same person many things may be severally done which cannot fitly be referred or joined to the same end: which not only the excellent tragic poets, but the best masters of the epic, Homer and Virgil, saw. For though the argument of an epic poem be far more diffused and poured out than that of tragedy, yet Virgil, writing of Æneas, hath pretermitted many things. He neither tells how he was born, how brought up, how he fought with Achilles, how he was snatched out of battle by Venus; but that one thing, how he came into Italy, he prosecutes in twelve books. The rest of his journey, his error by sea, the sack of Troy, are

ditus dixerit. Duo quippe in Tragica requiri actione jam monuimus. magnitudinem vt justam, ita & æqualem inter sese proportionem partium. quorum neutrum, si sit vna actio ac simplex, non composita ex partibus, quæ tum ad eundem tendunt finem, tum proportionem apta ac æquali inter sese componuntur, posse fieri videtur. quæ res plurimus ex ipsa antiquitate imposuit, etiamque hodie imponit. Sic non pauci olim arbitrati sunt, vnius actionem esse vnam. Puta Herculis, Thesei, Achillis, Vlyssis, & aliorum. Quod ineptum est ac falsum. cum ab vno eodemque multa fieri omnino possint, quæ coniungi & referri ad eundem finem commode non possunt. Quod non modo Tragici præstantes, verum & poetæ Epici, Homerus pariter ac Maro, viderunt. Quanquam enim longe amplius diffusiusque Epici quam Tragici sit argumentum, tamen plurima Æneæ Maro prætermisit. Non enim, quomodo sit natus ac eductus, cum Achille quomodo conflixerit, ac prælio eruptus fuerit à Venere. vnum hoc, quopacto in Italiam peruenerit, libris duodecim, quod nemo nescit, persecutus est. Reliqua quippe, de itinere, vrbis expugnatione, aliaque, non vt argumentum operis, sed vt argumenti Episodia ponuntur. quemadmodum & Vlyssis plurima Homerus prætermisit: neque plura, quam quæ tendere ad eundem ac spectare finem videbantur, coniunxit. Contra ineptissime poetæ, quos Philosophus recenset, quorum alter omnes Thesei, alter Herculis labores actionesque fuerat com-

put not as the argument of the work, but episodes of the argument. So Homer laid by many things of Ulysses, and handled no more than he saw tended to one and the same end. Contrary to which, and foolishly, those poets did, whom the philosopher taxeth, of whom one gathered all the actions of Theseus, another put all the labors of Hercules in one work. So did he whom Juvenal mentions in the beginning, "hoarse Codrus," that recited a volume compiled, which he called his *Theseid*, not yet finished, to the great trouble both of his hearers and himself; amongst which there were many parts had no coherence nor kindred one with other, so far they were from being one action, one fable. For as a house, consisting of divers materials becomes one structure and one dwelling, so an action, composed of divers parts, may become one fable, epic or dramatic. For example, in a tragedy, look upon Sophocles his *Ajax*: Ajax, deprived of Achilles's armor, which he hoped from the suffrage of the Greeks, disdains, and, growing impatient of the injury, rageth, and turns mad. In that humor he doth many senseless things, and at last falls upon the Grecian flock and kills a great ram for Ulysses: returning to his sense, he grows ashamed of the scorn, and kills himself; and is by the chiefs of the Greeks forbidden burial. These things agree and hang together, not as they were done, but as seeming to be done, which made the action whole, entire, and absolute.

plexus. Neque aliter intelligendus ille Iuuenalis locus est de Codro. quem ideirco raucum ibi dixit, quod immensum opus, in quo omnes Thesei recenserentur actiones, summa cum & auditorum molestia & sua, recitaret. inter quas fuisse sane plurimas oportet, quæ nil inter se commune haberent. quare neque vnam siue actionem siue fabulam subjectum operis habebat, sed vnus. Cæterum vt domus non ex vno constat sed est vna: ita non ex vno constat, etiam si vna, actio Tragediæ. . . . Exempli gratia, Sophoclis Aiace[m] videamus: Ajax armis priuatus, indignatur, & vt erat contumeliæ impatiens, rabiit ac furit. Ergo, quod pro tali est, haud pauca sine mente agit, & postremo pro Vlysse pecudes insanus mactat. vbi autem ad se rediit, opprobrii pertæsus, manus sibi infert, ac sepulchro prohibetur. quæ, non autem cætera, quæcunque toto vitæ tempore ab Ajace gesta, apte inter se coherent. Sed nec quælibet ex illis per se sufficit: omnes vero congruentes, vnam illam statuunt cuius sunt partes. Quippe & totam debere esse actionem diximus, & absolutam. ✓ Totum autem vt ex partibus constat, neque sine omnibus partibus est totum, ita vt sit absolutum, non modo omnes requiruntur partes, sed & tales quæ sunt veræ. Totius autem pars est vera, quam si tollas, aut mouetur totum, aut non amplius est totum. Nam quod tale est, vt siue absit, siue adsit, plane ad totum nil intersit, pars totius dici proprie non potest. Qualia sunt Episodia, de quibus postea agemus. vel ejusdem actio-

The conclusion concerning the whole, and the parts.—Which are episodes.—For the whole, as it consisteth of parts, so without all the parts it is not the whole; and to make it absolute is required not only the parts, but such parts as are true. For a part of the whole was true, which, if you take away, you either change the whole or it is not the whole. For if it be such a part, as, being present or absent, nothing concerns the whole, it cannot be called a part of the whole; and such are the episodes, of which hereafter. For the present here is one example: the single combat of Ajax with Hector, as it is at large described in Homer, nothing belongs to this Ajax of Sophocles.

JONSON, p. 74.

But how differs a Poem from what we call a Poesy?—A poem, as I have told you, is the work of a poet; the end and fruit of his labor and study. Poesy is his skill or craft of making; the very fiction itself, the reason or form of the work. And these three voices differ, as the thing done, the doing, and the doer; the thing feigned, the feigning, and the feigner; so the poem, the poesy, and the poet. Now the poesy is the habit of the art

nes longe diuersæ. Sic, exempli gratia, singulare Ajacis cum Hectore certamen, quod prolixè describitur Homero, ad Ajacem Sophoclis non spectat.

BUCHLER'S *Phrasium poeticarum thesaurus* (p. 414).

Quid distent Poëma & Poësis.

Caput VI.

Poëma est opus ipsum Poëtæ, id nimirum quod effectum est, finis & fructus operæ atque studij, quod impendit Poëta. Poësis est fictio ipsa, ratione ac forma Poëmatis, sive industria atque opera facientis: ut Poëma, Poësis, Poëta, hæc tria differant, quomodo tres personæ verbi à quibus oriuntur, *πεποιήμαι, πεποιήσαι, πεποιήται*. A prima existit Poëma, ab altera Poësis, à tertia Poëta, quasi dicas factum, factio, factor; aut fictum, fictio, fictor Poësis interdum ipsum etiam habitum seu artem, Poëticam videlicet ipsam declarat.¹

¹ Buchler's original is to be found in PONTANUS, *Institutiones poeticæ* (Ingolstadt, 1594), p. 20. SCALIOER, *Poeticæ*, lib. i, cap. 2 (ed. 1617, p. 12), uses very similar language. The distinction was, of course, a commonplace of the classical schools, and may be found in Plu-

The significance of this literal translation seems to me greater than the mere problem of *Quellenforschungen*. Here is no question of plagiarism, for the *Discoveries* were never published during Jonson's lifetime, and there is no evidence that they were ever intended for publication. I have not as yet concluded my researches; nor can the literary historian afford to devote much of his time to the subsidiary task of source-hunting; but these initial results appear to suggest that the *Discoveries* were merely a commonplace book, in which Jonson recorded jottings of any kind which might seem to have future usefulness. But we are lucky indeed to have even the commonplace book of the author of *Volpone*.

In the second place, the significance of Jonson's interest in Heinsius, Pontanus, and Buchler is this: the influence of the Italian critics had to some extent been superseded by that of the Dutch and German critics during the first half of the seventeenth century.

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tarch, Cornelius Fronto, Aphthonius, Hermogenes, and others (cf. WALZ, *Rhet. Græci*, 1832, pp. 16, 60; VOSSIUS, *De nat. et const. poet.*, cap. iv, §2, and GUMMERE, in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XIX, pp. 61, 152). But here Jonson certainly seems to employ the language of Buchler or of Buchler's original; I am inclined to think that he was acquainted with both.

THE "BLESSED BOYS" IN FAUST AND KLOPSTOCK.

THAT the "Selige Knaben" in the last scene of *Faust*, especially their mystic relation to the Pater Seraphicus and their gradual growth in spiritual insight and power, were suggested to Goethe by reminiscences of Swendenborgian theories on the nature of heavenly spirits, is generally recognized and beyond dispute. It seems, however, worthy of notice that long before Goethe wrote this scene, another German poet, probably also inspired, at least indirectly, by Swedenborg, had given a picture of the gradual transformation of the souls of children into heavenly youths which is strikingly like Goethe's representation of the change that comes over the Blessed Boys and over Faust himself as they ascend to ever higher regions.

Of the "Selige Knaben" the Pater Seraphicus says:

11918. Steigt hinan zu höh'rem Kreise,
Wachset immer unvermerkt,
Wie, nach ewig reiner Weise,
Gottes Gegenwart verstärkt.
Denn das ist der Geister Nahrung,
Die im freisten Aether waltet,
Ewigen Liebens Offenbarung
Die zur Seligkeit entfaltet.

And the "Selige Knaben" themselves say of Faust:

12076. Er überwächst uns schon
An mächtigen Gliedern ;
Wird treuer Pflege Lohn
Reichlich erwidern.
Wir wurden früh entfernt
Von Lebechören ;
Doch dieser hat gelernt,
Er wird uns lehren.

Does it not seem probable that in all this there is to be found a lingering reminiscence of the impressive picture which Klopstock in the sixteenth Canto of the *Messias* gives of the flight of

hosts of children through the heavenly regions and their growth in bodily shape as well as in spiritual insight? These are Klopstock's words:

320. Melodien, der süssesten Wonne Gespielinnen, stiegen
Mit dem Lispel empor der Engelharfen. Denn endlos
Kamen vom Ganges, vom Rhein, dem Niagara, und Nilus,
An den Cedern einher auf Tabor, Seelen der Kinder.
Wie gesondert von vielen und grossen Herden, an Einem
Langen Hügel hinab, genährt vom Frühlinge, Lämmer
Weiden, so kamen einher an des Tabor Haine die Seelen.
Aber der Richter richtete nicht. Sie wurden der Wege
Viele geführt, von Sterne geführt zu Sterne, bevor sie,
Himmliche Jünglinge nun, erhabnere Pfade betraten.
Manches sahn sie zuvor auf ihren Wegen, und lernten
Manches, umtanz von fröhlichen Stunden.

Otto Lyon, *Goethes Verhältnis zu Klopstock*, pp. 30-103, shows that the strongest influence of Klopstock upon Goethe was exerted during the years 1770-75. Since Canto XVI of the *Messias* appeared in 1773, the above-quoted passage would have come to Goethe's knowledge during the time of his most eager interest in Klopstock, and would therefore have been most likely to retain its hold upon his memory.

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THE SONNET FORMS OF WYATT AND SURREY.

THE current view with regard to the sonnet forms of Wyatt and Surrey is that Wyatt in trying to follow the traditions made a blunder which gave Surrey the hint for a happy innovation. It is agreed that Wyatt's sonnets are divided, after the Italian manner, into octave and sestet; but his custom of rhyming the last two lines of the sestet is looked upon as evidence that he unintelligently divided this part of the sonnet into a quatrain and couplet, and the error is charged to him personally. Thus Mr. Courthope¹ says: "Wyatt unaware of the secret principle unfortunately misled by his admiration for the Strambotti, endeavored to construct his sonnets on the same principle;" while Professor Schipper² prints *abba abba cddc ee* as the typical Wyatt scheme, and says nothing of other Italian types than the Petrarchan. The sonnet of Surrey is universally described as formed from the Wyatt type by breaking up the octave into quatrains with different rhymes, and substituting alternate for included rhymes in all three quatrains thus formed.

These conceptions must, I think, be modified. As for Wyatt, it is certain that his form is taken from French and Italian models. There is small doubt that he meant to divide his sestets, not into quatrains *plus* couplets, but into terzets, and that more often than not he did so. He did indeed blunder and exhibit a lack of feeling for rhetorical and rhythmic organization, but did not intentionally diverge from the model he set before him. Surrey's sonnet, moreover, appears to be unquestionably influenced by Wyatt's, but not to be a type created by loosening the bonds of Wyatt's form. It belongs in nature to a somewhat different genus, and is a strambotto built up to fourteen lines, like the eight-line or twelve-line poems of the same general organization.

For the study of Wyatt, the text requires careful consideration.

¹ *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 91.

² *Englische Metrik*, Vol. II, p. 844.

There are four sources¹ of the text of Wyatt's poems: first, a manuscript [E.] partly in Wyatt's own hand, partly by an amanuensis (Nott's Harrington MS I, reprinted with great pains by Dr. E. Flügel in *Anglia* [A.], Vols. XVIII and XIX, under the name of Egerton MS 2711); secondly, a manuscript [D.] nearly or quite contemporary with Wyatt, from a circle of persons associated with Surrey directly, with Wyatt less closely (Nott's Duke of Devonshire's MS; British Museum Add. MS 17492); thirdly, an Elizabethan manuscript miscellany [H.] (Nott's Harrington MS II; Nott's transcript is British Museum Add. MS 28635); and, finally, Tottel's printed miscellany [T.], here cited from Arber's reprint. The sonnets in E. are certainly by Wyatt, those in D. almost certainly so. The attributions of authorship in H. and T., though probably right in most cases, deserve little respect when there is a question as to a particular poem. H. and T. are independent; hence where they agree their testimony as to authorship is of weight. The text of E. is the author's own; that of D. is at least not intentionally falsified. That of T. is the worst, for it has been systematically altered, even to the extent of filling out the refrain of a rondeau to make up a complete line.

In E. there are twenty-four sonnets. D. adds four, H. three, and T. one—a total of thirty-two.

Safe conclusions can be drawn only from the twenty-eight in E. and D. They are all of one type—that Italian form with the last two lines rhyming which is commonly associated with the name of Wyatt. The octave rhymes uniformly *abba abba*.² The end of the octave is felt to be the conclusion of the first main division in twenty-two of the sonnets, the pause comes within a line in three, one has no strophic quality, and two have pauses at a distance from the end of the octave.

As for the sestet, the rhyme scheme in nearly all cases (twenty-six) is *cddcee*. So far as form goes, this type of sestet is capable of being divided into symmetrical tercets—*cdd*, *cee*, or into a quatrain and couplet—*cddc*, *ee*. Examination shows that four sonnets have no distinct pause in the sestet, and that thirteen

¹ FLÜGEL, in *Anglia*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 263 ff.

² *abba acca* in one case is the inferior reading of D.

have a distinct pause before the twelfth line. On the other hand, in nine the pause comes before the thirteenth. Two are doubtful. In five of the cases with a pause before the couplet there is a pause before the eleventh line, dividing the sestet into three pairs. On the whole, the testimony of these facts is to the effect that Wyatt regarded the sestet as a unit, tending rather to be divided into *terzets* than into a quatrain and couplet.

In E., Wyatt's own manuscript, ll. 5, 9, and 12 are often distinguished as beginning new stanzas—sometimes by a space, sometimes by a capital. L. 9, the beginning of the sestet, is thus distinguished, according to Dr. Flügel's reprint, sixteen times out of twenty-four; l. 12, the first line of the second *terzet*, fourteen times; l. 13, once. There would seem to be little doubt that the typical sonnet scheme of Wyatt is *abba | abba || cdd | cee*. The failure to attain this ideal in a tolerably large proportion of cases may most probably be laid to Wyatt's lack of ability to mass his verse-periods with any skill, a halting awkwardness of structure being evident in very many of the poems, especially where Wyatt has no original to rest on. His translations (above half the total),¹ though not literal, are usually line for line, and of course follow the periodic organization of the original, except where that is due to devices of rhetoric and syntax which Wyatt had not skill or perception to retain.

It should be noticed that for the ordinary form of Wyatt's sonnets we need seek a model no farther than in the works of Mellin de Saint Gelais. Dr. Einstein² has remarked that Saint Gelais occasionally rhymes the last two verses of his sonnets. This is the case with nearly a third of the dozen and a half of sonnets written by the French poet, some three or four rhyming as the great majority of Wyatt's do, *cdd cee*, and as many like Wyatt's eighth, *cde dee*. All form obvious *terzets*. Koepfel's discovery³ of the original of one of Wyatt's sonnets in the works of Saint Gelais is well known; and the French writer may well have given the model for Wyatt's form.

¹ Cf. Nott's annotations and KOEPEL, *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. V, p. 67, fully cited for E. in Flügel's reprint.

² *Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902), p. 377.

³ *Anglia*, Vol. XIII, p. 77.

The type, however, is not unknown in Italian poetry before Wyatt.

From the twenty-eight well-authenticated sonnets we pass to the four attributed to Wyatt in H. and T. Only one appears in both. This is "The pillar perish'd," Aldine 25.¹ It is of the standard type, with no marked pause in the sestet. For two sonnets we have only the authority of H. They are the pair beginning "The flaming sighs"—Aldine 24. These two are treated as strophes of a single poem, the rhyme scheme of each being *abba cddc effe gg*. To attribute to Wyatt this unique pair of sonnets on so slender an authority as the unsupported testimony of H. appears to me unwarrantable. The same conclusion is justified with regard to the one sonnet—"Such is the course," Aldine 17—added to Wyatt's works on the sole authority of Tottel. The rhyme scheme is *abab abab abab cc*—a form not elsewhere exemplified in Wyatt's writings.

It is thus evident that all of those sonnets which we have perfectly solid grounds for ascribing to Wyatt are of one type.

The following table will make it easy to test the accuracy with which I have analyzed the sonnets. The Aldine serial number precedes the opening words of the sonnet. *Anglia* is cited by volume and page, Nott's 1816 edition [N.], by page; T., by Arber's pages. The numbers of the lines distinguished by capitals or spaces in E. are placed last. Pauses are indicated by lines thus |; where a pause comes within a line it is indicated by square brackets inclosing the rhyme-letter of that line.

1. "The longe love." A. XVIII, 274 (E.), N. 1, T. 33. *abba | abba || cdc | cdd* 1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12.
2. "Yet was I never." A. XVIII, 284 (E.), N. 2, T. 33. *abba | abba || cdd | cee* 1, 5, 9.
3. "Was never file." A. XVIII, 289 (E.), N. 2, T. 34. *abba | abba || cd | dc | ee* 1, 5, 9.
4. "The liuely sparkes." A. XVIII, 479 (E.), N. 3, T. 34. *abba | abb[a] c[d]dc | ee* 1, 5, 9, 12.
5. "Such vain thought." A. XVIII, 488 (E.), N. 4, T. 35. *abba | abba || cdd | cee* 1, 5, 9, 12.

¹Perhaps the most convenient way of citing Wyatt's sonnets is by their serial number in the Aldine edition.

6. "Unstable dream." A. XIX, 177 (E.), N. 4, T. 35. *abba | abba || cd : dce : e* 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13.
7. "Ye that in loue." A. XIX, 196 (E.), N. 5, T. 36. *abba | abba || cd : d | ce : e* 1, 5, 9, 12.
8. "If waker care." A. XIX, 201 (E.), N. 6, T. 36. *abba ab || ba cd | cd | ee (?)* 1, 5, 9, 12.
9. "Cesar when that." A. XVIII, 273 (E.), N. 6, T. 37. *abba | abba || cdd | cee* 1, 9, 11, 12.
10. "Eche man me telth." A. XVIII, 284 (E.), N. 7, T. 37. *abba a | bba || cdd | cee* 1, 12.
11. "Some fowls there be." A. XVIII, 460 (E.), N. 7, T. 38. *abba | abb | (?) ac | (?) dd | cee* 1, 5, 8.
12. "Because I still." A. XVIII, 461 (E.), N. 8, T. 38. *abba | abba || cdd | cee* 1, 5, 9, 12.
13. "I find no peace." A. XVIII, 463 (E.), N. 9, T. 39. *abba | abba | cdd | c | ee (?)* 1, 5, 9, 12 (?).
14. "My galley charged." A. XVIII, 464 (E.), N. 9, T. 39. *abba | abba | cdd | cee* 1, 12.
15. "Avisyng the bright beames." A. XVIII, 465 (E.), N. 10, T. 40. *abbaa | bba || cddce : e* 1, 5, 9, 12.
16. "My love to scorn." N. 10 (D.), T. 55. *abba | abba || cdd | c | ee.*
17. "Such is the course." N. 11, T. 62. *abab | abab | ab | ab | ce.*
18. "Ever myn hap." A. XVIII, 466 (E.), N. 12, T. 68. *abba | abbac : dd | cee* 1, 5, 9, 12.
19. "Loue, Fortune and." A. XVIII, 466 (E.), N. 12, T. 69. *abba | abba || cdd | cee* 1, 5, 9, 12.
20. "How oft haue I." A. XVIII, 467 (E.), N. 13, T. 69. *abba | abba || cddc | ee* 1, 5.
21. "Like unto these." A. XVIII, 468 (E.), N. 13, T. 70. *abba | abba || cd : d : c : ee* 1, 5, 9, 12.
22. "If amorous fayth." A. XVIII, 286 (E.), N. 14, T. 70. Practically continuous.
23. "My hart I gaue thee." A. XVIII, 288 (E.), N. 15, T. 71. *abba | abba || cd | dc | ee (?)* 1, 4, 8, 11.
24. "The flaming sighs." (Harington II) { *abba | cddc | eff | e | gg.*
N. 15. (Two sonnets.) { *abba | cddc eff | egg.*
25. "The pillar perish'd." (Harington II) N. 16, T. 72. *abba | abba | cdc dee.*
26. "Farewell Loue." A. XVIII, 287 (E.), N. 17, T. 70. *abba | abba || cddc | ee* 1, 5, 9, 12.
27. "Whoso list." A. XVIII, 276 (E.), N. 143. *abba | abba || cddcee* 1, 3, 9, 12.
28. "Divers doth use." N. 143 (D.). *abba | abba || cddc | ee.*

29. "I abide." N. 144 (D.). *abba | abba || cddc | ee.*
 30. "Though I myself." A. XVIII, 463 (E.), N. 145. *abba | abba || cdd | cee* 1, 12.
 31. "To rail or jest." N. 145 (D.). *abba | abba || caa | c | dd (?)*.

From the pen of Surrey we have fifteen sonnets universally accepted. One sonnet always printed with his works may be by Vaux. A table of these sonnets follows. As the sonnets are not collected in one place in the Aldine edition, the most convenient way in which to cite them is by the page in Arber's Tottel.

- T. 4, N. 19. "The soote season." *abababababab | aa.*
 T. 8, N. 16. "Love that liveth." *abab | cdcd | efef | gg.*
 T. 9a, N. 18. "In Cyprus springs." *abab | c | dcd | efef | gg.* (Awkward.)
 T. 9b, N. 3. "From Tuscan." *abab | cdcd | efef | gg.*
 [T. 10a, N. 20. "Brittle beautie." *abab abab abab | cc.* By Vaux?]
 T. 10b, N. 20. "Alas, so all things." *abab | ababa : bab : cc.*
 T. 11a, N. 50. "When Windsor walls." *ababcdcd | efe : fgg.*
 T. 11b, N. 15. "Set me whereas." *abab | cdcd | ef[e]f[g]g (?)*.
 T. 12a, N. 17. "I never saw." *abba | cddc | effe | gg.*

(*That*, l. 5, = so that; *yet*, l. 8, = up to this time; *clad*, l. 9, = being clad; *that*, l. 10, refers to black; *so*, l. 12, sums up the preceding lines.)

- T. 12b, N. 17. "The golden gift." *abab | cdcd | efef | gg.*
 T. 28a, N. 44. "The great Macedon." *abab | cdcd | fef | gg.*
 T. 28b, N. 46. "Divers thy death." *abab | cdcd || efefgg.*
 T. 30, N. 44. "Th' Assyrian king." *abab | cdcd || efefgg.*
 T. 32, N. 40. "The fancy which." *abab | ababa | cac | cc.*
 T. 218, N. 47. "In the rude age." *abab | cdcd | efef | gg.*

(*blam'd* and *claim'd* probably not rhymes.)

- N. 48. "Norfolk sprung thee." *abab | cdcd | efef | gg.*

Eleven of these sonnets rhyme as follows: *ababcdcdedefegg*; one rhymes *abbaacdceffegg*; one, *ababababababcc*; one, *abababababaa*; one, *ababababacacce*. The sonnet sometimes attributed to Vaux rhymes *ababababababcc*.

The combination of the lines into verse-periods presents no small variety. In two (T. 4, 32), the first twelve lines make a unit, with the couplet added. (This is the case also with the sonnet of doubtful authorship.) In six others, there is a division, more or less decided, into four-line stanzas (T. 8, 9b, 12a, 12b, 218; N. 48). In two, the lines make no distinct system, but

the couplet stands apart from the twelve preceding verses (T. 9a, 28). These ten are alike in placing a decided pause before the couplet.

Three form an octave and sestet (T. 11a, 28b, 301). Two do not seem to be systematically divided (T. 10b, 11b).

That in the sonnets of Surrey we have to do with a form of verse quite unlike Wyatt's is plain. Is the later type developed from the earlier? Certain facts must be observed in the endeavor to answer this question. With one exception, all of Surrey's sonnets are in alternate rhyme. Two of the sonnets have only two rhymes throughout the first twelve lines. One other has but three. In several of the other sonnets the three quatrains have a very slight degree of independence and are separated by very light pauses. In some cases, indeed, the quatrains exist only in the rhyme-scheme and not in fact.

Now, we find in Wyatt many instances of a type of verse-structure in which four or six alternately rhyming lines are followed by a couplet. Surrey likewise affords examples of such forms, and also has written a similar poem of ten lines followed by a couplet ("The sudden storms," N. 80). The rhyme-system is *ababababcc*. Among the poems by "Uncertain Authors" in Tottel's Miscellany are one of nine lines, rhyming *abababacc* (T. 166); of ten, *ababababcc* (T. 177); of seventeen, *abababacdedcdeddee*; besides several of the closely analogous type illustrated in the eleven-line poem, T. 170—*ababa | acac | dd*. Now, there is no difficulty in supposing a fourteen-line poem with but two alternate rhymes in the first twelve lines and a couplet ending to be simply one of the class of six-line, eight-line, ten-line, twelve-line verse-forms constructed on the same principle. The break-up into stanzas, in a language so poor in rhymes as English, would be very natural without any analogy to encourage it; but the existence of the sonnet might well exert an influence on the fourteen-line *strambotto*, if we may call it by that name. The analogy of the sonnet, too, would be likely to make the length of the new form seem preferable to that of the the shorter *strambotti*. While we recognize the probable influence of the sonnets of Wyatt in this way, we cannot easily regard them as the direct

sources of the type. The alternation of the rhymes might be explained as due to the analogy of other forms, but the existence of sonnets with only two rhymes in the first twelve lines and no stanza-divisions would appear to be inconsistent with the notion that the Surrey sonnet is a laxer, more fully developed Wyatt sonnet.

The sonnets of Wyatt are in intention, and oftener than not in fact, Italian sonnets after an inferior model; Surrey's sonnets are a new form derived from the *strambotto*.

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GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.

1. Goth. *bindan* "binden," OHG. *bintan*, etc., contain a base *bhendh-*, which must have meant primarily "turn, wind, bend," or the like. This meaning is evident from OE. *bendan* "bind; stretch, bend," E. *bend* "biegen, beugen; neigen, krümmen," ON. *benda* "biegen, krümmen; bezwingen; spannen" (einen bogen), *bendla* "verwickeln, entangle, embroil." We may therefore add to the words usually connected with this base Skt. *bandhurā-s* "geneigt, gesenkt, zugetan," whence also "hold, reizend, schön."

Here also perhaps Lat. *fundāre* "fasten, secure, make firm; establish, found." So Skt. *bandhā* "das binden, anbinden; zusammenfügung, errichtung, erbauung."

2. Goth. *bandwa* "zeichnen," *bandwjan* "ein zeichen geben," ON. *benda* "winken, ein zeichen geben, anzeigen," *bending* "wink, zeichen, warnung" are properly referred to *bindan* (cf. Schade, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. "bant"). Compare especially the meanings in Skt. *baddhā-s* "gebunden; geheftet, gerichtet, gezeigt," *bandhā-s* "das binden; aussern, zeigen."

3. With Goth. *jiuka* "streit, zank," *jiukan* "kämpfen" compare MHG. *jōuchen*, *jouchen* "jagen, treiben," and also Av. *yaozaiti* "bewegt sich, zittert, wallt," Arm. *yuzem* "rege auf," which have been referred to a base *iu-* in Lith. *judù* "rege mich, zittere," Skt. *yūdhyati* "kämpft" (cf. Persson, *Studien*, p. 44).

4. Goth. *-teins*, in *sin-teins* "immerwährend, täglich," has been connected with OIr. *denus* "zeitraum," Skt. *dina-*, Lith. *dēna* "day," etc., and these are referred to a base *dī-* "shine" in Skt. *dīdēti* "shine."

The meaning "shine," however, comes from "turn, whirl, move rapidly" (cf. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *déarai*, *δίεμαι*), and we may better refer the base **dīno-*, **deino-*, **doino-*, in G. *-teina-*, etc., to this same primary meaning. So this word meant originally not "brightness" but "period, course, cycle," from an adj. **dīno-* "turning, whirling," etc., from which also

Gk. *δῖνος* "whirlpool, eddy," *δῖνέω* "whirl, spin round, drive; wander," ON. *teinn* "twig, spindle," Goth. *tains*, etc. (cf. author, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. XIV, p. 334). To the same base, as I have shown (cf. as above, pp. 333 f.), belong OE. *tīd*, *tīma* "time," OHG. *zīla* "zeile," *zīlōn* "sich beeilen, eifrig bestreben nach," etc. Compare also Skt. *dīnd-s* "gering, niedergeschlagen, traurig," primarily "turned, bowed down, niedergebeugt."

5. Goth. *triggus* "treu, zuverlässig," OHG. *triuwi*, etc., OE. *trum* "fest, stark, kräftig," ON. *traustr* "fest, stark, sicher," Lith. *drūtas* "fest, stark," Welsh *drut*, *drūd* "stark," Gk. *δροόν·ισχυρόν* (cf. Schade, *Wörterbuch*, p. 956; Uhlenbeck, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*², p. 147) contain a base *dreu-* "strong, firm," whence "faithful, true." This we may derive from the base in Skt. *drāvati* "läuft, eilt, schmilzt," *drutá-s* "eilend, rasch, geschwind, flüssig." The meaning "strong" comes from "swift" as in MHG. *swinde* "geschwind, ungestüm, heftig, stark;" *snel* "schnell, rasch, gewandt, kräftig, tapfer."

6. ON. *sátttr* "versöhnt," *scétt* "vertrag, versöhnung": OE. *seht* "versöhnt; versöhnung, vertrag, friede, freundschaft," *sehtan* "versöhnen." For other connections see *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XVIII, p. 16.

7. ON. *skále* "hütte, grosses gemach": *skál*, OS., OHG. *skāla* "trinkschale." Compare Lat. *cūpa* "tonne," Gk. *κύπελλον* "becher": E. *hovel*, MHG. *hobel* "decke, deckel," etc.

8. ON. *sam-eign* "kampf" probably meant "coming together, meeting" and may be compared with Lith. *eigà* "gang," Gk. *οἶχομαι* "go, am gone," *οἶχνέω* "go, come" (cf. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 221).

9. ON. *þora* "wagen," *þoran*, "mut," *þorenn* "mutig, keck" no doubt go back to the meaning "quick, swift." Compare Skt. *turá-s* "rasch," *turáti* "eilt, drängt vorwärts," *tvárate* "eilt," OHG. *dweran* "drehen, rühren," etc.

10. OHG. *fihu* "vieh, vermögen, Goth. *faihu* "vermögen, geld," Lat. *pecu* "cattle," *pecūlium* "private property, savings," *pecūnia* "wealth, money," Skt. *paçú* "vieh," etc., are supposed to come from an IE, base **peku-* "cattle": "property." That is,

"cattle" is supposed to be the earlier idea, from which "property in general" developed. It is altogether more probable, however, that "possession, property" was the earlier meaning, and "cattle" a specialization of this. So we find it in other words: OE. *neōtan* "nehmen, gebrauchen, geniessen," Goth. *niutan* "erlangen, geniessen," Lith. *naudà* "nutzen, ertrag, habe": OHG. *nōz* "nutzvieh, vieh, rindvieh," OE. *nēat* ON. *naut* "rindvieh". Gk. *κτάομαι* "erwerbe," *κέκτημαι* "besitze": *κτῆμα* "besitz, vermögen," *κτήνη* "vieh."—Lat. *capitale* "capital, property": E. *chattel, cattle*.—E. *stock* "property invested in any business; live stock, cattle," in both senses comparatively recent.—Goth. *skatts* "geldstück, geld," OFries. *sket* "geld, vieh."

It is safe to say, therefore, that IE. **pekū-* meant primarily "something acquired, property." This naturally comes from a base *pek-* "get, acquire," which may be in Skt. *paç-* "strick," *pāça-s* "schlinge, fessel, strick," *pāçáyati*, Av. *pas-* "binden," Goth. *fāhan* "fangen," *faginōn* "sich freuen" (primarily "geniessen," as in Goth. *niutan* "erlangen, geniessen"), OHG. *gifehan* "sich freuen," *fehōn* "zu sich nehmen, verzehren." This gives us the connection made by Schade, *Wörterbuch*, p. 194, though the development of meaning is differently explained.

This base **pe(n)k-*, which is better separated from *pāk-* in Lat. *pāx*, etc., seems to have meant "draw together, grasp, catch," and to it may also be referred Goth. *figgrs* "finger" (cf. Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, s. v. "finger").

11. OHG. *jehan* "sagen, sprechen, aussagen, erklären, behaupten, bejahren, gestehen, beichten," etc., can hardly be connected with *ja*. In that case we should expect a weak verb. Here, however, we have a strong verb with a rich development of meaning, which may be referred to a pre-Germ. **jēgo-*. This we may compare with Skt. *yācati* "fleht, heischt, bittet," and perhaps also Lat. *jacio*, *jēcī* "throw, cast; emit; utter, declare." The Latin word is nearest the primitive meaning. From this could develop the meanings of the Skt. and of the OHG. words. The latter correspond closely to the derived meanings of *jacio*. Compare also the correspondence between OS. *bigehan* refl. "sich vermessen" and Lat. *se jactare* "boast, vaunt."

12. OHG. *knabo*, *knappo* "knabe, jüngling, bursche, diener," OS. *knapo*, ON. *knape*, OE. *cnapa* "knappe, junker," *cnafa* "boy, servant," have often been referred to the IE. base *gen-* "beget." It is more probable, however, that the words meant primarily "chunk," and are connected with OHG. *knebil*, MHG. *knebel* "knebel; knöchel; grober gesell, bengel," ON. *knefell* "pfahl, stock," NHG. (Hess.) *knabe* "stift, bolze" (cf. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. "Knebel"), ON. *knappr* "knopf, knauf; haufe," OE. *cnæpp* "mountain-top; brooch," i. e., "knob," Sw. *knapp* "knopf, knauf," "knapp," Pol. *gnąbić*, *gnębić* "drücken" (cf. Zupitza, *Die germanischen Gutturale*, p. 147).

A word with such a primary meaning might designate a person who was a block, stick, chump; a clod, lout; a stumpy fellow, or the like. So in the following, which may be compared, for the development of meaning, with the above.

13. ON. *knýja* "schlagen," *knosa* "schlagen, stossen," Dan. *knuse* "zerdrücken," LG. *knüsen* "drücken," MHG. *knür(e)*, *knurre* "knuff, stoss; knoten, knorren: grober mensch," *knorre* "knorren: kurzer, dicker mensch," Dan. *knøs* "bursche," NHG. *knorz* "knob, knot: little stumpy fellow," MHG. *knorzen* "balgen, kneten."

14. MHG. *knüllen* "knuffen, stossen," *zerknellen* "zerdrücken, zerquetschen; mit geräusch zerspringen," *erknellen* "erschallen," etc., OE. *cnoll* "hill-top, knoll," i. e., "knob, hump," MHG. *knolle* "erdscholle, klumpen: grober, plumper mensch, bauer," Dan. *knold* "knollen, knoten; klumpen: töpel."

15. MHG. *zer-knürsen* "zerdrücken, zerquetschen," *knirren*, *knarren*, ME. *knarre* "knot on a tree: short stout man," NHG. *knirps*.

16. Sw. dial. *knöva* "zusammendrücken," ME. *knobbe* "knob": E. *knuff* "lout, clown," Hess., Mecklenb. *knubs* "knirps."

17. OHG. *kneht* "knabe, bursche, mann, knappe, held," OE. *cniht* "boy, attendant," may also go back to a similar meaning. Compare OSw. *knækker*, Norw. dial. *knekk* "stoss," MHG., NHG. *knacken*, MLG. *knagge* "knob, thick piece," ME. *knagg* E. *knag* "hook, peg; protuberant knot," etc.

The fundamental meaning in all these groups is, "press, crush," from which comes "knob, knot, bunch," etc., and "crash, crack, creak," etc.

18. MHG. *lîp* "leib, körper, magen" is probably not the same word as *lîp* "leben." The former I should refer to a pre-Germ. **lîbho-s* or **leibho-s* and connect with Lith. *lâibas* "schlank." Compare Skt. *tanû-s* "dünn, schwächig": *tanû-s*, Av. *tanu-* "leib, körper." The word probably first meant "side, flank," and then, like Lat. *latus*, "body."

19. OHG. *sumar* "sommer," Skt. *sāmā* "jahr," Av. *ham-* "sommer," Gk. *ἡμέρα* "tag" may be referred to Gk. *ἡμερος* "sanft, mild," Ir. *sám* "ruhe," OHG. *semfti* "sanft," ON. *sama, sóma* "passen," Goth. *samjan* "gefallen," base **sām-*, which I should separate from Goth. *sama*, Gk. *ὁμός* "same," base **somo-* (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*², p. 127).

20. OS. *tōgian*, OHG. *zougen* "zeigen," etc., have long been connected with Goth. *at-augjan*. Another connection, which seems to me altogether more probable, is to refer the words to MHG. *ziugen* "verfertigen, anschaffen; zeugen, erzeugen; zeugnis ablegen, bezeugen, beweisen." This explanation, which is also an old one (cf. Graff, 5, 614; Schade, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1297), presupposes a Germ. **tauggjan* "producere," a causative of Goth. *tiuhan*, OHG. *ziohan*, etc. In form and meaning nothing stands in the way of this combination.

21. Am. E. *flax* "beat," *flax round* "move about in a lively or energetic manner," prov. E. *flaxen* "beat or thrash," are connected in the *Century Dictionary* with *flax* "flachs," "in allusion to the beating of flax." These words, however, are rather to be connected with Sw. *flaxa* "mit den flügeln schlagen, flattern," Norw. *flaksa* "flattern," which, according to Tamm, *Etymologisk Ordbok*, p. 150, are formed with an s-suffix from the base in OE. *flacor* "flying," *flicerian* "flutter," MHG. *vlackern* "flackern," Sw. *flacka*, etc.

Or we may connect *flax*, Sw. *flaxa*, etc., with Goth. *plahsjan* "erschrecken," *gablakhsnan* "erschrocken werden," Ch. Sl. *tluka, tlěšti* "schlagen," etc. (cf. Grienberger, *Gotische Wortkunde*, p. 216; author, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XVI, col. 311).

22. E. *wishbone* "furcula, gabelbein" looks like a compound of *wish* and *bone*, and it is true that this bone is often used in wishing. But this practice is probably recent and may have grown up after the word took its present form. This is probably a corruption of **withbone*, perhaps made over from ON. *viðbein* "schlüsselbein," with which compare OE. *wipobān* "shoulder-blade."

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SOME COMMENTS ON THE SOURCES OF CHAUCER'S "PARDONER'S TALE."

IN the volume of the "Publications of the Chaucer Society" entitled *Originals and Analogues* there are two contributions containing many versions of the story in Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale" and among them an English rendering of what seems to be the ultimate source. This is the Vedabbha *Jātaka*¹ from the famous Buddhist collection of birth-stories dating from between 400 and 250 B. C. The tale runs in this fashion: Vedabbha, a brahmin who knows a spell to call down wealth from heaven, sets out with his pupil Bodhisattva—the future Buddha. On the way the five hundred Sending thieves capture them and justify their name by sending Bodhisattva for a ransom. He warns the brahmin not to use his spell, lest destruction follow, and departs. The brahmin, nevertheless, calls down the wealth. Now five hundred other thieves make the Sending thieves their prisoners, and slay them and the brahmin with them. Then, dividing among themselves, they kill two hundred and fifty of their number, and so on, until, as a result of this arithmetical warfare, only two are left. These carry off the wealth; one goes to the village for rice, poisons it, and returning is slain by the other, who eats the rice and dies. The Bodhisattva comes back to find the wealth scattered about, then the body of the brahmin, afterward the five hundred dead thieves, the two hundred and fifty, and so on, until he comes upon the last two, the poisoned and the slain. He repeats a fitting moral sentiment, and so the *Jātaka* concludes. So much of the story is necessary to explain other versions, and the resemblance to the "Pardoner's Tale" is already clear. The plot is easily reduced to two essentials: *x*, the virtuous man who warns, and *yy*, a group of characters who carry through the poisoning story. In the history of this tale these two elements will be found to remain surprisingly constant, and even such details as the appended moral to appear again and again.

¹ No. 43 in FAUSBÖLL's edition of the Pali text of the *Jātaka* book.

The popularity of this story is attested by many eastern versions, but for this inquiry only heirs in the European line need to be considered. The first is a Persian story¹ from a twelfth-century poem of Ferîdu-'d-Dîn 'Attâr, and may be called the first Persian story. In its significant episodes Jesus tempts with a mound of gold an evil man to confess a sin. The man confesses and is left with the gold. Two men find him there, and from here on the three represent the *yy* group of the Buddhist tale, and carry through the poisoning story. After the tragedy Jesus returns to pronounce the moral. This tale has a close analogue in Arabic, and the first part at least, as will be hereafter seen, passed into European literature. This first part, the story of Jesus and the evil man, is the new element, and must be set down as a contamination of the old story by a tale from an unknown source. The second Persian version¹ is simpler. The *yy* group appear, find the gold, and play their part, and Christ and the disciples pass by to take the part of *x*. This story also has a close parallel in Arabic, this time in the *Supplementary Arabian Nights*. It seems to have passed with little change into Europe, for *novella* 83 of the *Cento novelle antiche* of the edition of Gualteruzzi is the same tale, with slight changes of detail. This plot probably represents a simplification of the old Buddhist story, into which Christ has been introduced through the influence of the first Persian story. Or we can, for influence here, call upon another eastern story from the *Avadânas*, in which Buddha with a companion find much gold and many precious things. Buddha says, "Behold a venomous serpent;" but the man, tempted by the treasure, carries it home and perishes through the cupidity of his king. We have too little data to do more than indicate some of the ingredients which may have gone into the general solution.

The Italian story just mentioned has many lineal descendants, but it cannot be the immediate source of the "Pardoner's Tale." A story which has more right to such a claim is printed in the *Originals and Analogues* from the edition of the *Cento novelle antiche* edited by Borghini in 1572. A hermit finds a treasure,

¹ See W. A. CLOUSTON, in *Originals and Analogues* ("Publications of the Chaucer Society").

calls it death, and, fleeing from it, meets the group *yy*. These take their usual course, and the story ends with a moral sentiment. But Italian scholars have shown that Borghini is not the originator of this form of the story. He drew his material from two sources¹ — the Gualteruzzi edition of 1525, and a manuscript called Panciatichiano-Palatino 138, whose stories Bartoli, D'Ancona, and other scholars assign to a date only slightly later than the manuscript from which Gualteruzzi must have drawn. The Codex Panciatichiano-Palatino, which I shall hereafter designate as C. P., must have been written before the latter half of the fourteenth century, and is probably of the thirteenth century, while some of the stories are probably earlier.² *Novella* 149 of this collection is the same as *novella* 82 Borghini, with this slight difference: Borghini edited his work at a time of reaction from religious influences. As a result, the *santo romito*, or holy hermit, of C. P. 149 becomes merely *romito* in his version, and the moral sentiment which in C. P. has to do with the saving of the soul is softened into a merely prudent warning. We have, therefore, proof of the existence of a story almost identical with Chaucer's in an accessible manuscript of a period considerably anterior to that of the "Pardoner's Tale." But if we assume for a minute that this is the immediate source, or near to it, there is still a question to be answered before we can trace the line back to the East. By what alchemy have the Christ and his disciples of Gualteruzzi and the second Persian versions been transmuted into a wandering hermit fleeing from death?

First be it noted that the Codex Panciatichiano-Palatino consists of two parts originally independent,³ the first part being taken from the source of Gualteruzzi's edition, with slight variations and additions, the second part consisting of more *novelle* from this source, some duplicated, others lengthened, and new ones from other sources added. In the first part occurs *novella*

¹ See GUIDO BIAGI, *Le novelle antiche dei codici Panciatichiano-Palatino* (1880), pp. 138 ff.

² See BARTOLI, *I primi due secoli della letteratura italiana* pp. 284 f.; D'ANCONA, "Del novellino e delle sue fonti," *Studi di critica e storia letteratura* (1880), p. 217.

³ See BIAGI, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxv ff.; BARTOLI, *Storia della letteratura*, Vol. III, pp. 190 ff., and ADOLF GASPARY, *History of Early Italian Literature to the Death of Dante*, p. 164.

83 of Gualteruzzi, here *novella* 120; that is, the Christ type of our story. *Novella* 149 in the second part is the hermit version of the story and the version which Borghini borrowed. As Biagi points out for the two texts in general, here, indeed, are two versions meeting for the first time.

The hermit version of this story is found in only one of the surviving collections of stories which are earlier than the time of Chaucer. In the latter portion of an Italian miracle-play of the fifteenth century, entitled *Rappresentazione di Sant' Antonio*,¹ there is, however, a plot which bears upon the point in question. St. Antony, wandering through the desert on his way to become a hermit, is tempted, first by a silver dish, and then by a mound of gold. He leaves the gold, and, meeting two robbers, warns them to turn back from the death in their way. They are joined by a third robber, disregard the warning, and go through the old poisoning story, with an angel at the end to take the part of *x*. As D'Ancona says, and as a perusal of the play shows, this poisoning story seems to have only an artificial connection with the amplified legend to which it is joined. As a matter of fact, the Antony of the temptation is the famous St. Antony, the "glorioso e santissimo abate Anton d'Egitto, famoso eremita," as the original miracle-play has it. Furthermore, this same story of the temptation may be found in his life in the works of Athanasius (fourth century), and in *The Lives of the Fathers*. Clouston's statement that this story refers to St. Antony of Padua, a famous preacher, has therefore no authority. So much for the story of St. Antony; but, to quote from D'Ancona's introduction to the play: "The episode of the thieves is an addition to the legend made by the poet, or, as is more probable, by the popular tradition which the poet was then reproducing." Consider the names and actions of the three thieves, and the assertion that this is an old and well-known story becomes even better founded. Scaramuccia is one; Carapello is another; Tagliagambe, the third. Scaramuccia is merely the familiar Neapolitan mask character, the braggart who figures so prominently in the *commedia dell' arte* which was soon to take a literary form. The other two I have not been

¹A. D'ANCONA, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*.

able to place among the hosts of stock figures who played parts in the early comedy, but their names and actions leave little doubt of their character. The early *commedia dell' arte* certainly influenced the miracle-play,¹ and this kind of comedy was in full flower in the second half of the fifteenth century.² Here, then, we have one of its most popular and most ancient figures, adding, as was the custom, the humor of his well-known character to the interest of an old story.

The latter part of this miracle-play, therefore, quite certainly represents an old story worked into his narrative by the author, in order to relieve the didactic portions by the presence of dearly loved and generally comic characters. This story represents a fusion of the legend of St. Antony with the poisoning story of Buddhist origin. Such a fusion might have come about in two ways. The story of Christ tempting the Jew with the mound of gold is found in slightly altered guise in the Codex Panciatichiano and in Gualteruzzi, dissociated from the poisoning tale which accompanies it in the eastern versions. Other versions of this story "*correvano fra il volgo*" circulated among the common people, as D'Ancona shows. In all versions from the East, where it had its origin, it is, however, associated with the poisoning story. It is, therefore, not improbable that the story containing both these elements, as in the first Persian and first Arabian stories, came over whole, as well as in parts, and might easily confuse its temptation story with that of St. Antony, the resulting tale being the source of the latter part of the miracle-play. Or the tale that is found in Gualteruzzi's edition (83) and as C. P. 120—that is, the story which brings in Christ and his disciples—might suffer a like contamination. The gold that Christ's disciples find, and leave because they are warned that it means death to the soul, would suggest to some narrator the mound of gold which Antony, too, knew meant destruction and from which he fled, and thus the tale would be enriched by a more popular introduction. At all events, there is such a combination in the miracle-play, and there is every reason to suppose that an earlier tale preceded it. This is the more probable because by the very

¹ See BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

² SCHERILLO, *La Commedia dell' arte in Italia*.

easy change from St. Antony, who was a hermit and has always been particularly connected with hermits, to *santo romito*, or "holy hermit," and the omission of the duplicate incident of the silver dish, both changes tending toward simplification, we have the hermit story of C. P. 149 and can account for a reading of the old story which before this is found nowhere else and can be accounted for in no other way.

It is now time to take up Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale," the English version of this story. Only a careful study of the preceding narratives can bring one to a full appreciation of the exquisite art displayed by the English poet in the narrative portion of this tale; for it is not all narrative. Ll. 463-82 and 661-894 make up the story proper; the rest is exposition and argument, very good of the kind, but segregated so as not to interfere with the rapid action of the tale itself.

In Flaundres whilom was a compaignye
Of yonge folk, that haunteden folye,

Chaucer begins, and tells how they were "riotours," and how "Oure blissed Lordes body they to-tere." After a long digression, these "yonge folk" are suddenly specified as three, and the story moves forward. They learn that one of their companions has been seized by death, and, seeking this "false traytour death," they meet an old man looking for Death, who will not have him. "Up this croked wey—I lafte hym," the old man says, and under a tree they find "Of floryns fyne—wel ny a seven bussshels." From now on the incidents are those of the familiar poisoning story, worked out with far more realistic detail than ever before, and concluding with a moral of the same purport as that of the Italian version. The hermit, be it observed, becomes an old man who seeks death instead of fleeing it; but, except for this change, and the elaborated introduction, there is nothing in the plot of Chaucer's poem which materially differs from that of the Italian story C. P. 149, whose origin has just been explained.

This introduction (ll. 463-82), beginning "In Flaundres whilom was a compaignye," has no very direct connection with the rest of the narrative. The description of the riotous living, the "wafereres," and the "tombesteres," has some bearing upon the

sermon which immediately follows it, but none upon the development of the story in ll. 661-894. It is picturesque and characteristic, and there seems to be no reason why it should not be supposed an addition of Chaucer's, imaginative or otherwise, put in as a text upon which to expand his exposition that follows. Some such beginning is necessary in order to give this sermon its greatest cogency and aptest reference to the story. The mention of "Flaundes" may point to an original *fabliau*, but may, too, have come out of Chaucer's brain, put in, perhaps, because of the popular idea of the Flemish as a drinking race.¹ Note, too, in this connection that in ll. 475 and 482 of the narrative introduction Chaucer is quoting his own "Parson's Tale," as he does again in the expository portion, but not in the story proper, which, if "The" be substituted for "Thise" in l. 661, "Thise riotours thre of which I speke," and the last clause of this line be omitted, would need no introduction to make it complete. There is no question as to the provenance of the sermon on gluttony and other vices which intervenes between the introduction and this narrative proper, particularly as this expository section contains matter probably quoted from Chaucer's lost translation of Innocent's "De Contemptu Mundi," and more from his own "Parson's Tale,"² and is certainly derived from no source connected in any way with the old poisoning story.

Ll. 661-765 of the "Pardoner's Tale" contain the very beautiful story of the old man whom death will not have, and in the complete story which lies in ll. 661-894 these show the only substantial change from the plot of C. P. 149. This should be Chaucer's own, as far as the handling is concerned, and not only on account of its characteristic style; for a classic source (first elegy of Maximian) seems to have been found by Professor Kittredge for the famous lines beginning "And on the ground which is my moodres gate I knocke."³ Ten Brink has suggested an influence which surely cannot account for the meeting with the old man, but which may have affected the underlying idea and some of the details of this passage. He thinks that there

¹ See notes in SKEAT's edition.

² See notes in SKEAT's edition.

³ See notes in SKEAT's edition.

may be a fusion here with the story of the Wandering Jew. Our first record of this story in English is through Roger de Wendover's *Flowers of History*, which forms the first part of Matthew of Paris's *Chronicle* (1259). Here the man condemned to wait for Christ is "one who is well practised in sorrow." In later versions he is a wanderer from land to land, always wishing for Death, who will not have him. In English the story gets into the ballads,¹ and is well known in folklore.² It was so widely spread over Europe in later times that it seems most probable that Chaucer was familiar with some form of the legend. If it exists in some form which may be sufficiently old, containing such details as the search of the wanderer for someone who will "chaunge his youthe for myn age," it will seem very probable that Chaucer enriched the story of the wandering hermit by the memory of such a legend, or, less probably, got his whole story from some source where such an enriching had already taken place. If no such version exists, we can only say that such lines as the question asked of the old man, "Why livestow so longe in so greet age?" his assertion, "And therefore moot I han myn age stille, As longe tyme as it is Goddes wille," and particularly the similarity of the ideas underlying this portion of Chaucer's work and the famous legend, make out a possible explanation of Chaucer's improvement upon the Italian story. As he would have concluded, "ther is namore to say."

And now to sum up. Chaucer's story may be divided for convenience into four parts: an introduction treating of certain "yonge folk" in "Flaundres," a didactic digression, an account of the meeting with the old man whose life Death will not have, and the story proper of the three "riotours" who come to death through murder and poisoning. The introduction, in spite of a hypothetical, and improbable, *fabliau*, may safely be assumed to be Chaucer's, the sermon is undoubtedly of his own working, the episode of the old man may be influenced by the legend of the Wandering Jew, but is certainly based upon the account of the

¹ See PERCY's *Reliques*.

² *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties* (published by Folk-Lore Society, 1879), p. 82; see also *The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen* (1640)—a satire.

santo romito in the Italian story. The story proper is merely the amplification of the considerably earlier tale C. P. 149, or one closely resembling it, which would represent such a version as Gualteruzzi 83, modified by fusion with that part of the widespread legend of St. Antony which treats of his adventures on his way to become a hermit. It is possible, however, and probable, that while this explanation holds good, we still have not the immediate source of Chaucer's tale. The probability of the fusion of the St. Antony legend with the poisoning story is partly based upon the joining of these two in a fifteenth-century miracle-play. But there are some rather striking similarities between this play and Chaucer's version, which do not appear when the latter is compared with C. P. 149. Chaucer's villain buys poison that he "may his rattes quelle," while Scaramuccia asks for poison to kill rats which have grown so bold that they gnaw his ears. There is nothing said about rats in C. P. 149. There is another similarity which is still more to the point. After Scaramuccia has gone for the food and drink, the two remaining thieves in the play plan his destruction. One offers to tell to the other a thought which has come to him, if he will swear to tell no one of it, if it does not please him. The other has a like thought, which he will tell on promise of secrecy. The first then points out that the treasure would be much greater if divided between two, rather than among three. This thought pleases the second thief, who counsels that they assault Scaramuccia when he returns and seats himself. Now, if this be compared with the passage in Chaucer contained in ll. 806-34, all the important points of the Italian dialogue will be found duplicated, even to the manner of killing; for Chaucer makes his rascal say, "Looke whan that he is set, and right anon Arys," etc. Add to this the passage just preceding, ll. 793-805, where the thieves draw cuts to see who shall go to town, precisely as they do in the miracle-play, although there is no mention of such a proceeding in C. P. 149, and the probability of another version current at the same time, but, like "The Pardoner's Tale," more amplified than C. P. 149, must be admitted. This version, which we may assume to have been Chaucer's immediate source, must have been

just the story that the author of the miracle-play used, with the simplification of the St. Antony portion carried out as we find in C. P. 149. That is, it would be a story of a wandering hermit who flies from death in the shape of gold, and the following action of three thieves in a form somewhat more amplified than that of the Italian story which we possess, and closer in detail to the narrative of Chaucer. The Italian story we possess, C. P. 149, is merely another reading, which happens to have been preserved. It is obviously improbable that Chaucer's rendering could have returned to Italy and influenced the dramatic form.

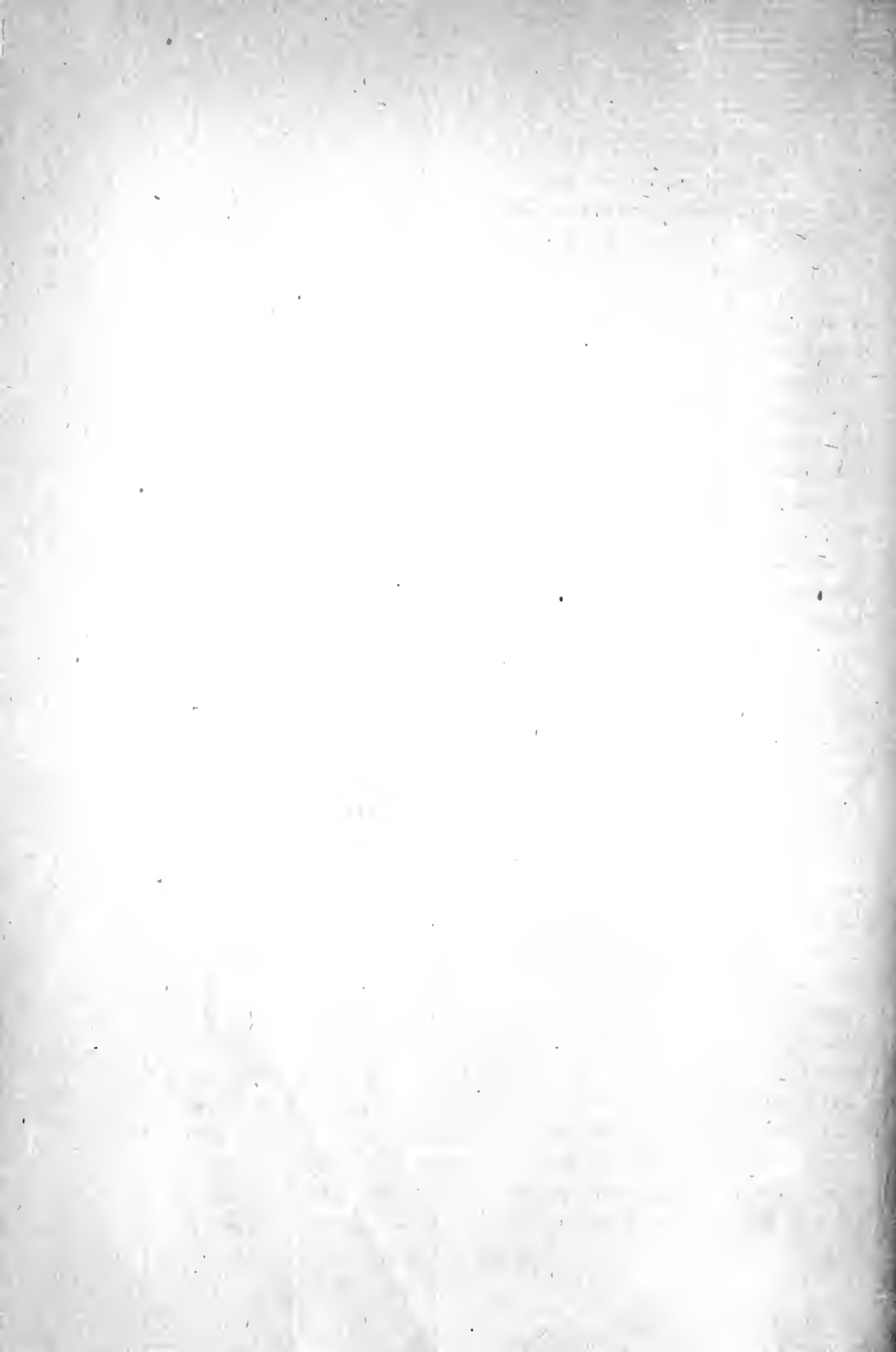
And therefore we may quite safely assume that an Italian story, whose approximate form we possess in C. P. 149, was in the original, or translation, Chaucer's immediate source. But we have accounted for the form of this story in the preceding pages, and so we may trace our line surely back to the East, and probably through the Arabic to the Persian. There, to make a final summary, we find a form of the story, the first Persian, which seems to lie in the direct path of ascent. In it we have a union of two tales. One is the Christ and the evil man story of unknown origin; the other comes directly from the *Jātaka* book, and will probably never be traced farther.

I will take one paragraph more to call attention to an interesting analogue of "The Pardoner's Tale" which does not seem to have been noticed. Kipling's *First Jungle Book* contains the story—one of his best—of "The King's Ankus." Mowgli goes to the old city Cold Lairs with Kaa, the python. There they find a vast treasure in an underground chamber, guarded by a cobra. Mowgli takes a ruby-headed ankus, and is warned by the cobra that it will cause death. He tires of it and throws it away. The next night, with Bagheera, the panther, he follows the trail of a man who has carried it off. First they find a villager slain by the arrow of a Gond, who has disappeared with the ankus; then the body of the Gond, and the trail of three men. After a little while they come upon the dead body of one of them, and a little farther on the corpses of the others, the ankus beside them, and on the dead fire the remnant of a poisoned loaf. Here is the old poisoning story again, and it seems most probable that this

particular plot was found in India and goes back by eastern steps. For it is interesting to see that it seems to preserve the trailing of the Bodhisattva, in which he found first the dead brahmin, then the five hundred dead thieves, then the two hundred and fifty, and so on to the two last, one slain in the bush, the other poisoned beside the wealth. Next to Chaucer's, Kipling's telling of the story is the best, but for rapidity of narration, vividness, and beauty the poet wins easily among all this host of competitors.

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BEN JONSON'S PROBABLE AUTHORSHIP OF SCENE 2,
ACT IV, OF FLETCHER'S "BLOODY BROTHER."

THE powerful tragedy of *The Bloody Brother*, on the story of Rollo, Duke of Normandy, is printed in the works of Beaumont and Fletcher as their joint production, but is universally admitted to be one of the plays in which Beaumont had no share. The drama, nevertheless, is not generally supposed to be the unassisted production of Fletcher. His collaborator is usually believed to have been Ben Jonson, a theory strongly accredited by the circumstance of the first edition of the drama, printed in 1639, having borne upon the title-page the initials B. J. F.; although in the next edition, published in the following year, the piece is ascribed to Fletcher alone. A considerable share in it has been claimed for Massinger; Mr. Fleay and Professor Herford confine Jonson's participation to the second scene of the fourth act. Mr. Arthur Bullen, whose standard edition of Beaumont and Fletcher has not yet reached *The Bloody Brother*, thus gives his opinion in his article on Fletcher in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: "A plausible view is that *The Bloody Brother* was written in the first instance by Fletcher and Jonson, and that it was revised by Massinger on occasion of its revival at Hampton Court in January 1636-7." We do not propose to inquire whether other scenes may be traced to Jonson's hand besides the one allowed to be his by Fleay and Herford, or whether there is sufficient reason for attributing any part of the piece to Massinger. Our object is to strengthen the evidence for Jonson's authorship of the second scene of the fourth act, by showing that this scene reveals an erudition greater than any contemporary dramatist can be supposed to have possessed. Milton, it will be remembered, writing in rare Ben's lifetime, picks out learning as his most distinctive quality: "If Jonson's learned sock be on." We shall point out cogent—we do not say absolutely indisputable—evidence of the writer's acquaintance with an ancient Latin drama at that time known to very few. We shall also signalize the

remarkable exactness of his acquaintance with astrology. Alone among the poets—Dryden and professional astrologers excepted—who have handled this theme, he seems to have been thoroughly versed in the subject.

The ancient Latin play which has been referred to as probably known to the writer of the scene in *The Bloody Brother* ascribed to Ben Jonson, is one which before Jonson's time existed in printed shape in only two editions, but in 1619 became accessible to anyone who should provide himself, as Ben probably would, with the last and best edition of Plautus. It is the anonymous *Querolus*, or *Aulularia*, first published by Danielis in 1564, republished by Rittershusius in 1595, and printed for the third time in 1619 by Pareus at the end of his edition of Plautus. In the nineteenth century the play has been edited in 1829 by Klinkhåmer, who restored it to its original metrical form, and since by Peiper, and in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* by Havet, who has supplied a French prose translation. It is also the subject of a most entertaining essay, with translated specimens, in the *Horae dramaticae* of Thomas Love Peacock, which originally appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, and is reprinted in Sir Henry Cole's and the present writer's editions of Peacock's works.

The *Querolus* is a remarkable relic of antiquity, the sole witness to the existence of a Latin drama during the later ages of the empire. From its mention of *solidi*, first coined under Constantine, it would appear not to be earlier than that emperor. It also appears from internal evidence to have been written during the commotions excited in Gaul by the Bagaudae, but as these continued more than a century, this testimony is deficient in chronological precision. The particularity of the reference, however, countenances the conjecture that the play was written in Gaul, where, throughout the fourth century, literature was active, if hardly to be called flourishing. If, as has been deemed, a passage of singular obscurity is to be understood as a veiled satire upon the rapacity and venality of high officials, this might denote that the play was written at a time when an emperor commonly resided in Gaul; while the attitude of unquestioning faith in the

old religion might induce us to place it as early in the fourth century as possible. Perhaps the reign of Constans (337-50 A. D.) would be a probable date.

Without pretensions to poetry, originality, or subtlety in the delineation of character, *Querolus* is an excellent little play, throughout lively, clever, and amusing. Like the *Aulularia* of Plautus, after which it is sometimes incorrectly entitled, it takes its plot from the idea of a treasure buried in a house and unknown to the occupant, but has no other affinity to that play except that the prologue of both is spoken by the tutelary deity, the *lar familiaris*, who expounds the situation, and foreshadows the action of the piece. Euclio, the father of Querolus, has buried a treasure in his house, unknown to his son. Dying abroad, he has intrusted the secret to his friend Mandrogerus, and given the latter a letter empowering him to claim half as a reward for revealing the treasure to Querolus. Mandrogerus, however, a knave not entirely destitute of redeeming qualities, determines to obtain the whole, and is introduced near the beginning of the drama plotting to this end with two other rogues, Sycophanta and Sardanapalus. Here the resemblance to *The Bloody Brother* comes in. The tragic element in that powerful but generally gloomy play is relieved by a comic episode, the humors of a mendacious crew of vagabond astrologers and fortune-tellers, whom the villain of the piece renders accessory to his designs. The scene (Act IV, scene 2) attributed to Ben Jonson represents these worthies in conclave, deploring their impecunious condition and the hardness of the times, and indirectly exposing and castigating their own rascality with abundant *vis comica*. This is the exact counterpart of the scene in the *Querolus*, where the worthlessness of the interlocutors is humorously exhibited by themselves, save that the affluent genius of the English poet has made him exuberant where the Latin dramatist is content with few and simple touches.

In *The Bloody Brother* the knaves are introduced discussing their affairs *en petit comité*:

Fiske: Come, we are stark naught all; bad is the best of us;
Four of the seven deadly spots we are:

Besides our lechery, we are envious,
 And most, most gluttonous when we have it thus,
 Most covetous when we want it; then our boy,
 He is a fifth spot, sloth, and he undoes us.

The boy, Pippeau, turns around smartly upon his accuser, and in defending himself lays bare still more of the iniquities of the brotherhood. The conversation continues in this strain until a sudden turn is given to it and to the fortunes of the interlocutors by the entry of Latorche, who sees his way to make them instruments in affairs of state. The idea of the corresponding scene in the *Querolus* is substantially the same, but the management is different. Mandrogerus and his satellites have devised a scheme for obtaining the treasure, in pursuance of which the arch-rogue keeps in the background, and the accomplices fall into conversation respecting the preternatural skill of an almost omniscient magus, to wit, Mandrogerus himself, in such fashion as to be overheard by Querolus, as he issues from his house disposed to credit anything supernatural, in consequence of the conversation he has been holding with the domestic spirit, his family *lar*, who has greatly mystified him by ambiguous prophecies, all of which, however, come true. Overhearing, as it is intended he should, the conversation of the minor knaves, he expresses a desire to be made acquainted with its marvelous subject, the wonder-working magician, whom they represent as a personal stranger, only known to them by his reputation. At this moment Mandrogerus opportunely appears, pacing in a brown study. Summoned to give a test of his skill, he proceeds to expose the iniquities of Sycophanta and Sardanapalus, with whom he is supposed to be unacquainted, just as the fortune-tellers show one another up in *The Bloody Brother*. We give a portion of the scene in Peacock's version:

Mand.: I know none of you three
 By any previous knowledge.

Sard.: That is certain.

Mand.: First, then, to thee. Thy name is Sardanapalus:
 Poor and low-born.

Sard.: 'Tis so.

Mand.: A poor man's child,
 Mocked with a royal name.

Sard.: I can't deny it.

Mand.: An idler and a glutton: petulant:

Calamitous thyself, and a calamity

To all who know thee.

Sard.: Eh! Mandrogerus.

I did not ask thee to proclaim my vices.

Mand.: I may not lie. What hast thou more to ask?

Sard.: I have heard too much already. If thou hast

Aught more, reserve it for my private hearing.

Syc.: Now to my turn, Mandrogerus, tell my fortune,

So much of it as may be good: no more.

Mand.: I must begin from the beginning. Thou

Art Sycophanta, and of noble birth.

Syc.: 'Tis true.

Mand.: A worthless subject from the first.

Syc.: Alas!

Mand.: Pressed down by wrongs, compassed by perils

From steel, and fire, and water.

Syc.: It would seem

That thou hadst lived with me.

Mand.: Nought of thine own¹

Is left to thee, but much of other men's.

Syc.: Too much, too much. Pray favour me no further.

Querolus is now eager to make trial of the magician, who seems to be fully justifying the encomiums which he has heard, or, as he erroneously deems, overheard, from the conversation of Sardanapalus and Sycophanta:

I have known magi and astrologers;

But never one like this. Soon as he sees you

He calls you by your name: expounds your parents,

Slaves, family: the history of your life:

All you have done, and will do.

The rogues in *The Bloody Brother* similarly endeavor to impress Latorche with a fitting sense of the pre-eminence of *their* wizard:

Rusee: We shall hardly draw

Him from his chair.

Latorche: Tell him he shall have gold.

Fiske: O, such a syllable would make him forswear

Ever to breathe in your sight.

Latorche: How, man?

¹ *Aes alienum.*

Fiske :

Sir, he,

If you do please to give him anything,
Must have it conveyed under a paper,

Rusee : Or left behind some book in his study, or in some old wall

Fiske : Where his familiars

May tell him of it, and that pleases him, sir.

Ben Jonson is embroidering a rich humor upon the simple tissue of the old dramatist. His astrology also is more accurate than that of his predecessor, whose acquaintance with the science was probably limited to its terms of art. Mandrogerus, the better to overawe Querolus, professes to cast his horoscope—a sheer impossibility if he were not informed of the time of birth:

Mand. : Mars now is trigon. Saturn looks to Venus.

Jupiter is quadrate. Mercury is wroth with him.

The sun is round. The moon is in her spring.¹

I have combined thy genealogy.

This is little better than jargon, and could at most only have described what astrologers term a horary figure. It is no doubt quite good enough for Querolus, to whom a horary figure and a nativity are all one. The writer of the scene in *The Bloody Brother*, although, as we cannot but think, reminiscent of the passage, goes to work in a much more scientific manner. It is remarkable how little knowledge of astrology has really been possessed by the writers who have made imaginative use of it. Scott, in his *Guy Mannering*, gets away from the subject as quickly as he can; and Schiller and George Eliot, though introducing personages supposed to be not merely astrologers, but expositors and vindicators of astrology, put nothing into their mouths but strings of vague generalities. Not so Fletcher's coadjutor in *The Bloody Brother*; if not an astrologer himself, he has at all events got the subject up most thoroughly. The duke's geniture being shown to the principal astrologer, with whom we have already been made acquainted as one objecting to receive gold unless deposited by familiar spirits behind his books or in a hole in the wall, but who is as well versed in the fundamental maxims of his mystery as he is unprincipled in the application of them, he exclaims:

¹ Increasing in light.

Norb.: I see it; see the planets,
 Where, how they are disposed; the Sun and Mercury,
 Mars with the Dragon's tail in the third house,
 And Pars Fortunæ in the Imo Coeli,
 Then Jupiter in the twelfth, the Cacodaemon.

 The geniture nocturnal, longitude
 At twenty-one degrees, the latitude
 At forty-nine and ten minutes. How are the Cardines?
Fiske: Libra in twenty-four, forty-four minutes.

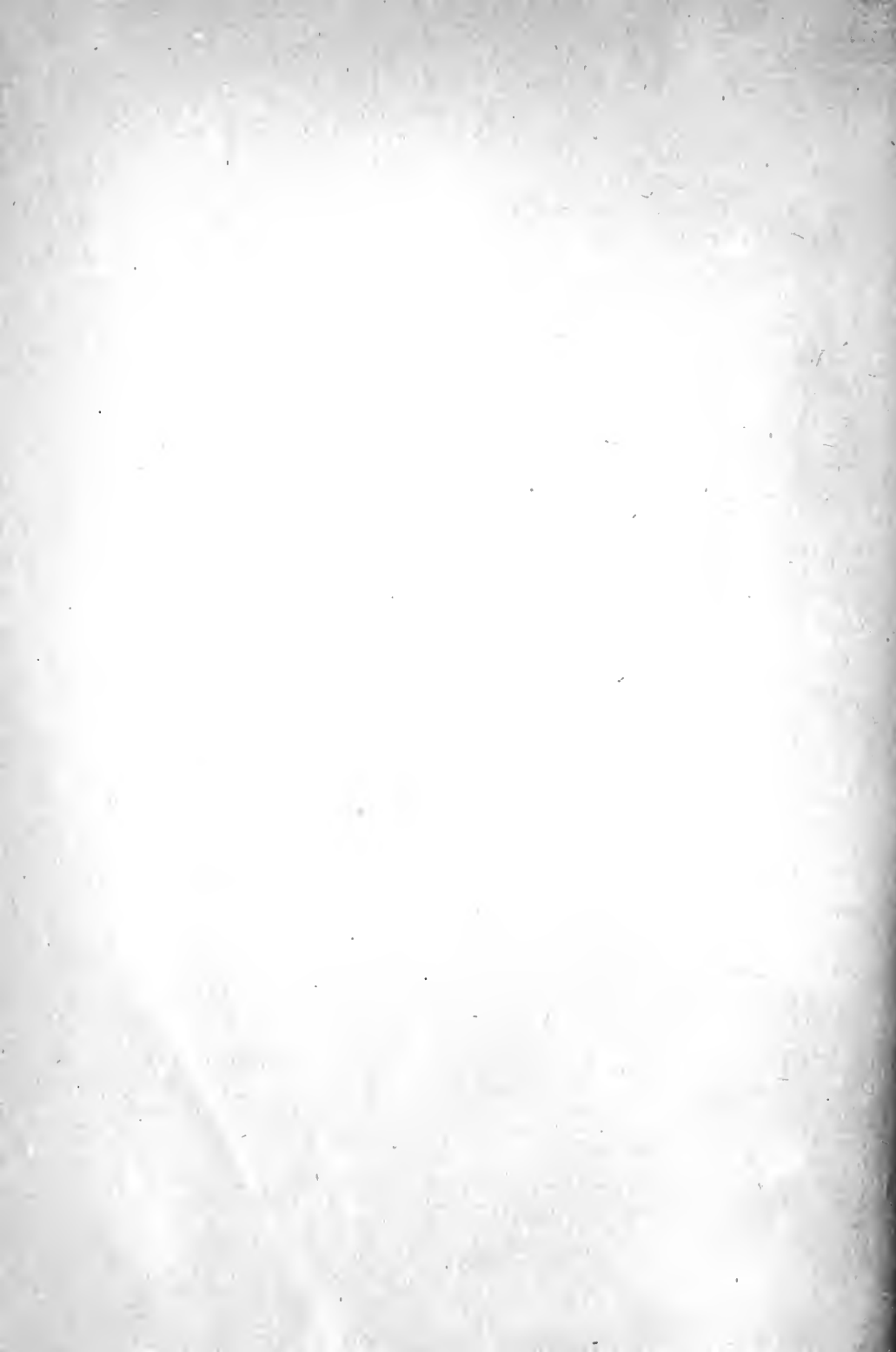
Not only is the technical language of astrology accurately preserved, but the latitude and longitude of Caen, where the duke's birth took place, are given with entire correctness, the latter being reckoned from the meridian of Hierro, one of the Canary Islands, as it usually was in Ben Jonson's time. The fact that it would not be so reckoned at the time of the action of *The Bloody Brother* would not disturb a Jacobean dramatist. All the professional talk among the astrologers is equally correct in its employment of terms of art and its references to Arabian astrological authorities, "Messahalal, Zael,¹ or Alkindus." It seems to us unlikely that this erudition was merely got up for the occasion. Much less would have amply served the purposes of the stage. The author was as well acquainted with astrology as (if indeed, as we trust we have rendered probable, he knew the obscure *Querolus*), he must have been with classical literature. There is no dramatist of the age in whom such various knowledge is so likely to have been combined as Ben Jonson, whose authorship of this admirable scene, which bears few traces of Fletcher's peculiar versification, is probable on other grounds.

We have not considered the question whether any other scenes in the play should be attributed to Jonson. It will no doubt be examined by Mr. Bullen. Nor need we follow out the action of the *Querolus*, except by the assurance that the denouement is entirely agreeable to poetical justice.

R. GARNETT.

LONDON.

¹ All editions read *Lael*; but this name occurs nowhere else; while *Zael* or *Sael* was a distinguished Arabian astrologer whose works were translated into Latin. The correction was made a few years ago by a correspondent of the *Athenæum*.



ON THE FORMS OF BETROTHAL AND WEDDING CEREMONIES IN THE OLD-FRENCH ROMANS D' AVENTURE.

"Amurs n'est pruz, se n'est egals."— *Equitan*, v. 141.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

THE compositions, known in French literature as *Romans d'Aventure*, flourished at a time dating from the last quarter of the twelfth to the closing decades of the thirteenth century.¹ During this period, of which the greatest part was occupied by the reign of Louis IX, the Roman Church succeeded finally to supreme control of the jurisdiction of marriage.² From a stage where the church had to depend upon the civil authority for the maintenance of religious discipline such as was administered under Pepin and Charlemagne³ to a stage where the church became all-sufficient in matters of its own government, represents a space of five centuries. At the end of this period came the fourth Lateran Council where publicity of the marriage ceremony was definitely ordained and the institution of banns was fixed by canonical law.⁴ For all this, a marriage contracted without the benediction of the church possessed entire validity, as a civil contract, though the church looked upon such unions with a frown.⁵

¹ Professor F. M. Warren sets the period of excellence of the *Romans d'Aventure* between the years 1190 and 1250 A. D., although, as he suggests, Philippe de Beaumanoir wrote *La Manékine* and *Blonde d'Oxford* after the latter date; cf. *Modern Language Association Proceedings*, Vol. II, p. xvii (Baltimore, 1887). Cf. also G. PARIS, *Manuel d'ancien Français*, §§ 51 and 65-68 (Paris, 1890).

² Cf. L. BEAUCHET, *Étude historique sur les formes de la célébration du mariage dans l'ancien droit français* (Paris, 1888), p. 14.

³ For the relation of church to state under Charlemagne cf. ALLEN, *Christian History* (Boston, 1883), Second Period, Vol. I, p. 11: "Of Charlemagne's capitularies or imperial laws, fully one-half may be set down as dealing with matters that . . . belong purely to the spiritual power."

⁴ In 1215 A. D.; cf. the ruling of the church in *Conciliorum omnium generalium et provincialium collectio regia* (Paris, 1644), Vol. XXVIII, p. 204: "Cum inhibitis copulae coniugalibus sit in tribus gradibus revocata, eam in aliis volumus distincte observari. . . . Quare specialem quorundam locorum consuetudinem ad alia generaliter prorogando statuimus ut, cum matrimonia fuerint contrahenda, in ecclesiis per presbyteros publice proponantur. competenti termino praefinito ut infra illum qui voluerit et valuerit legitimum impedimentum opponat."

⁵ Cf. E. DUMÉNIL, *Études d'archéologie et d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1862), p. 6, for the mediæval doggerel of the common people who rendered the maxim: *Consensus facit nuptias* by:

That a marriage, consummated outside the auspices of the church, was nevertheless valid, is explained by the fact that in both canon and civil law the condition of a marriage contract was the mutual consent of the principals. The civil law read: *Ubi non est consensus non est matrimonium*; those who conformed thereto could not be denied the privileges of the church.¹ Still, the early church attitude toward marriage, that of a sacrament,² and the constant watchfulness of the civil authorities to protect the sanctity of the marital pledge tended to place the functions, both of betrothal and of marriage solemnization, in the hands of the priests.³ So that, although the civil law criterion of valid union was the simple consent of the principals,⁴ the growth of the spiritual power was such that, eventually, the marriage of a woman to a man came to mean a religious rite, without the sanctification of which by the church, validity was impaired.⁵ This view is further confirmed by the fact that the formulæ of nuptial blessing pronounced by the priest have been changed, in their wording, to read as an exclusive and indispensable benediction.⁶

Boire, manger, coucher ensemble
Est mariage, ce me semble.

The nobles also shared this same idea of license; cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 224-27:

Il ne pensent pas a lor ames;
Si n'i ont cloches ne moustiers,
Qu'il n'en est mie granz mestiers,
Ne chapelains fors les oiseaus.

¹ From earliest times it was allowed that a man could be married outside the church and without its benediction and yet not suffer excommunication therefor. Cf. BEAUCHET, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 2, in his references to the Councils of Toledo (400 A. D.), Mayence (815 A. D.), and of Tibur (895 A. D.). The decision upon this matter in the first provincial council of Toledo is given thus: "Casterum qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur, tamen ut unius mulieris aut uxoris aut concubinae sit conjunctione contentus."

² Cf. TERTULLIANUS, *contra Marcion*, lib. v, cap. 18; *ibid.*, *ad uxorem*, lib. iv, cap. viii.

³ Cf. AMBROSIIUS, *de Abraham*, lib. iv, cap. 7.

⁴ Cf. B. BRISSON, *De jure connubiorum*, in Vol. VIII, col. 1098 D, of the *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum* (Utrecht, 1698).

⁵ Cf. J.-A. BRUTAILS, *Étude sur la condition des populations rurales de Roussillon au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1891), p. 117: "Le mariage était, avant tout, aux yeux de nos pères un sacrement: c'est assez dire quel rôle le droit canonique a joué en ces matières."

⁶ The priest, originally, uttered these words before the man and woman at the altar: "Matrimonium per vos contractum, ego tanquam minister Dei, confirmo, ratifico et benedico in nomine Patris," etc.; this formula does not date prior to the thirteenth century. The formula of the present time has these words: "Vos in matrimonium conjungo," etc., which arose from a confusion of the civil contract and the sacrament. Cf. T.-M.-J. GOUSSET *Théologie dogmatique*, Vol. II, cap. 2, cited in BEAUCHET, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

The requirement of a church ceremony for marriage did not exist in civil law during the period of the *Romans d'Aventure*, nor was there any such obligation until the *Ordonnances de Blois* (under Henri III, 1579) which prescribed a public service.

The ceremonials of marriage as described in the *Romans d'Aventure* are the historical outgrowth of three distinct traditions, namely, the Latin, the Teutonic, and the Romanist Christian. At the time of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Latin¹ and Teutonic elements had produced the completed French ceremonies of the *sponsalia* or preliminary contract of marriage, while to the Christian belonged the functions of the *matrimonium* or the sacrament of marriage. The *sponsalia* were the secular and the *matrimonium* the spiritual phases of mediæval marriage; the former had to do more strictly with the civil, the latter with the church authorities. In the *Romans d'Aventure* each function has its own observances and separate character. From the foregoing it can be seen how, by degrees, the increased prestige of the church² brought about the absorption of parts of the *sponsalia* ceremony into the sphere of the *matrimonium* formalities with the purpose of imbuing the whole marriage celebration with a religious spirit and of ridding that ceremony of any taint of barter which profane tradition had always attached to nuptials both in Latin and Teutonic history.³ Indeed, the influence of the church has prevailed to such an extent in the ceremonies of marriage that *sponsalia* and *matrimonium* have been changed about in importance as compared with their position at the period of the Frankish immigrations.⁴ Approximately, the midpoint of this long transition marks the era of the *Romans d'Aventure*.

¹ Cf. A. DANTIER, *Les femmes dans la société chrétienne* (Paris, 1879, 2 vols.), Vol. I, p. 309.

² Cf. LAVISSE ET RAMBAUD, *Histoire générale* (Paris, 1893), Vol. II, pp. 253-65.

³ Cf. A. BOUCHE-LECLERCQ, *Manuel des institutions romaines* (Paris, 1886), p. 377. Cf. also *infra*, p. 21, n. 2; at Rome the idea of purchase in marriage expressed itself only in symbol. The *dos* (called *dotarium* in the barbarian laws) designated the liberality of the husband to the wife, and was indispensable to legitimate marriage, distinguishing that from the concubinate by the fact that the *dos* was given. So the church (*Concil. Arelat.*, 524 A. D., § I, 4), adopted the same form of *sponsalia*: "Nullum sine dote fiat conjugium; juxta possibilitatem fiat dos, nec sine publicis nuptiis quisquam nubere vel uxorem ducere praesumat."

⁴ Cf. ROBERTSON's statement in his *Essays* (London, 1878), p. 173: "We now give the name betrothal to the wedding of our forefathers, having transferred the older name and greater importance of the *desponsatio et dotatio* to the *traditio et sanctificatio* or the giving away. The wedding was the civil contract, deriving its name from the *weds*, pledges

TUTELAGE.

The status of a noblewoman in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as regards her marriage, was of a political rather than a domestic character. In the feudal *régime*, after the period when the fief had become hereditary, the difficulty arose of maintaining a domain secure, in case the successor to the fief was a minor or an unmarried woman. The patrimonial fief system vested a power in a father over his daughter, similar in nature to the control of the *paterfamilias* in the Roman family. And, here, it should be noted that the later feudal period shows a return to Roman ideas of guardianship as against the Germanic family system represented by early feudalism. Both the paternal power over a woman and the recognition of a sister's right to succeed, equally with a brother, to her parent's estate, are traceable to Roman influence. A daughter who married into a family outside the dominion of a *seigneur*, under whom she had hitherto been subject, was compelled to renounce her patrimony, in view of her marriage.

To renounce, therefore, implies that a woman was possessed of the right of succession¹ and with the recognition of that right came other privileges which meant the amelioration of woman's position before the law. Such changes were brought about very slowly, so that even at the twelfth century the marriage of noble women was a purely political affair conducted under the auspices of the suzerain concerned, who granted a woman's body, in the same breath in which he bestowed the rights and duties of the fief which went with her, upon the man he had selected.² In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there is the testimony of the *Romans d'Aventure* presenting plainly, as they do, the conditions of later feudal times, especially with reference to women of noble rank. These romances do not make a woman so wholly object before her superiors as is the case with the *Chansons de*

or securities, that passed between the bridegroom and the parents, or the guardians, of the bride. The giving away represented the final completion of the marriage after the necessary arrangements had been concluded, and upon this conclusion . . . a priest was to be present in order to sanctify the legal union with the blessing of the Church."

¹ Cf. E. LABOULAYE, *Recherches sur la condition civile et politique des femmes depuis les Romains jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1843), pp. 210-15.

² P. PARIS, *Romans de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1877), Vol. V, p. 159.

Geste; on the contrary, the *Romans d'Aventure* represent noblewomen objecting forcibly to marriages thrust upon them and distasteful to them on account of the motive by which a suzerain was prompted to consummate these unions for his own material ends.¹ Such remonstrances, from their cogency and frequent occurrence, prove that the *Romans d'Aventure* portray a new period in which woman is no longer a mere subject of barter, as she once had been, but that she has emerged from the lowly condition where she was looked upon as a chattel in marriage transactions and has acquired a fair amount of independence.²

Abstractly considered, a woman of noble birth had had from early times an inherent right to accept or reject, at will, any proposition of marriage made to her or her guardians,³ but this right was not held sacred, it may with truth be said, at any part of the feudal period. As far back as the sixth century Chlotaire I declared null the authorizations obtained to marry women against their will.⁴ Numerous documents are extant which show that a father did not believe he had the power to marry his daughter, contrary to her own wishes, nor without consulting his lord and his own friends.⁵ Not seldom, the *Romans d'Aventure* present cases of a woman being allowed to accept or refuse an intended husband, even when the offer has been made by one whose word, if need be, could readily force her to a decision.⁶

A WOMAN IN THE TUTELAGE OF HER FATHER.

Under this rubric are to be found examples in the *Romans d'Aventure* which exhibit the nature of parental control in the

¹ Cf. R. ROSIÈRES, *Histoire de la société française au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1882), Vol. I p. 33.

² Cf. *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 9687-700; *Fergus*, vv. 215-22; *Escanor*, vv. 9310-19; *La Chastelaine de St. Gille*, vv. 218-25; the young woman's protest to her suitor:

La rage vous tint, ce me semble,
Quant vous à mon pere donastes
L'avoir de q(u)oi vous m'achatastes,
Ainsi comme je fusse une beste.

³ Cf. *Raoul de Cambrai*, vv. 6184-91, and L. GAUTIER, *La Chevalerie* (Paris, 1884), p. 345.

⁴ T. M. LEHÉROU, *Histoire des Institutions mérovingiennes et carolingiennes*, 2 vols (Paris, 1843-44), Vol. I, pp. 150, 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 151, 152.

⁶ Cf. *Comtesse de Pontieu*, vv. 84-93; *Floris et Liriope*, vv. 290-304; *Paris et Vienne*, p. 38; *Li Livre de Baudoyne*, p. 81.

Middle Ages.¹ A father's word could create or unmake a betrothal arbitrarily.² By virtue of the *mundium*³ which he held over his children he was, at one and the same time, their father and lord as well.⁴ On the other hand, the part played by a mother was insignificant in comparison; whether she concurred in her daughter's suit, or manifested disfavor of it, availed but little.⁵ Exceptionally, however, occasions present themselves in the poems now in question, where a mother's influence is brought to bear indirectly upon the subject of a suitor for her daughter, and with effect.

The wishes of a woman about to be married, and for whom a marriage is being arranged, are seldom respected or consulted.⁶ In order to elude her father, therefore, she connives with her lover, who has been thrust aside by her unwilling parent for another, to defeat her lord's purposes by a resort to ruse.⁷ An indulgent father is, now and then, represented as not mindful whether his daughter marries or not, and seemingly leaves her⁸ to

¹ Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 2905-09; *Joufrois*, vv. 3487-98, 3501-06; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 2211-13, 2229-34; *Flore et Jehanne*, p. 99 (*Bibl. Elzéu.*, 108, Paris, 1856); *L'Atre périlleux*, vv. 3784-88; *Galerent*, vv. 7655-63, 7669-72; *Comtesse de Ponthieu*, pp. 45, 46, A. DELVAU [ed.] (Paris, 1865); *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 5602-17; *La Manékine*, vv. 511-18, 522-24; *Escanor*, vv. 94-106; *Ipomédon*, vv. 87-95, 10449-60, 10520, 10521.

² Cf. *Flore et Jehanne*, p. 95, where, speaking of a father's power, it says: "il puet faire de sa fille sa volonte."

³ Cf. DU CANGE, *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.*, Vol. IV, p. 576, *sub voce*, and J. MICHELET, *Origines du droit français* (Paris, 1837), pp. 28, 29.

⁴ Cf. E. LABOULAYE, *op. cit.*, p. 15; cf. also, *L'Escoufle*, vv. 2168-75; and SEYNT GRAAL, ed. F. J. FURNIVALL (London, 1863): "Ie [Lamet] vous [Piers] requier dont," fait li rois lamer, "ke vous prenes ma fille a feme par ensi que je vous saisirai de toute ma terre." . . . "Sires" fait pierres "vous fesistes ma requeste de ce que ie plus desiroie, et pour chou que vous le fesistes, ferai ion chou ke vous requeres." Et li rois l'en merchie mult. Et fu la puchiele tout maintenant mandee si le flancha pierres et le prist a feme. Et le iour ke les nueches furent i vint li rois lues. En la chite d'orchanie furent les nueches grans et plenieres s'i demoura li rois .vij. iours.

⁵ Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 2869-2904; note the expression of the mother to her husband the emperor:

"Je sui feme qui n'en puis mais,
Si le m'estuet souffrir em pais."

Ibid., vv. 2897, 2898; cf. also *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 4343 ff.

⁶ Cf. *L'Atre périlleux*, vv. 3784-88; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 2229-34; *Chevalier as deus espées*, vv. 4509-31.

⁷ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 3058-75, where an eloping pair make good their escape by means of disguise in bearskins. Also in *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 5600-604, two young women concert a plan of evasion from home in order to meet their lovers who are some distance away.

⁸ Cf. *Escanor*, vv. 94-106. For an example also of this same nature in epic poetry the passage in *Raoul de Cambrai*, vv. 5794-801, will serve well; vide T. WRIGHT, *Womankind in Western Europe* (London, 1869), pp. 111, 112, for remarks on this passage. Also, cf. P. VIOLLET, *Histoire du droit civil français* (Paris, 1880), p. 411, note; and *supra*, p. 5, n. 6.

herself on the subject. Such cases are rare in the *Romans d'Aventure*.

The arbitrary character of a father's will concerning his marriageable daughter is shown nowhere in the poems now under discussion to be so truculent as in the example of a king of Hungary who falls in love with his own daughter and makes as if to marry her by force.¹ The young woman, learning that her father's council of barons acquiesces and that permission for her marriage is about to arrive from the Pope, secures a heavy knife out of the royal kitchen, and, with it, severs her left hand. The provenience of this poem being oriental² it will not serve as an example of fact, although the accessory circumstances of the story give to the narrative an air of verisimilitude even on French soil.³

A WOMAN IN THE TUTELAGE OF HER BROTHER.

Feudal life required that, once the head of the family was dead, the eldest son assume the function of parental control. A noblewoman, therefore, who had lost her father, was at her brother's disposal in marriage, since to him had been transferred the *mundium*. By means of this right over her he could place her in the hands of whom he might see fit.⁴ Naturally, this brother desired to marry her to one who would preserve well the fief which, with her hand in marriage, passed as *dot* over to him. One example in particular shows how several nobles, in adjacent domains, having expressed outwardly a desire to marry a certain noblewoman, grew angry with her brother because he had not acceded to the request of any one of them. Instead, her hand was proffered to a nobleman who, in the absence of the lord of the woman in question, had defended his estates from marauders and who, ultimately, received her in marriage, rather as a reward for material favors rendered. The ingratiating manner with which this guardian brother is represented in the poem to approach

¹ Cf. *La Manékine*, vv. 722-36.

² Cf. G. PARIS, *Littérature française au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1890), pp. 84 and 211; also vide H. SUCHIER, *S.A.T.F.* (1884), Vol. XIX, p. lxxv. Cf. also E. DU MÉRIL, *Floire et Blanceflor*, Introd., pp. cxli ff. (Paris, 1856), where the influence of decadent Greek literature upon early French poetry is treated.

³ Cf. R. ROSIÈRES, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-70.

⁴ Cf. *Ille et Galeron*, vv. 1430-74.

his sister about the marriage, and the seeming deference paid her, are no doubt explainable from her brother's motives.¹

As indicative of this same material element surrounding marriage considerations a romance² dated at least twenty years later than the time of *Ille et Galeron*³ just referred to, reveals a situation in which the woman to be married is disposed of by her brother to a knight who was to become a liegeman of the king according to the marriage contract, and also to receive thereby, in return for services which the knight had rendered her brother, the woman's hand in marriage.

Following along the course of time in which the *Romans d'Aventure* occur, another romance,⁴ illustrative of the point made above, may be noted whose date falls a score of years after the poem just cited. In this poem is presented a brother ready to offer his sister, together with a parcel of land, to a knight who has befriended him, and whom this brother desires to recompense for his timely deliverance from peril. Although the young woman's hand and her brother's lands are offered together in one to the knight, he, by exception, refuses in a courteous manner the property, but accepts the woman as an all-sufficient reward for his favors to her brother. Other examples are not wanting to demonstrate how, in a brother's hand, a marriageable sister went to serve his material ends.⁵ One case in point may be drawn from the last, in chronological order, of the *Romans d'Aventure*⁶ which evidences no change of attitude toward woman as compared with the example used above and occurring seven generations previously.⁷ The episode, from this the latest of the extant romances, recounts how a brother secures the privilege to marry a certain noblewoman of his choice, by yielding his own

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, vv. 952, 953 where it is to be noticed that Galeron has already refused the attentions of Rogelion, a nephew of a Breton lord. Cf. also *supra*, p. 5, n. 2.

² Cf. *Ipomédon*, between the dates A. D. 1174 and 1190; possibly 1185.

³ Ca. 1167 A. D.

⁴ *Guillaume de Palerne*, in the *S.A.T.F.*, Vol. XVIII, 1876; for the date of this poem vide p. xxii of this work.

⁵ *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 3079-89; this instance, however, portrays a subject acceding to a king's request simply. Also vide *Cléomadès*, vv. 17616-22, and *Escanor*, vv. 6661-70, and *Clarís et Laris*, vv. 7975-83.

⁶ Cf. *Sone de Nausay*, *Bibl. Litt. Ver. in Stuttgart*, Vol. CCXVI, p. 8.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 7, n. 3.

sister to the brother of the man from whom he has, in this way, obtained permission to marry the latter's sister. Heeding not at all his sister's feelings in the matter of her choice of a husband, the young man seals agreement to her marriage and, by sacrificing her interests, gains his own. The seven specimens of fraternal guardianship above referred to evince clearly what was the character of motive throughout appertaining to woman's welfare. Five out of the seven examples just given make her marriage a *quid pro quo* in the furtherance of her brother's purposes.

A WOMAN IN THE TUTELAGE OF FEUDAL SUPERIORS.

This subdivision of feudal guardianship concerns itself with the disposal of a woman in marriage when a lord or the advisory body of a ruler must execute this prerogative.¹ The contingencies incident to feudal life often brought a female vassal before her suzerain to be disposed of in marriage. As soon as feudal domains had been converted from concessions into patrimonies it devolved upon a suzerain to watch closely any possession within his confines where an heiress or a male minor held a fief. A woman, inheriting a fief, could not marry without the consent of her lord, who, moreover, might force her to marriage at her coming of age. If the lord paid no regard to this matter, when the heiress reached twelve years she was allowed to demand of him three noblemen to appear at his court, one of whom she had the right to choose.² In the *Romans d'Aventure*, while no direct instance of this privilege of an heiress is given, there are cases which illustrate sufficiently the relation of suzerain to vassal.³ The example occurs of an emperor⁴ who, desirous of requiting a nobleman for his valuable services as a *connétable*, gives him in return the hand of a noblewoman of Genoa. A messenger of the emperor appears before this noblewoman with a summons to appear at court, directly, for her marriage, upon which she has not been consulted at all previously. Then the emperor appoints

¹ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 6465-73; *L'Escoufle*, vv. 2255-90; *Messire Gauvain*, vv. 4325-36 and 5868-79.

² Cf. E. LABOULAYE, *op. cit.*, pp. 257, 258.

³ Cf. *Méragis de Portlesguez*, vv. 3833-39, and, as an interesting specimen from epic poetry, *vide Raoul de Cambrai*, vv. 5823-25, and vv. 6832-37.

⁴ Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 1673-89.

the day for the wedding and orders his counts and princes to attend. Examples similar to this recur throughout the *Romans d'Aventure* and need not be detailed.¹ One romance² shows how a king is besought by a royal parent to restore to him his daughter, who has run away to seek for her lover. The king addressed answers the father that the young woman in question is not within his power to restore, but had been placed under the control of the knight about to marry her.³

The subject of a king's or a nobleman's marriage found frequently a place in the consultations of a court council. Apparently the decision of such a body carried with it great weight as to the choice or rejection of a woman; for upon it depended the welfare of an entire country, or of whole fiefs within a country. It occurs in the *Romans d'Aventure* that a king, in addressing his council of barons with regard to the marriage he anticipates, speaks to them as his "lords and masters" who hold it in their power to confer or to keep back the favor he asks of them.⁴ To such a group of counsellors fell the duty of attending to any emergencies arising from accidental death of a king, as in the example of one poem which shows how a ruler was slain suddenly in a forest. The queen calls at once her barons together, proposing to them that they resume their lands from her. But the feudatories concur with the *sénéchal* of the late king, and aim to force her to marry again. The queen, however, in order to defeat their plan by remaining a widow, so the episode concludes, had to flee from her barons and keep out of their way.⁵

Already reference has been made to the circumscribed control exercised by a mother in marriage affairs.⁶ Occasionally she manifested a decided aversion to a suit proposed either by her husband for their daughter, or suggested by the daughter herself.⁷ Her opposition was futile. A rather extreme instance of the morose anger of a mother against her son is furnished by one

¹ Cf. *Escanor*, vv. 9280-310.

² Cf. *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 5510-18.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, v. 5512. The word used for control is *baillie*; for its significance in this connection cf. *Gaufrey*, vv. 7370-73.

⁴ Cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5125-30. Vide also *L'Escouffe*, vv. 2131 ff., where a king outplays his barons by securing their consent to a match before they are fully aware.

⁵ Cf. *Floriant et Florete*, 440-50.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 6, n. 2.

⁷ Cf. *Ipomédon*, vv. 907-15, and *L'Atre périlleux*, vv. 3755-82; *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 7867-47.

poem,¹ which relates how, on the very day of his marriage, she forsook him and went to live in a distant town, because she could not be reconciled to countenancing her son's marriage with one whom she considered to be a woman who had strayed by chance to the shores of her son's kingdom.² An example of resented guardianship is that where a noblewoman, a widow, is forced by her son, who assumes his father's rights over her, to marry, whether or no, a man of his own choosing.³

Less often, as compared with the *Chansons de Geste*, do ruptures of open disagreement occur in the *Romans d'Aventure* between a seigneur and his vassal about the disposal of a daughter in marriage. The time is already far past to admit of scenes such as are found in the poems of the epic age.⁴ On the contrary, in the *Romans d'Aventure*, a king may be observed seeking permission to marry his subject's daughter or sister, or else it is the scene of a ruler unwilling to break his promise, made to a vassal, of a woman's hand in marriage.⁵ The manners of the epic age are stamped by truculence; the age of the romances, as has been hinted at above, did not wholly rid itself of brusqueness, though the severity of its manners was tempered greatly through the growing influence of the church and its adoration of the Mother of Christ. Woman's domestic and political status owed the amelioration it received in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to this influence.⁶

BETROTHAL.

The relative importance in the Middle Ages of the function of the *sponsalia* and that of the *matrimonium* has been noticed in the introduction to this study.⁷ The narrations in the *Romans d'Aventure* dealing with engagements state, usually, that an agreement to marry occurs between a man and a woman, either directly in person, or, in case they are absent from each other,

¹ Cf. *La Manékine*, vv. 2069-94.

² Cf. *ibid.*, vv. 2055-62.

³ Cf. *Cléomadès*, v. 17925, the expression: "Ou vousist ele ou non."

⁴ Cf. *Garin le Loherain*, vv. 2089-2130.

⁵ Cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 3041-58.

⁶ For progress in ideas of refinement vide H. MICHELANT, *Guillaume de Palerne*, S.A.T.F. (1876), Vol. V, p. ii; E. DUMÉRIL, *Floire et Blanceflor* (Paris, 1856), p. clvi; and C. HIPPEAU, *Amadas et Ydoine* (Paris, 1863), pp. iv-vi.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 3, n. 4.

the agreement to marry occurs by proxy.¹ The proposal of marriage is generally addressed by the man to the woman in exalted language.² If, as sometimes it happens, a woman takes occasion to propose marriage to the man, she is generally represented as either struggling against her impulses, or, if not that, is described as being refused outright, by the person addressed, for her abruptness.³

After the man has offered himself to the woman in marriage and has added, besides, promises of protection to her person and lands, or has given his word to increase her wealth,⁴ then the woman, as a rule, acquiesces and their engagement is consummated. At the conclusion of a proposal from a woman a knight naturally rejects her hand, or else, if unwilling to offend her, expresses his thanks for her words and manages to evade her afterwards.⁵ The scenes where a betrothal occurs vary with the narratives of each poet; it may be an orchard or a bedroom or the banquet hall of a castle where the lovers meet to plight their troth. The language of the wooer is as courteous and winning as he can command.⁶ After swearing by *druërie*⁷ and offering himself with all that he has in return for the woman's love, the man extends to her his hand,⁸ or else gives her a kiss,⁹ and, at times, the lovers exchange rings.¹⁰

Of the romances which portray a woman making an offer of love to a man, the first, in order of time, is of the twelfth century,

¹ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 2565 ff., and *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10399-440.

² For examples of elegance in diction *vide Claris et Laris*, vv. 7919-64, and *Richars li Biaus*, vv. 4975-5040.

³ Cf. *Fergus*, vv. 2583-619, where the regret of the knight is referred to a regret at having rebuffed the woman for her advances, because his conduct in so doing was contrary to his vow of chivalry.

⁴ Cf., e. g., *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1101-10 and 1116-18.

⁵ Cf. the following romances for examples of a man proposing marriage to a woman: *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10169-74, *Escanor*, vv. 9964-75, and vv. 10249-50; *Méragis de Portlesguez*, vv. 450-53; *L'Atre périlleux*, vv. 3755-64; *Chevaliers as deus espées*, vv. 2872, 2873; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 319-23; *L'Escoufle*, vv. 4498-501. These romances show the woman proposing to the man: *Richars li Biaus*, vv. 1693-701; *Blancandin*, vv. 3452-62; *Fergus*, vv. 1927-38; *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 697-708.

⁶ The form of the verb is always second person plural of address, either from the man or the woman. Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 2360-69.

⁷ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10169-74; *L'Atre périlleux*, vv. 3755-64.

⁸ Cf. *Jouffrois de Poitiers*, vv. 2097-105.

⁹ Cf. *Galerent*, vv. 2258-60.

¹⁰ Cf. *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 319-23.

about the middle.¹ The poet shows her in an endeavor to make a proposal which, however, she foregoes owing to scruples of etiquette. From a poem of the thirteenth century, or more than one hundred years later than the example above referred to, a scene is given where the heroine calls upon God to help her declare her love to the hero. She does not make a proposal, in fact, but denounces the idea of such a thing finally.² In spite of these examples of modesty singled out from the beginning and middle of the *Romans d'Aventure* period, there are two separate instances of a woman proposing to a man, without hesitation, in the last poem of this class, which falls in the fourteenth century.³ There are, even in the thirteenth-century poems, instances of women proposing marriage to the man of their choice, although this cannot serve to prove what was the condition of etiquette in real life.⁴ For simplicity of manners in the Middle Ages a clear example is given in a poem near the beginning of the thirteenth century: a young woman yields to the confession of her heart to the hero of the story, whom she awakes, in the dead of night, from sleep, she being powerless to conceal longer the passion which was consuming her, and, turning from her own bedroom into his, reveals her love. This phase, however, is wide of the purpose here and has to do with manners rather than the ceremonial form of engagement.⁵

Mention is frequently made in the romances of a church celebrant formally solemnizing betrothals. The Pope is shown, by one poet, presiding at a betrothal.⁶ Archbishops,⁷ bishops,⁸ and chaplains⁹ also superintend this function. In a castle where

¹ Cf. *Ille et Galeron* in W. FOERSTER'S *Romanische Bibliothek* (Halle, 1891), Vol. VII, p. 2.

² Cf. *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 3930-33:

Onques n'oi dire en ma vie
Que dame priast chevalier;
Et se je faz cestui prier,
Bien m'en porra tenir por fole.

³ Cf. *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 15091-105 and 17342-58.

⁴ Cf. W. SÖDERHJELM, in *Romania*, Vol. XV, pp. 581, 582 (1886).

⁵ Cf. *Fergus*, vv. 1927-38; vide also *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 1122-68, where the poet lessens the harshness of effect by presenting a scene of proposal from a woman in the form of a dream.

⁶ Cf. *Ille et Galeron*, vv. 3367-89.

⁷ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, v. 10460.

⁸ Cf. *Comte d'Artois*, p. 11, l. 16; *Galerent*, vv. 6458-61.

⁹ Cf. *La Manékine*, v. 2031.

engagements usually took place, were to be found chaplains for this purpose and, if necessary, to attend to the celebration of marriage as well.¹ Betrothal ceremonies before a priest do not occur in a church,² but are mentioned in connection with a chapel.³ Only the important betrothals of people of station seemed to require the presence of a priest or chaplain connected with a castle. There was no law which demanded a priest to preside at betrothals. All that was necessary to validity of promise to marry was, from of old, that the bride should be present with her relatives at the ceremony of betrothal; further, the consent of both man and woman was obligatory and the contract, if broken, subjected either to a fine of compensation.⁴ For the reason that this agreement was a secular one, it needed not to be, therefore, consummated in a church.

Instances of betrothals conducted without the intervention of a priest but, in lieu of him, through the agency of one outside the church, give evidence of the time when a father's authority, or that of a king, sufficed in the stead of the priestly function, when as yet only the patriarchal function existed.⁵ These secular betrothals reveal great clearness in the form of wording employed by the poets⁶ and two narratives, in particular, appear to be modeled after ritual.⁷ The romances most often exhibit a father in charge of his daughter's betrothal, when no priest is

¹ Cf. E.-E. VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française* (Paris, 1869), Vol. III, p. 103.

² That is to say in a *mostier*, or *glise*.

³ Cf. *Raoul de Cambrai*, vv. 3683, 3684.

⁴ Cf. L. J. KOENIGSWARTER, *Histoire de l'organisation de la famille* (Paris, 1851), pp. 122, 123, where is cited the decree (*titl. lxx*) of the Salic Laws. Cf., also, *Hugues Capet*, vv. 4186 ff.

⁵ Cf. E. WESTERMARCK, *The History of Human Marriage* (London, 1901), 3d ed., pp. 426, 427. Cf. also the *Aulularia*, of PLAUTUS, II, 2 (Goetz et Schoell, Lips., 1898), pp. 126, 127.

⁶ Cf. the ceremony presided over by King Arthur's wife in *Cligès*, vv. 2340-47:

La reine andeus les anbrace
Et fet a l'un de l'autre don.
Au riant dit: Je t'abandon,
Alixandre, le cors t'amie.
Bien sai qu'au cuer ne fauz tu mie.
Qui qu'an face chiere ne groing,
L'un de vos deus a l'autre doing.
Tien tu le tuen et tu la toe.

⁷ Cf. *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, vv. 128-32, and also *Gaydon*, vv. 10, 847-57, which, though a *Chanson de Geste*, is a rare example of the point in question. Cf. also *Raoul de Cambrai*, vv. 5833-38.

at hand.¹ In a Franco-Provençal story of the thirteenth century² is given a betrothal scene at early morning: the suitor repairs with the young woman's father to her chamber, and there he is presented to her; the bride is also presented to the young man and her consent to marriage is secured. The formal introduction of the man to the woman and the woman to the man, and the rest of the ceremony, conclude with the shaking of hands of the pair and a word of farewell from the woman to her departing lover.³

Illustrations from manuscripts depicting a betrothal scene show the presiding figure with the man on his right hand and the woman on his left.⁴ The young man's left hand is held in the right hand of the king who is superintending the ceremony, while the young woman's right hand, covered with a long mitt, is enclosed in the king's left hand. The head of the king turns, as if in speaking posture, toward the young man who, with raised right hand, seems to be pledging himself at the moment.⁵ Taken collectively, these secular betrothals present no wider variations in the *Romans d'Aventure* than have been noticed here above, nor do they differ in form from the ceremony in charge of a celebrant of the church.

BETROTHAL BEFORE A COURT OF BARONS.

The part exercised by a king's barons or court council in the matter of the betrothal of royal couples falls more properly, for treatment, under the subject of *tutelage* as it offers few important data for this division of the subject. However, there are several examples of sufficient value to include under a separate rubric.⁶ The function of the barons at a betrothal appears

¹ Cf. *Cléomades*, vv. 17645-51, *Flamenca*, vv. 264-89; *Olivier de Castille*, p. 54; *Le Comte d'Artois*, p. 41; *Chevaliers as deus espées*, vv. 4544-55; *Joufrois de Poitiers*, vv. 3501-12.

² Cf. *Flamenca*, vv. 2644 ff.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, v. 289, "Soan dis: 'A Dieu vos coman.'"

⁴ Cf., for reproductions of the MS illustrations, *Le Comte d'Artois*, p. 41, and *Olivier de Castille*, p. 54.

⁵ Cf. P. BERGMANS, *Li livre d'hystoyre de Olivier de Castille et de Artus d'Algarve*, (Gand, 1897), pp. 7, 8: "Au point de vue des mœurs, sujets tels que la scène des fiançailles et celle du mariage offrent un réel intérêt documentaire."

⁶ Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 2314-38; *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8314-20; *Sone de Nausay*, p. 434.

to be ornamental, and their presence merely for sake of added dignity,¹ but in a romance of the beginning of the thirteenth century are set forth the details of transactions which occur between a ruler and his nobles whose permission to give his daughter in marriage was secured by means of a stratagem on his part.² In this story, the disposal of the woman's hand lay entirely with the council of the king, who himself could not proceed except upon their initiative. The ceremony of this betrothal is as follows: the emperor presides as celebrant and the pair are represented as standing before him in costly garments; the youth takes the hand of the girl, and the pledging follows before the holy relics and in presence of fifty barons.³ Either secular or church celebrants are represented as presiding over these functions at which barons are said to attend. Only in the case of royal *sponsalia* ceremonies are barons mentioned as present at the solemnization of betrothals.

BETROTHAL EFFECTED INDIRECTLY.

Betrothal by proxy occurred frequently during the Middle Ages, and was occasioned by the exigencies incident to the life of those times. There exist accounts of historical examples of this form of betrothal which serve as reference and as a basis of comparison for the fictitious descriptions found in the *Romans d'Aventure*.⁴ One of these latter merits analysis here on account of the clearness of its outline of the ceremony in question.⁵ At

¹ Cf. the stock expressions employed by the poets: "Voiant la cort et le barnage," and "Tout par devant la baronnie," as simply descriptive.

² Cf. *L'Escoufle*, v. 2187, where there is question of a *don* to be made by the king's barons.

³ This couple was not of an age suitable for marriage, but to obviate this hindrance the emperor had, in their case, an earnest of real marriage celebrated, called *sponsalia per verba de futuro*. Cf. BEAUCHET, *op. cit.*, p. 39, and A. SCHULTZ, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* (Leipzig, 1889), Vol. I, p. 630. For an example of betrothal solemnization before a king and barons cf. *Raoul de Cambrai*, vv. 5838-40:

Sor une table font les sains aporter,
Iueques font les sairemeus jurer,
Berniers del prendre et Guerris del donner.

The sacredness of this oath upon *sains* is shown clearly, though in another connection than betrothal, in *Durmars li Gatois*, vv. 11205-17.

⁴ Cf. A. SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 618-21, for various examples of betrothal by proxy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

⁵ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 2563-86.

an Easter festival, thirty white-haired barons appear, representing the emperor of Greece, coming to seek, in his name, the hand of Melior, the Roman emperor's daughter, for Partenidon, the Greek emperor's son. The embassy is clad in fine raiment and adorned with gold and jewels. After an exchange of salutations between the emperor and the ambassadors, a spokesman slips forward and points out to him the mission of the Greeks. The woman, Melior, is asked in marriage in return for an ample supply of material wealth¹ to be given the daughter in case her father consents, which he is cautioned by the embassy to do.² The emperor next takes counsel with his barons concerning the offer and the agreement of marriage follows.³ Both sides—the emperor and ambassadors—pledge to have the fulfilment of their promise take effect on St. John's day.⁴ Throughout the city are heard shouts and tumults of rejoicing because the emperor's daughter has been betrothed.⁵ However, the real lover of Melior receives the same news with bewildered chagrin, and takes to his bed on account of the fact that his sweetheart had been affianced to another man.⁶ The Greek embassy remained at court with the Roman emperor, and then departed after three days.

The simple delivery of a message of love and, with it, a ring sent to a young woman by a knight as a token of his wish to marry her is instanced in a poem of the seventh decade of the thirteenth century.⁷ This shows a servant ordered by his master to appear with a message of proposal and a ring before a woman whom the knight had never seen; she, upon hearing the words of the messenger, evinced great pleasure and gave him an answer to

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, vv. 2627-30.

² Cf. *ibid.*, vv. 2637, 2638:

Garde n'i ait refusement,
Ci voi tes princes et ta gent.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, v. 2640: "Si tu cest plaît otroieras."

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, v. 2646: the length of time between betrothal and marriage in this case was nearly two months. For the regulation as to length of time required to elapse between the pledge of betrothal and marriage *vide* A.-A. BEUGNOT, *Assises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1843), Vol. II, p. 112, and E. MARTÈNE, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* (Antwerp, 1763-64), Vol. IV, p. 442. Cf. also *Flore et Jehanne*, pp. 96, 97.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, v. 2652: "Que dounee ert lor damoisele."

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, v. 2660: "Que aflee estoit sa drue."

⁷ Cf. *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 4205-60.

take back, favorable to the knight's suit.¹ Contrary to this attitude of a woman accepting a lover whose suit was urged indirectly, there is an example of a woman upbraiding a king through his messenger for the reason that the suitor did not appear in person and was therefore committing a serious breach of etiquette. This being the only case of protest on this ground in the *Romans d'Aventure*, there is nothing to affirm concerning the standard of politeness in such a matter. However, in vindication of the woman's position, it is to be noticed that the sequel to the episode portrays the king departing to her castle in order to comply with her wishes.²

WEDDING.

The *Romans d'Aventure* refer to the wedding ceremony always as *espousailles*.³ This function is represented, in the poems in question, as occurring usually in a church, and always superintended by celebrants whose authority was that of the sacred priesthood of the Roman Church.⁴ Sometimes a wedding ceremony is described as taking place in a castle. Of the

¹ Cf. *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 4251-60:

Car mesire Gauvains m'envoie
A vous et dist que soiez soie,
Quar il est vostre chevaliers
De cuer et de cors tous entiers,
Si vous envoie .j. anelet,
Ou tout a vo vouloir se met.
Blanchandine en riant respont:
"Par Dieu, l'autime roi del mont,
Je ne le quier ja refusser
Bel m'est quant il me daigne amer."

² Cf. *Roi Flore et la belle Jehanne*, pp. 152, 153. For other examples of the kind treated in this subdivision above cf. *Cliges*, vv. 2859-70, and *Comte d'Artois*, pp. 69 and 84.

³ According to the meaning of the Latin etymon of this word *espousailles*, it should connote only *betrothal*. But, as a representative of the Latin *sponsalia*, the word *fiançailles* is used in French, from *fidantia* (vide KÖRTING, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, s. v.). And the French language, of the Romance idioms alone, has made this change, which affects also the forms *époux* and *épouse*. These latter, in French, have the meaning of *man and wife*, whereas in other Romance languages they indicate only persons betrothed. Occasionally a variant form occurs, like *espousement*; cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, v. 5367, and *Auberée*, v. 50; cf. EBELING's comment on *espousement* in his edition of this fableau, p. 45 (Halle, 1895). Cf. also *Guillaume de Palerne*, v. 8320, and *Roi Flore et la belle Jehanne*, pp. 93 and 96, where the words *mariage* and *marîée* occur respectively in the sense of "betrothal" and "betrothed." Likewise in *Fergus*, v. 6902, *mariage* occurs in the same sense.

⁴ Just as in the case of betrothals already cited (p. 4, n. 1, and p. 13, n. 9), the celebrants at weddings described in the *Romans d'Aventure* represent high and low position in order of ecclesiastical rank; cf. *Ile et Galeron*, v. 6551, where the Pope presides at a ceremony, and in *Comte de Poitiers*, v. 978, an abbot. Cf. also *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 3450-55.

twenty-four examples of wedding description here chosen from the *Romans d'Aventure* fourteen ceremonies are performed in a church, away from a castle.¹ Seven marriage scenes are represented as happening in castles² and three are not designated as to where the ceremony is performed.³

The expressions, used by the poets, in stating how a marriage was celebrated vary somewhat: four cases declare the man to have married the woman directly,⁴ while nine instances show that the celebrants married the bride to the groom, or married them to each other mutually.⁵ Two examples narrate the marriage ceremony as being conducted by the priest, who questions the parties in turn. In each case the groom is the one first addressed, and, afterward, the bride.⁶ The remainder of the *éxemples* do not state clearly enough the details of the wedding ceremony to admit of a fixed classification.⁷

As a rule the poets confine the wedding ceremony in their works to the marriage of one pair, although, occasionally, as many as three couples are joined at one nuptial celebration and, as sometimes happens, two pairs are united.⁸ In whatever manner a poet depicts a nuptial service he shows plainly that the woman is the subsidiary party to the sacred contract before the priest. Two features of two separate romances may have their place here:

¹ Cf. *Éracles*, vv. 2812, 2813; *Ille et Galeron*, vv. 6547-51; *Ipomédon*, vv. 87-95; *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8899-8909; *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10711, 10712; *Galerent*, vv. 7699-7701; *Fergus*, vv. 6937-40; *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5348, 5349; *L'Escouffe*, vv. 8298, 8299; *Flamenca*, v. 292; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 14776, 14777; *Clarís et Larís*, vv. 29568, 29569; *Escanor*, vv. 23022, 23023; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6071-73.

² *Ille et Galeron*, vv. 1516-29; *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 971-81; *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1305-10; *Roman de la Violette*, vv. 6573-82; *La Manékine*, vv. 2029-40; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4738-55; *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17019-49.

³ *Richars li Biaux*, vv. 4105-25; *Comtesse de Ponthieu*, pp. 2, 3; *Olivier de Castille*, p. 17.

⁴ *Éracles*, vv. 2812, 2813; *Fergus*, vv. 6918, 6919; *Roman de la Violette*, vv. 6573, 6574; *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17031, 17032.

⁵ *Ille et Galeron*, vv. 1525, 6551; *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1306, 1307; *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8904, 8905; *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10733-35; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 14983, 14989; *Clarís et Larís*, vv. 29568, 29569; *Escanor*, vv. 23027, 23028; *La Manékine*, vv. 2037, 2038.

⁶ Cf. *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 978-81; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4740-45.

⁷ Cf. *Galerent*, vv. 7699-724; *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5367-71; *L'Escouffe*, vv. 8283-89; *Flamenca*, vv. 290-92; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6071-6102; *Richars li Biaux*, vv. 4120-25; *Comtesse de Ponthieu*, pp. 2, 3; *Comte d'Artois*, p. 22; *Olivier de Castille*, p. 17.

⁸ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8899-8909; *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10711-35; and *Escanor*, vv. 23021-33; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6071-108.

the bathing of the bride-elect two whole days before her marriage, as set forth in an early romance, and the reference in another poem to the formality of a kiss at the close of the wedding service.¹

In order to add a more constructive phase to the analysis now in hand, it will be necessary to point out the connected details of one entire wedding service, such as are given, for instance, in the romance of *Sone de Nausay*.² The immediate context in this lengthy poem does not show at what time the marriage of Sone with Odee takes place. The ceremony occurs in the castle at Galoche, and all but the great nobles and ladies (*la grant baronnie*) are excluded. The clerks do the chanting of the service; an archbishop, three bishops, and an abbot celebrate the mass. Sone removes his mantle of scarlet and ermine,³ and robes himself in a white cloak (*une blanque*). The pair are led up to the altar⁴ and all present bend backward (*souvins*). After this a care cloth of *samit* is spread over Sone and Odee.⁵ White cloth-pieces (*touailles*) are then cast over the bridal pair,⁶ and in this white apparel they hear the archbishop intone the nuptial mass. At the close of this part of the service the pair, standing up, receive the sacrament. At the order of the priest, the bride and groom retire from the altar and are then anointed. All present wear white. Finally, an abbot chants a mass and the offering is made, participated in first by the king, and later by the others.

Unfortunately none of the poets of the *Romans d'Aventure* carries the element of realism, for which this general class of literature has been distinctive in every age, so far as to give, word for word, each phase of the wedding solemnization in the church.⁷

¹ Cf. *Éraclès*, v. 2576, and *Flamenca*, v. 297; this last reference possibly has to do with the *pax* or osculatory as found in MARTÈNE, *op. cit.*, p. 616. By way of comparison cf. the mediæval German poem *Helmbrecht*, vv. 1503-34, and K. WACKERNAGEL, *Verlöbniß und Trauung* in HAUPT's *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* (Leipzig, 1842), Vol. II, p. 548 ff.

² Cf. this poem, vv. 17017-54. The night before the wedding day Sone spends in fasting and prayer; cf. *infra*, p. 33, n. 4.

³ Cf. vv. 16746, 16747.

⁴ Cf. VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *Dict. rais. de l'Arch.*, Vol. II, p. 13 (Paris, 1868-74).

⁵ Cf. A. SCHULTZ, *Das höfische Leben*, Vol. I, p. 344.

⁶ Cf. the *Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, (ed.) F. PLUQUET (Rouen, 1827) Vol. I, p. 276.

⁷ The descriptive tendency has been characteristic of all romantic literature of which the *Romans d'Aventure* represent the middle stage, placed as they are between the post-classic sea-romances like *Theagenes and Chariclea* of HELIODORUS (written, according to Jebb, 390 A. D.), and the modern *Paul et Virginie* of J.-H.-BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE (written 1787).

However, the nucleus of the church ritual is exhibited in three romances¹ where the priest proposes the bride to the groom for acceptance and *vice versa*.² Usually at the same time as the question of assent to marry is being asked by the priest, he takes the right hand of the groom and that of the bride in such a manner that the pair hold each other's right hand, and the celebrant then places his own hands over those he has brought together into a clasped position.³ Then is pronounced the nuptial blessing. With this the bride and groom pass out of the church. The groom is represented as walking on the right side of the bride from the church, in order to have his right arm free for defense, in keeping with ancient custom.⁴ A far better clue to a ritual than is given in any one of the *Romans d'Aventure* and a form of service which exhibits the two cardinal conditions requisite for an honorable marriage, namely: *affinity* and *consent*, is to be found in a prose romance here cited below.⁵ Still, as has been already pointed out, enough details of the wedding ceremony are to be gathered from the *Romans d'Aventure*

¹ Cf. *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 971-81; *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5370, 5371; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4738-42.

² For the origin of this ritual cf. BRUNS, *fontes*, p. 86 (ed. MOMMSEN ET GRADENWITZ, Lips., 1893, 5th ed.): "Coemptio vero certis sollemnitatibus peragebatur et sese in coemendo unicum interrogabant, vir, ita, an sibi mulier materfamilias esse vellet? Illa respondebat velle. Item mulier interrogabat; an vir sibi paterfamilias esse vellet? Ille respondebat velle." This formula, cited from BOETHIUS, *Schol. Virgiliana ad Aen.*, 4, 214, is the first part of the ceremony, the second part of which had to do with an appearance of purchase (*coemptio*) of the bride by the groom, who struck a pair of scales with a coin, "matrimonium per aes et libram." This fictitious sale of Roman usage is the counterpart of the German custom of "matrimonium per solidum et denarium" described by TACITUS, *Germania*, 18 (ed. H. FURNEAUX, Oxford, 1894), but confounded by him with the Roman.

³ Cf. *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 978, 979; *La Manékine*, vv. 2036, 2037.

⁴ Cf. *Comte d'Artois*, p. 22; also L. GAUTIER, *La Chevalerie*, p. 368.

⁵ Cf. R. DE MAULDE DE LA CLAVIÈRE, *Les femmes de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1898), note to p. 34: The priest, in a romance by G. CAVICEO (written in 1508) addresses a man and woman before him as follows:

Périgrin et vous Génève, estes vous francs et libérés de toute religion secrette ou manifeste?

Périgrin et Génève: Nous sommes libérés sans en rien estre obligez.

Ministre: Estes-vous point en affinité conjointz?

Périgrin et Génève: Nulle fut l'affinité et petite l'amitié.

Ministre: Avez-vous point promis à autre homme ne femme par mariage ne espousailles?

Périgrin et Génève: Non, jamais.

Ministre: De vostre commun consentement estes-vous disposez à célébrer le présent saint sacrement de mariage?

Périgrin et Génève: De cuer et de foy faire le voulons.

Ministre: Toy, dame, le doy, et Périgrin, l'annel imposeras.

to form an approximate description of the entire church service. There are a number of expressions in the *Romans d'Aventure* which indicate their origin from church ritual by their form, and, according to the marriage formulæ of the church, handed down, are the identical, albeit fragmentary, wording of that ritual.¹

The bridal procession to the church is the occasion which the poet takes of extolling the beauties of the bride's form and dress; the groom, in these narrations, is almost lost from sight at this juncture.² The description of ceremonies in the front of the church is next attended to.³ Then follows the account of the singing and music as the wedding service commences.⁴ Hereupon, the remainder of the celebration at the church is divided into two parts: the marriage and the mass,⁵ between which a short interval supervenes for change of priests' vestments.⁶ Then, for the most part, at the close of the service, the mass is sung.⁷

It remains now to add wherein the poems under investigation do not show parallelism with the church formulæ of wedding consecration. In all the examples just considered, which represent a period of nearly two hundred years, there is no reference to any

¹ Cf., *Comte de Poitiers*, the words: "Sanctus," v. 972, and "Aleluia," v. 974; *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, the expression in v. 1307: to receive a woman "de main d'un abé;" also *Éracles*, v. 5075: the expression "par main de prestre;" *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8905-6: The patriarch Alexis "les assemble a mariage Par le coustume et par l'usage Qu'il menoient en la contrée;" *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10729, 10730: "Li arcevesque sont avant Lor croces en lor mains tenant;" *Fergus*, v. 6939 (var.): "Luite est euvangile et epistle;" *Guillaume de Dole*, vs. 5370, 5371: "En l'onor dou saint Esperit Et chanta de la Trinité;" *Escanor*, vv. 23021-26: here is a reference to the institution of banns; cf. *ibid.*: "par sairement et par paroles," v. 23033; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6083-86: "Li arcevesque et la clergie Ont tantost messe commence Que l'en dist du Saint-Esprite. Et quant l'Evangile fu dite;" *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4741, 4742: the priest "puis demanda chascun par soi S'il voellent estre à loy."

² Cf. *Éracles*, vv. 2570-76; *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10711-30; *Galerent*, vv. 7699-7703; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 14976-79.

³ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8894-99; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6074-77; *Amadas et Ydoine*, vv. 2343-94; *Cléomadès*, vv. 17215-20. Cf. MARTÈNE, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 616, 617, where are given directions to the officiating priest before the nuptial blessing.

⁴ Cf. *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 972, 973; *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5370, 5371; *Fergus*, vv. 6021-23; cf. DU CANGE, *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.*, Vol. I, p. 577, col. 2.

⁵ Usually the nuptial mass is made to occur after the wedding, as it should, but the romances of *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6083-85, and *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17028, 17029 reverse this order.

⁶ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, v. 10728; *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5290-93; *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17027, 17028.

⁷ Cf. *La Manékine*, v. 2040; *Sone de Nausay*, v. 17029; sometimes the mass is designated as being said, only; cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8921, 8922.

ring ceremony. While the betrothal formalities required a ring for the woman to wear and the *Romans d'Aventure* are represented as usually providing her with this pledge of lovers,¹ still no mention is made of a ring in the various narrations of a marriage ceremony.² In the second place the romances take no account of any *wedding* ceremony at the church portal, where, according to the St. Gatien ritual here cited, the entire wedding service was conducted, up to the point where the priest placed the ring upon the bride's hand.³

Thirdly, the wedding garments of noble persons in the middle ages were white, but none of the romances, save one, gives any record of this fact.⁴

The groom is generally represented, in all of these poems, as having received knighthood before marriage, although to be a knight was not a condition of marriage. This is shown in the romance of *Sone de Nausay*, where one of the grooms, Henris, is not dubbed until after his marriage. The same is true of Jehan in *Jehan et Blonde*. In view of the fact that a youth could become knighted at fifteen years of age, it is plain that the age at marriage of both a bride and her groom was much earlier than in modern times. The romances state the age before a marriage as seventeen years for the groom and fifteen years for the bride, and in general, these numbers are a true record. Chrétien de Troyes represents Cligès as in the flower of his age at fifteen years. The church required the bride at marriage to be twelve years old, and the groom to be in his sixteenth year.⁵

THE RING IN BETROTHAL.

Just as the function of betrothal, in the Middle Ages, implied far more as an agreement, in the nature of a contract, not to be revoked without serious consequences, so also the betrothal ring,

¹ Cf. *Conte de la Violette*, vv. 6672-80.

² Cf. Dr. F. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 839, and p. 24, n. 2, *infra*.

³ Cf. Martène, *op. cit.*, p. 616; also the expression in the *Concil. Trevir.*, c. 5: "matrimonium cum honore et reverentia et in facie ecclesiae celebratum."

⁴ Cf. *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17031, 17047, 17048; also, *Joufrois de Poitiers*, vv. 1508 and 1522, where reference is made to the priest's vestments. Cf. also *Chevaliers as deus espées*, vv. 10323-28, where the queen's wedding dress is black samite worked in gold with figures of beasts and birds.

⁵ Cf. P. Labbé et Cossart, *Collectio conciliorum* (Paris, 1671), Vol. X, p. 608.

or what was substituted for it sometimes, was held in greater esteem, relatively, than at a later period.¹ None of the *Romans d'Aventure* in the course of a wedding description refer to that part of the ceremony where the priest hands the ring to the groom in order that the latter may place it upon the bride's finger,² although there are passages in these poems which indicate clearly enough that the wedding ring had its proper part in the nuptial service.³ In the period of the *Romans d'Aventure* the betrothal ring bore with it the signification of the iron *anulus pronubus* of Roman usage during the Republic,⁴ from which the French betrothal ring has its origin, although the symbolic meaning which the church had succeeded in attaching to the betrothal ring had, by this time, divested it of its pagan significance; so much is this true, that the ring was ultimately confined to the marriage ceremony alone.

The descriptions of rings, as found in the *Romans d'Aventure*, represent them usually as jeweled with precious stones,⁵ the colors of which range from deep red, almost violet, to the light red of pale rubies.⁶ Diamonds in rings are not often mentioned.⁷ Gold is usually the material employed. Rings are sometimes represented as possessing magic powers.⁸

¹ For the symbols of betrothal other than the ring cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 4393-4402.

² Cf. the brief but clear account of a ring ceremony in *Dieu Crône*, by HEINRICH VON DEM TÜRKLIN, vv. 13855-60 (ed. SCHOLL), *Bibl. Litt. Ver. in Stuttgart*, Vol. XXVII, p. 170, col. 2 (1852).

³ Cf. E. MARTÈNE, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Vol. II, p. 612 (Antwerp, 1763-64): "*Benedictio super anulum*—Creator et Conservator humani generis, Dator aeternae salutis, omnipotens Deus, tu permitte Spiritum sanctum Paraclitum super hunc anulum. Per." Cf. *infra*, p. 26. n. 6.

⁴ Cf. DR. F. HOFMANN, "Über den Verlobungs- und den Trauring," *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Vol. LXV, pp. 825-64 (Wien, 1870). The ring, as is made clear in this monograph, was as common to ordinary business transactions in ancient times as it was to the *sponsalia* ceremonies, and was not peculiar to, nor original with, betrothals. On the contrary, the element of bargain or exchange, dominant in marriage transactions, both in the fictitious sale of the Romans and the customs of the Germanic peoples, required an earnest or token of pledge. This ring of iron, used at Rome (in the empire, however, a gold ring was used), was also adopted amongst the Germans. Cf. also *Archæologia* (London, 1814), Vol. XVII, pp. 124-27.

⁵ Cf. *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 857, 858.

⁶ Cf. the expressions: "balais rubiz" in *Guillaume de Dole*, v. 3342; "jagonce" (garnet, dark red) in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, v. 3001, and "La pierre fu toute vermeille" in *Roman de la Violette*, v. 886. The color green is also mentioned; cf. *L'Escoufle*, v. 3312: "Ki plus ert vers que fueille d'ierre."

⁷ Cf. *La Manékine*, v. 6067; also *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 2585, where the jewels of the Greek embassy are said to shine like glass. Cf. also *Paris et Vienne*, p. 46.

⁸ Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 4481 and 3813; also "La folie Tristan de Berne," *Romania*, Vol. XV, p. 573.

The *Romans d'Aventure* give several instances where, in lieu of a ring, a symbol for betrothal takes the form of a banner worked with gold, and is made for the woman, by her lover, in token of their troth.¹ Possibly this handiwork was given by the woman in exchange for a ring from her lover and not referred to by the poet. But it was common in the Middle Ages to use various symbols, in every-day life, on occasions that required the keeping of faith, even in trivial matters; so that a betrothal might have been consummated without any ring at all, though this is not very likely.² Another type of betrothals, in this connection of the ring, shows both man and woman making exchange of rings with each other.³ In still another class should be included those instances where the woman, alone, presents a ring to her lover as a symbol of her constancy.⁴

Two cases have been noted in which a man offers a betrothal ring to his *fiancée*.⁵ A singular example of a woman resorting to a trick is exhibited in one poem, where it is represented that a rejected suitor receives, supposedly from the lady who hitherto had not favored his suit, a ring and other emblems of good faith as a mark of her change of mind toward him and as a sign that she was willing now for him to accept her.⁶

It is clear from the *Romans d'Aventure* that the betrothal rings were ornamented with jewels, although precious stones, in the Middle Ages, were regarded superstitiously.⁷ Upon what finger the betrothal ring was worn is not told.⁸

¹ Cf. *Richars li Biaus*, vv. 5115, 5116; and *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 8335-66 but the *gonfanon* here referred to, is presented by the hero of the poem to Mellor.

² Cf. *La Vengeance de Raguidel*, vv. 1327-31. For the ring in other connections than betrothal vide DE JOINVILLE, *Hist. de St. Louis* (ed. J. N. DE WAILLY), pp. 61 and 86 (Paris, 1874), where business contracts are sealed by means of this symbol.

³ Cf. *Amadas et Ydoine*, vv. 5780-97, and G. COQUILLART, *Œuvres*, Vol. II, p. 170 (Paris, 1745); also *Horn*, vv. 2049-55.

⁴ Cf. *Claris et Laris*, vv. 28998-29010; *L'Escoufle*, vv. 4488, 4489; also *Floris et Liriope*, vv. 1139-46; and *Paris et Vienne*, p. 46.

⁵ Cf. *Conte de la Violette*, vv. 884-89, where the ring is represented as having been given at some former time by the man to the woman. Also *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 3333-43, where a man makes a request of a woman through her mother for her *druërie*; cf. also *Flamenca*, vv. 10, 11.

⁶ Cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 4310-4401.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 24, n. 6, as to the kinds of precious stones used in rings. For the magic attributed to rings, vide *Amadas et Ydoine*, vv. 6430-32; also *Floire et Blanceflor*, vv. 1001-8.

⁸ Cf. *Claris et Laris*, v. 29007; the words "son petit anel" refer to the ring then worn by the man, but represented as having been given him at some time previously by his betrothed.

THE RING IN WEDDING.

According to historical tradition, the ring, symbolizing marriage, should be without jewels and perfectly smooth and round.¹ As far as can be seen, the *Romans d'Aventure* denote, by the same descriptive terms, that the wedding ring was as beautiful as the betrothal ring.² The same word is used for both.³ The position of the ring upon the hand is usually designated by a word which means the little finger;⁴ there is no way of telling upon which of the two hands either the betrothal or the wedding ring rested.⁵ The church required the marriage ring to be set on the third finger of the left hand.⁶ The instances showing the wedding ring in the possession of the woman do not represent her, however, as receiving it at the marriage service, although she could come to possess it only in that way.

WEDDING PROCESSION.

The wedding procession to and from the church is the chief feature of all the nuptial ceremonies next to the solemnization of the marriage proper. In classic Roman life the procession of marriage was one of the indispensable ceremonies connected with this rite.⁷ Although the church did not prescribe, in the times of the romances, or ever, the procession of the bridal party, yet the importance and fittingness of this function both to and from the sanctuary is evidence that the adoption of the pagan forms of

¹ Cf. PLINY (ed. K. MAYHOFF, Lips., 1897), *Hist. Nat.*, Vol. XXXIII, cap. 1, §§ 6 and 12; L. FRIEDLAENDER, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, sechste Ausg. (Leipzig, 1888, p. 465.

² The expression "gent anel" is applied to a betrothal ring in *L'Escoufle*, v. 4488, and to a wedding ring in *Comte de Poitiers*, v. 268. Cf. *Aye d'Avignon*, vv. 2000-2, where the marriage ring contains three precious stones.

³ The forms *aniaus*, *anels*, *anelet*, all occur in the poems, and are used interchangeably of both betrothal and wedding rings. *Bague* is a late mediæval word, not found in the romances.

⁴ Cf. W. FOERSTER, *Der Karrenritter* (Halle, 1899), p. 401. In a note to verse 4658 of *Lancelot*, Foerster derives *name* from *minimus* and identifies it with *manel*, a little finger, upon which a ring was often worn.

⁵ Cf. *La Manékine*, v. 6311, where the heroine of the story has only a right hand upon which to put a ring.

⁶ As late as the Council of Milan, 1576, special direction was given as to which hand should bear the marriage ring: "Non dextrae sed sinistrae manus sponsae digitis induatur annulo nuptiali."

⁷ Cf. L. FRIEDLANDER, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 466; especially the references in the footnote to the works of KARLOWA, MARQUARDT, and ROSSBACH, respectively. Cf. also N. D. FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *La cité antique* (Paris, 1885), 11th ed., pp. 45, 46.

ceremony in this particular was not distasteful to Christian ideas. The obscene elements were, in part, removed from the Roman customs, and the church countenanced the traditions which obtained in French nuptial processions, just as it had sanctioned the pagan rites of marriage themselves, having adopted and spiritualized the ceremonies of *sponsalia* and *matrimonium*.¹

The romances always give the time of day for a marriage as early morning, between the hours of 6 and 9 A. M., and most often the day of marriage falls in the early summer. The description of some wedding days includes the preliminary merry-making, and the narrative starts with sunrise to maintain the story of the occurrences until the night of the wedding day is far advanced and the guests are fairly wearied with wine and song.² That a formal invitation was sent to the dependents of a ruler is made plain in one romance which represents him as summoning his baronage to appear after a week's notice at the wedding of his chief general.³ There is, however, no regularity expressed by the poets as to the invitation of guests to a wedding; there comes to the festivities usually a great number of nobles who take active part in the proceedings without, apparently, any invitation at all from either the bride or groom.⁴ In the number of those who might be expected with certainty to assist at the wedding a noticeable lack sometimes occurs.⁵ The knights visiting a castle whose lord was to marry did not receive their lodging within the walls of the castle proper, but were entertained at separate houses named *ostels*, bedecked for the occasion, with tapestries and banners, having upon them the armorial bearings of the knights there being entertained.⁶

¹For an account of Roman observances in wedding processions cf. CATULLUS, LXI (ed. R. ELLIS, London, 1876), pp. 167-92. Also, STATIUS, *Silvae* (ed. F. VOLLMER, Leipzig, 1898), pp. 61-70.

²Cf. *Galerent*, vv. 6905-18; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 14964-75; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6224-31; *Claris et Laris*, vv. 29611-19.

³Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 1704-9, and the passage in *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8435-60, where a written invitation to a wedding (*au noçoier*) is sent by messengers to the emperor of Rome. Cf. also *Chevaliers as deus espées*, vv. 5477-83.

⁴Cf. *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 14938 ff. In *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17982-89, the wedding festivity is restricted to only noble guests, whereas in *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6177-80, everyone is admitted freely.

⁵Cf. *La Manékine*, vv. 2046-70, and *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 14938 ff., where, in each of these cases, the mothers of the grooms are absent from the weddings described.

⁶Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 2937-47, and vv. 3441-44.

At a certain moment, probably upon the flourish of trumpets at the castle, the entire bridal company assembled and were arranged according to their various ranks, prior to their departure for the church.¹ There is clear reason to believe that the bride and her ladies passed, in a separate body, to the church and were followed later by the groom and his male friends.² The escorts, however, of the bride, mounted upon a mule or palfrey, were men who, themselves, were also mounted and rode, one on each side of the bride.³ The poets, in their descriptions of these processions,

¹ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10759 ff; *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 3441-47; *Chevalier as deus espées*, vv. 5400-61, in which a wedding and coronation procession to a church is given in description; *Cléomadès*, vv. 17209-20.

² Cf. *Escanor*, vv. 23021-33; here the groom and bride proceed, apparently, together to the church, but the descriptions found in the romances just cited (v. *supra*, n. 1) give evidence of the separate parties, the bride with her train of attendants passing first, to the church. Cf. also, *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6073-82, for the account of the ceremony of assisting the brides to alight at the church portal, likewise *vide Gautier d'Aupais*, p. 32.

DESCRIPTION OF A PROCESSION IN A TRIPLE WEDDING FROM *GUILLAUME DE PALERNE* (1212 A. D.).

- I. The entire bridal party, both women and men, is mounted to start toward the church; vv. 8821-35.
- II. The order of procession, from the castle entrance, of the three brides; vv. 8841-57:
 1. *Partenidon* (escort) *Alexandrine* v. 8841.
 2. *King of Spain* (escort) *Melior* *Felise* (escort) vv. 8842-46.
 3. *Emperor of Germany* (escort) *Florence* *Brande* (escort) v. 8847.
- III. Young women, matrons, court ladies, vv. 8833-35.
- IV. Servants carrying staves to clear the way, vv. 8855-57.
- V. The Brides enter the church and are escorted to the high altar, to await the Grooms, vv. 8860-67.
- VI. The Grooms (*Brandin*, *Guillaume*, *Alphonse*) leave the castle and proceed to the church after the brides, v. 8867.
 - a) Priests come out from the church to meet the Grooms.
 - b) Grooms and Priests meet midway to the church.
 - c) Ceremonies in the presence of the Grooms, vv. 8880-96.
- VII. The Grooms enter the church and are escorted to the high altar, to meet the Brides, vv. 8900, 8901.
- VIII. The Wedding Service, vv. 8905-9.
- IX. Coronation Service and Mass, vv. 8914-21.
- X. Return of the bridal party to the castle, in which the men pass first and the women afterward, thus reversing the order of procession from the castle to the church, vv. 8922 ff.

REMARKS: (a) In this procession the presence of women as escorts at the left hand of two of the three brides is noteworthy; in II, 1, the absence of a woman escort for *Alexandrine* is an oversight of the poet.

(b) In II, 2, the lady escort of *Melior* is the mother of her groom, *Guillaume*.

(c) The lady escort of *Florence* is the step-mother of her groom, *Alphonse*; cf. II, 3.

(d) In II, 1, *Partenidon* was to have married the bride who figures in II, 2, but was rejected by her; and after serving in this procession as escort to *Alexandrine*, returned to his father, the emperor of Greece.

³ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 8842-47, where two brides have lady escorts who are the mothers of the two brides respectively.

lay particular emphasis upon the parts taken by the bride and her female attendants, and seem to overlook, nearly, the groom, in their attention to the bride's progress toward the church.¹ This interest concerns itself also with the dress of the bride and the preparation of her wedding costume. Minutely detailed accounts are given of the fabric, its colors, adornments and style.² As soon as the wedding service has been narrated, the poets then describe the return of the company to the castle,³ where the clothing that has been worn before the priest, is exchanged for garments suitable to the banquet-hall.⁴

WEDDING BANQUET.

The feast was spread and all the guests were seated in order,⁵ at tables richly supplied with varied and sometimes marvelous dishes for the delectation of those present.⁶ Amusement was furnished in the form of dance or carol, or the baiting of bears, and games of chess and dice.⁷ Mountebanks mingled their sportiveness, intended perhaps to delight the humbler folk who had gathered at the feast,⁸ with the more serious efforts of the *jongleurs* who chanted their stories after the dinner to the old men seated apart

¹ Cf. *Cléomadès*, vv. 17722-74; *Joufrois de Poitiers*, vv. 926-41. One of the salient characteristics of the *Romans d'Aventure*, as contrasted with the *Chansons de Geste*, is the attention paid by the poet to the bride in the wedding ceremonies; cf. T. KRABBE, "Die Frau im altfranzösischen Karls-Epos" in E. STENGEL'S *Ausg. u. Abh.*, XVIII (1884), pp. 41, 42.

² Cf. *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4711-15; *Escanor*, vv. 23036-39; *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 908-25. Cf. also A. J. V. LE ROUX DE LINCY, *Les femmes célèbres de l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1858), Vol. I, pp. 47-54, and E. LAMESAUGÈRE, *Costumes des femmes françaises du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1827), p. 47; M. A. RACINET, *Costume Historique* (3^e Livraison, *Europe—Le Moyen-Âge*), Paris, 1876-88. Occasionally a woman is said to wear a bridal crown; cf. *Galerent*, vv. 6887, 6888: "Puis li a sur sa sore teste, Une cercele estroicte d'or mise." Also *L'Escoufle*, vv. 8288, 8289: "Ele ot la blonde teste nue, Fors d'un cercele d'or a rubis."

³ Cf. *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17055-17130.

⁴ Cf. *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4755-58; and *La Manékine*, vv. 2321-23.

⁵ Cf. *Floire et Blanceflor*, vv. 2843-78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vv. 2874-78.

⁷ Cf. A. SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 576; *Escanor*, vv. 23021-29, and *Le Chevalier à l'Épée*, vv. 788-806.

⁸ Cf. *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6057-60. Clowns and tumblers here form a part of the wedding cortege and doubtless serve to amuse the crowd at the banquet-hall as well. Noise of all kinds, the ringing of bells and very loud music characterize all the marriage occasions of the *Romans d'Aventure*. The sounds produced by the infinite variety of wind, string, and percussion instruments are likened by the poets to the thunders of heaven making a whole city tremble. Cf. *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1842), Vol. XX, pp. 714-716, where a description of mediæval instruments of music is found.

in the hall and listening to the noble deeds of heroes long since past.¹ In this manner the afternoon wore into the evening of the wedding day and the evening into the late night, which found the guests still lingering around the board, or in the hall, until feast turned to revel. At length the bride was conducted to the nuptial chamber, where she was prepared by her lady attendants to receive her groom. Then occurred the benediction of the priest, who sprinkled with holy water the nuptial couch.²

WEDDING GIFT.

On the morrow in the early morning, was the time for gifts from the guests to the bride and the groom.³ Whether the groom gave the bride a present, or *vice versa*, is not plain from the data supplied by the *Romans d'Aventure*.⁴ Lavish gifts to the church are mentioned as being made by the bridal company, and are placed upon the altars for the priests to distribute later among the needy, not reserving any portion of the offering for themselves.

As with any of the functions of marriage that have been considered thus far, and the nature of their development, upon Christian soil in France, out of the pagan character possessed by them in Roman life, it is to be noticed, as well also in the matter of wedding gifts, that Germanic influences have not interfered appreciably with Roman tradition.⁵ The *donum matutinale* is referred to indistinctly in several romances and but one instance points definitely to this Germanic custom.⁶ On this first morning after

¹ Cf. *Claris et Laris*, vv. 29611-19.

² Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 3456, 3457; *Cléomadès*, vv. 17244-68; *L'Atre périlleux*, vv. 6637-42.

³ Cf. *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5502-10; *Claris et Laris*, vv. 29673-81. Cf. also *Amadis de Gaule* (Lyon, 1588), Bk. IV, cap. iii, pp. 338, 339.

⁴ Cf. *La Manékine*, vv. 2345-60; *Cléomadès*, vv. 18017-30.

⁵ Cf. LAISNEL DE LA SALLE, *op. cit.*, p. 31; also E. BELLOQUET, *Ethnogénie gauloise* (Paris, 1861-73), Vol. III, p. 390, and L. FALLUE, *Conquête des Gaules* (Paris, 1862), p. 195-99.

⁶ Cf. E. LABOULAYE, *Condition civile et politique des femmes* (Paris, 1843), pp. 117-35; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6282-88; and *Cléomadès*, vv. 17708-12. The influence of the church upon the institution of *Morgengabe* made itself felt in the conversion of the *pretium matutinale* into the dowry; in the *Histoire des Francs*, dowry and *pretium* are synonymous; cf. GUIZOT, *Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1823) Vol. II, p. 30, and footnote. French poetry affords an instance of the primitive character of the *pretium* in Merovingian times; cf. *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, vv. 41-45 (G. PARIS, ed.), Paris, 1872, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études, Vol. VII.

the wedding day the bride and groom attended mass at the church, but there is no special ceremony connected with this event to need any elaboration at the poet's hands. The festivities subsequent to the wedding-day pleasures are not described in detail, but almost invariably the poems narrate how many days were taken up in celebrating the marriage at large. The length of time in which the visitors to the scene of the wedding are represented as remaining, varies between four days and sixty days,¹ usually, however, the guests and their hosts celebrate the occasion during one week, after which all take leave of the young husband and wife, wishing them happiness.

TIME OF WEDDING.

The festival days of most importance as indicated by the *Romans d'Aventure* are, in the order in which they occur during the year: *Pâques*, *Pentecôte*, *Toussaint*, *Noël*, and of these the first two are the most often mentioned.² These were all festival days of the church, lending themselves readily to the elaborate ceremonial of a royal or noble wedding. In contrast to the regular church seasons of religious festival, during which marriages were often solemnized, there were periods of the year in which a wedding was forbidden by the church.³ From Septuagesima until after Easter, and three days before St. John's Day, and also from Advent until Epiphany the church refused to bless nuptials.⁴ Doubtless these seasons were intended for fasting which terminated by general rejoicing on the feast days already designated.⁵ Like the Romans, the French of the time in which fall the *Romans d'Aventure*, preferred the month of June for the celebration of weddings, whereas the month of May

¹ Cf. *Cléomadès*, in which poem the festivities lasted only four days, while in *Floriant et Florete*, sixty days elapse.

² Other feast days are mentioned in the romances, especially "Jour de l'Ascension" and "Jour de Saint-Jean"; cf. *Lancelot*, v. 31; *Fergus*, v. 6916; *Erec et Enide*, v. 27.

³ Cf. J. SIRMOND, *Concilia antiquae Galliae* (Paris, 1629), p. 594; here, marriages are not allowed on Sundays because of the special reverence to be paid to that day.

⁴ Cf. MARTÈNE ET DURAND, *Thesaurus Nov. Anec.* (Paris, 1717), col. 872, where, in the Gallican church, no marriage celebration was permitted during Advent.

⁵ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10127, 10128: "Vigil ert de l'Ascension, Que par costume june l'on," i. e., Rogation week.

was commonly regarded as untimely.¹ That May was an ill-omened month for a marriage seems, however, to have been only a popular idea of the lower classes during the Middle Ages² since numerous references are given in the *Romans d'Aventure* to weddings celebrated both on Ascension Day and at Pentecost.³ Other seasons of the year referred to as times in which weddings took place are July and Christmas.⁴ As the church was largely influential in the arrangement of the seasons for marriage, it is safe to infer that, where in the *Romans d'Aventure* no time of year is set down by the poet, the marriage he is describing fell upon some one of these important festivals.⁵

Since the anniversary of a church festival did not recur upon a fixed day of the week in each year a marriage ceremony of the nobles might happen upon any day on which that festival came. In the case of *Pâques* and *Pentecôte* also *Saint-Jean* and *Noël* the day varies from year to year. It is therefore difficult to say, from the data in the romances, just what specific days of the week were, or were not, acceptable for marriage from whatever point of view.⁶ There are several instances noted in which Sunday is a day of wedding, notwithstanding the probable inconvenience involved to the priests, whose work in the usual mass celebrations incident to that day must have tended to prevent nuptials.⁷ It is very likely that Wednesday and Friday were not

¹ Cf. "De veteri ritu nuptiarum observatio" in GRÆVIUS; *Thes. Ant. Rom.* (Paris, 1698), where it is shown that neither May nor February, nor the three days of March when the feast of the Salii was celebrated, were fitting times for marriage at Rome, but during June was the most favorable period. For references to St. John's Day in this connection cf. *Chevaliers as deus espées*, vv. 5260-63, and J. GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4te Aufl. (Berlin, 1875), Vol. I, pp. 513-15.

² Cf. G. LAISNEL DE LA SALLE, *Croyances et légendes du centre de la France* (Paris, 1875), p. 21; also *Romania* (1880), pp. 547-70, in particular, p. 547, footnote 3.

³ Cf. *La Manékine*, vv. 2077-80; *Flamenca*, vv. 184, 185. It will be remembered, also, that the marriage of the Doges with the Adriatic occurred on Ascension Day.

⁴ Cf. *Ille et Galeron*, vv. 3962-69; *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 5272-83; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 6111, 6112: "Au chief de l'an."

⁵ In marriages of the Roman times the Calends, Nones, and Ides and all festival days, save for widows, were suitable for weddings; cf. MACROBIUS, *Conv. Saturn* (F. EYSENHARDT, ed.), I, XV, 21, 22 (Lips., 1893). For the Christian festivals cf. L. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien* (2d ed., Paris, 1898), cap. vii, pp. 218-80.

⁶ Cf. A. L. A. FRANKLIN, *La vie privée d'autrefois* (Paris, 1888), Vol. XVII, p. 34, and *Romania*, loc. cit., p. 548, n. 1.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 31, n. 3; also *Galerent*, v. 6706, and *Flamenca*, vv. 247, 248. In *Raoul de Cambrai*, vv. 6069, 6070, Sunday is given as a wedding day.

acceptable days for marriage; but that Thursday and Saturday were suitable seems clear.¹

Upon the point of the time of day for a wedding the romances generally coincide; the custom described by the poets of a marriage at early dawn occurs commonly.² This part of the day was usual in Roman weddings in the late empire.³ The early morning, or at least before noonday, was the proper time of weddings in France, and the custom may have been adopted from Roman usage, or, what is more likely, this time was due to the requirements of the church which ordered the solemnization of a sacrament by a fast from the middle of the night of the day on which the marriage was to occur.⁴ Certain weddings are mentioned as occurring at other hours than the very beginning of day, but these are rare.⁵ In a reckoning by number of the romances which refer at all to the time of day of a wedding celebration, four state simply at sunrise and two at 9 and 12 o'clock respectively.⁶

There are numerous romances that refer to a church building as the scene of a wedding. Excepting those marriages celebrated in castles, the general course taken was for the bridal party to form a procession and arrive before the church portal.⁷ The edifice, thus reached, although an important enough factor in the ceremonies, does not receive more than a passing mention from the poet.⁸ The description goes no farther than to say that the church was *long and wide* or that it was situated near some open

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 32, n. 7; Saturday as a day of consecration to the Virgin Mary was a favorable day for marriage. In the *Romance of Mélusine* Monday is a wedding day, and in *Hugues Capet* Thursday is given.

² Cf. *Richars li Biaus*, vv. 3957, 3958; *Fergus*, vv. 6905-8; *Joufrois de Poitiers*, vv. 3507-9; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 14938, 14939.

³ Cf. L. FRIEDLAENDER, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 466.

⁴ The romances show that this fasting after midnight of the wedding day was not always observed: cf. *Joufrois de Poitiers*, vv. 2106-17; *Chevalier au Cygne*, vv. 172-78.

⁵ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10432-34; *Flamenca*, v. 295; *Guillaume de Palerne*, v. 3539: Here the father of the bride grows angry over the delay of a wedding, complaining that it is already 9 A. M. (tierce).

⁶ Cf. *Flamenca*, v. 295; the time of this context is midday for the wedding, and the groom displays his impatience seemingly at the delay; he is represented as very happy when the service was over and the affair "done with," as the poet implies.

⁷ Cf. *Richars li Biaus*, vv. 410 ff.; *Flore et Jehanne*, p. 97; *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17017-54; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4724-41, and *supra*, p. 22, n. 2.

⁸ The words used for church building in the poems, are: "glise," "mestre glise," "le plus mestre glise," "li plus rice mostier majour," etc.

place or square.¹ Bells are referred to in the narratives, and are always designated as *saints* possibly because of the name, inscribed on the bell, of the patron saint of the church.² Where a ceremony is referred to as occurring in a castle, the same religious formalities may be supposed for the secular places as were prescribed for a church edifice. The officiant in a castle is entitled *chapelains*, and the place of his functions is called *chapelle*.³ What part the church portal played in the celebrating of a wedding service is not to be gathered from the romances.⁴

BENEDICTIO THALAMI.

The ceremony, practiced during the Middle Ages in the Romish church, of sprinkling a bridal bed is founded upon classic tradition. The romance of *Éracles*, of Greek origin,⁵ shows the bride as bathing two whole days before her marriage,⁶ conformably with Greek religious custom, where bathing of the body, entire, was practiced.⁷ As to Roman observances on this point, the use of running water was made with which to sprinkle the bride, or in fact to wash the feet of the bride and groom as a substitute for the Greek practice, but symbolical also of the idea of purity which bathing conveyed to the Greeks.⁸ This pagan rite with its underlying motive received acceptance also in

¹ Cf. *Cléomadès*, vv. 17764, 17765; *Guillaume de Dole*, vv. 4984, 4985: "Au moustier mon segnor S. Pierre, Qui ert coverz de fueille[s] d'ierre;" *Fergus*, vv. 5730, 5731: "Devant la tour a.l. moustier, Ki ert molt nobles et molt chier."

² The names of the churches as given are, among the rest: S. Danmartin, S. Martin, S. Moysant, S. Nicholas, S. Piere, S. Pol, S. Wast. Authorities differ with respect to the origin of the Old French *saint = cloche*; in *Romania*, XVII (1888), p. 188, M. Paris derives the word from the Latin *signum* and not from *sanctum*, an error, as he affirms, handed down from mediæval times, although he does not give any proof for his support of the former etymon. No patroness saints are recorded in connection with the names of a church. As to bells, cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 3315 and 8845.

³ Cf. *La Manékine*, v. 2032; *Le comte d'Artois*, p. 15; also VIOLLET-LE-DUC, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 103. In *L'Escoufle*, v. 8215, "Les églises del castel" occurs.

⁴ Cf. A. CHÉRUÉL, *Dictionnaire historique*, Vol. II (Paris, 1855), p. 735, and BEAUCHET, *op. cit.*, p. 41, n. 3.

⁵ Cf. PARIS, *Manuel d'ancien Français* (Paris, 1890), p. 82.

⁶ Cf. E. LÔSETH, *Éracles* (Paris, 1890), p. 31.

⁷ Cf. EURIPIDES' *Phœnissæ* (DINDORF, ed., Oxford, 1882), vv. 344-49, p. 117; and the *Scholia Græca* (*ibid.*, Oxford, 1863), Vol. III, p. 126; also ARISTOPHANES, *Comædiæ* (ed. HALL ET GELDART, Oxford, 1900), Vol. II, vv. 377, 378 of the *Lysistrata*.

⁸ Cf. A. ROSSBACH, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe* (Stuttgart, 1853), p. 366; FESTUS, *De verborum significatione*, Bk. VI; THILO ET HAGEN, *Servius, Commentarii in Vergilium* (Lips., 1881), p. 493.

Christian ceremonial. Just in what manner the priest's blessing, and the use of water, came in as a church function could not be entered upon here, though the custom is referred to very early.¹ The examples of bed-blessing are few in Old-French poetry; still they do occur, at intervals, until the later prose romances.² The *Romans d'Aventure* exhibit what may be two forms of the bed ceremony: one, where the priest blesses the couple as they lie together in bed;³ the other, where the bride is ushered into the nuptial chamber by her relatives or her attendants.⁴ Of the former manner of bed-blessing there are four examples given, whereas of the latter there are but two.⁵ This second class shows the priest as having completed the benediction⁶ before the bridegroom appears at the chamber door.⁷ One instance of a bed-blessing ceremony which gives an illustration of the scene together with the text, represents in the picture both bride and groom in bed at once, about to receive the *benedictio thalami*, but the narrative implies that the bride was put to bed first by her women attendants, and, after they had left the chamber, the groom entered and prepared himself to retire in time to receive the blessing of the priest when he appeared. Whatever the precise order of events prescribed, whether the bride alone received lustration, as seems to have been the case at Rome, or whether bride and groom had to be sprinkled as they were in bed is not

¹ Cf. *Le Fresne*, vv. 415-20, and *Anseis de Carthage*, vv. 720-35; also *Gaufrey*, vv. 7416, 7417. In MARTÈNE, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 616, 617, the sprinkling of the groom and bride is referred to as the pair enter the church.

² Cf. *Comte d'Artois*, p. 27; also *Mélusine* (*Bibl. Elzéu.*, Vol. LXXIV), pp. 64, 65 (Paris, 1854).

³ It was usual in the Middle Ages for both refined and common people alike to wear no night clothing in bed; on this point cf. *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1214, 1215 and 1279, 1280; *Durmars li Galois*, v. 15162. For the description of a bed cf. *La Vengeance de Raguidel*, vv. 3661-70.

⁴ Cf. *Clariss et Laris*, vv. 29654-60; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 6261-81; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 4785-99; in this example, the priest blessed the bed even before the bride and groom had retired and while it was yet empty. Cf. also *L'Escouffe*, vv. 1739-46, and *Cligès*, vv. 3329-35, and *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 15155-60.

⁵ J. BARROIS, *Li livre du très chevalereux comte d'Artois* (Paris, 1837), p. 27.

⁶ Cf. MARTÈNE, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 622, 623, under *Benedictio thalami*: "Benedic, domine, thalamum hunc et omnes habitantes in eo ut in tua pace consistent et in tua voluntate permanent et in amore tuo vivant et senescant et multiplicentur in longitudinem dierum. Per."

⁷ Cf. *Jehan et Blonde*, v. 4791; in this context there is a curious account of the groom searching about at the entrance to the chamber in order to assure himself that there are no intruders near.

to be determined from the romances. In connection with this ceremony notice should be taken of a substitute for the lustration observance which was adopted later as a more refined form of procedure, namely, the use of the *abrifol* in wedding celebrations.¹ Two *Romans d'Aventure* refer to this covering for the bride and groom as they stood before the priest.²

MORAL STANDARD IN BETROTHAL.

In order to fill out the discussion of the content of the *Romans d'Aventure* with reference to the general subject, it is necessary to take account of the moral attitude of a bride to a groom and of husband to wife, as it is represented in the words of the poets. If, as is usually accepted, the *Romans d'Aventure* were meant for the pleasure, specially, of women rather than men, it is allowable to suppose that these poems, broadly considered, represent a higher moral standard than otherwise might be, on that account.³ Only the more salient features of this part of the subject can be noted, for the reason that the data are too complex to admit of minute classification. In the first place, a question of almost moral import, for those times, arising in the minds of women about to marry was the rank of their lovers.³ A favorite situation with the poets is to represent a young man, apparently of obscure origin, brought by accident into acquaintanceship with

¹ Cf. J. BRAND, *Popular Antiquities* (ed. H. ELLIS, London, 1843), Vol. II. pp. 141-43.

² Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10822, 10823: "Trois chiers palies tint on desus, Si comme costume est et us;" *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 17893-99. Also cf. MARTÈNE, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 624, where the use of a carecloth is mentioned in a church ceremonial before 400 A. D. Lustration and the *abrifol* may, therefore, have gone along, side by side, and the latter ceremony must have survived owing to the more seemly character of the ceremonial; cf. L. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, p. 417, and J. BOLLAND, "Acta Sanctorum," *Vita S. Emmerammi* (Paris, 1867), Vol. VI, p. 497, col. 1.

² Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 6255 and 6255-63; here the poet expresses a subjective view of chastity which may be discounted in view of the fact that it appears to be, in the underlying motive of the poem, rather a prejudice. Cf. also *Richars li Biaus*, vv. 4105-12 and 4120-25.

³ Cf. *Escanor*, vv. 9307-24; *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 879-81 and 84-88. A jealous mother is shown to remonstrate with her husband concerning the subject of disparity in rank even if the daughter does not object; cf. *Flore et Jehanne*, pp. 94, 95. In like manner, the inferiority of the woman brings about the same objections as in the case of the man; cf. *Durnars li Galois*, vv. 860-70; *Chevaliers as deus espées*, vv. 2822-35; *Galerent*, vv. 1617-26; *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1134-60. Cf. also *La chastelaine de Saint-Gille*, p. 23, where a noblewoman exclaims against a plan of marriage where her rank is involved: *J'aim miez un chapelet de flors que mauves mariage*. In this same connection cf. P. RAJNA, *Le Corti di Amore* (Milano, 1890), pp. 20 and 66.

a woman of noble birth. This woman in the course of time becomes enamored of him, and then there follows in the poem a soliloquy from her which usually exhibits the struggle between love and duty.¹

The character of the love which a man holds for a woman and a woman for a man is generally refined, and, within the limitations of the morality pertaining to those times, sincere.² While the woman is the more susceptible to love, the man does not always conceal his feelings.³ Each one is represented as maintaining an ideal of the other in their minds.⁴ Integrity of life in a woman before her marriage and constancy to her betrothal vow, are, in some *Romans d'Aventure* the whole fabric of the story.⁵ Parental or other control, which often determined for a woman just who her lover should be, in spite of her own preferences,⁶ is recorded, in the poems, as either set wholly aside, or thwarted by means of ingenious stratagem.⁷ The young woman, however, is generally allowed to go on her own way in such circumstances, and as the poem nears the end receives forgiveness for her indiscretion.⁸ That the betrothal pledge, whether made by the two lovers in secret or openly, was considered inviolable, is very clear in the

¹ Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 1574-86; *L'Escoufle*, vv. 2890-92.

² Cf. *Méragis de Portlesgues*, vv. 1113-19. The instances of moral laxity such as are found in *Joufrois*, vv. 4407-9 and 3949-4007, and in *Conte de la Violette*, vv. 3921-34, also, *L'Escoufle*, vv. 3284-87 are not at all examples of refined manners, although they do not vitiate the fidelity of the lovers to each other but rather indicate the strength of it; in the courtship of Guillaume and Aëlis, the hero of this last-mentioned poem is made to say to the emperor who wished to take his daughter away from the young man: "Bien saciés sous son bliaut de Sire," and a little farther on the girl explains innocently: "Tantes foies que ma main ne s'ose Muchier aves mis Vos beles mains qui sont si blanches A cest bel ventre et a ces hanches Et tasté mon cors en tos sens!"

³ Cf. *La Vengeance de Raguidel*, vv. 1323-27 and 1331, 1332; *Fergus*, vv. 1848-56; *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 3927-33; cf. *Claris et Laris*, vv. 15202-15; here, the hero dilates on the matter of his love in thirteen verses, each line beginning with the word *Amours*.

⁴ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 9397-9410, and vv. 9343-72.

⁵ These poems are: *Guillaume de Palerne*, *Conte de la Violette*, *Joufrois de Poitiers*, *Amadas et Ydoine*, *Comtesse de Ponthieu*. Cf. *Anglia*, Vol. VI (1883), pp. 1-46.

⁶ Cf. *Floris et Liriope*, vv. 977, 978.

⁷ Cf. *La Manékine*, vv. 726-29, where the heroine chops off her left hand to avoid a marriage with her own father, a union which the clergy for some reason had sanctioned. Other cases of elusion are cited in *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 3589-3613, and *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 5571-74.

⁸ Cf. *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 1141, 1142, for an example of the freedom exercised by a single woman as against that of a girl in Roman times, before her marriage, as given by FRIEDLAENDER, *op. cit.*, p. 464. Cf. also *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 5359-61.

Romans d'Aventure.¹ Should an engagement by any chance have to be cancelled, an indemnity was obligatory.² The unmarried women of the *Romans d'Aventure* appear to disadvantage when compared with those of the modern world, particularly with reference to their obvious boldness in approaching a man about marriage and in making open their minds first to him about their love.³ There seemed to be more deference required by a young unmarried woman than by women who were married.⁴

The motives which actuated a man contemplating marriage are most commonly set down as material; this is true also of the woman, in her relation to the man.⁵ Yet above these mercenary incentives there rested a religious spirit of a sort which served to deter improper unions, and it is usually the woman who gives evidence of this.⁶

MORAL STANDARD IN MARRIAGE.

In the *Romans d'Aventure* the word *druërie*⁷ connotes incest,⁸ or a marriage not in keeping with decency,⁹ or, on the other hand, this word defines a perfectly proper relation of a man towards a woman.¹⁰ So also *drus* and *drue* possess the meaning of lover in

¹ Cf. *Galerent*, vv. 6822-73; *Cléomadès*, 4740-44. Other cases of this same kind are exemplified in *Galerent*, vv. 2373-79; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 1893-95; *Livre de Baudouyn*, pp. 145, 146; *Ipomédon*, vv. 10501, 10502 and 10511, 10512. In a very late romance the same element is found; cf. *Jehan de Paris* (ed. MABILLE, Paris, 1855; *Bibl. Elzéu.*), pp. 115, 116.

² Cf. *Flore et Jehanne*, p. 96, and P. CHABRIT, *De la Monarchie françoise ou de ses loix* (Paris, 1783), Vol. I, p. 189.

³ Cf. A. MÉRAY, *La vie au temps des Cours d'Amours* (Paris, 1876), p. 217. It is to be noticed that a young woman, in spite of her proposal to marriage, declares against taking the first step; cf. *Fergus*, vv. 1855, 1856: "Miex vauroie estre mise en biere, Que primes d'amour le requiere;" also *Ille et Galeront*, vv. 3349-58.

⁴ Cf. *Galerent*, vv. 5343-59; *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 10273-78; *Blancandin et l'Orgueilleuse d'Amour*, vv. 700-22; also *Amadis de Gaule*, Bk. IV (Lyons, 1538), pp. 290, 291.

⁵ Cf. *Comte d'Artois*, p. 83, and *Li livre de Baudouyn*, p. 45, in which a woman exclaims: "il ne me chaust se le mary que j'auray n'est gueres riche; car je le suis asses, je ne demande fors qu'il desporte mes oultrages. Cf. also *Ille et Galeront*, vv. 6523-28 and 6547-51.

⁶ Cf. *Cléomadès*, vv. 7121-32; *La Manékine*, vv. 555, 710, 711; *Galerent*, vv. 3196, 3197; *Sone de Nausay*, vv. 2735-50. The citation from *Cléomadès* referred to here, reveals the poet as lauding the good old days when men married for love and not for the marriage portion; in the *Chevalier à l'épée*, vv. 776-79, is given an instance of what the Flemish minstrel Adene, le Roi yearns for in *Cléomadès*.

⁷ Cf. KOERTING, *Etym. Wbuch.*, s. v., not a Celtic word but from a German stem.

⁸ Cf. *Richars li Biaus*, vv. 741 and 5032.

⁹ Cf. *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 9409-12; *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1119-29.

¹⁰ Cf. *Comte de Poitiers*, v. 986; also *Richars li Biaus*, v. 5008; this context affords a clear contrast of proper and improper love as expressed in the term *druërie*.

good and bad senses.¹ The relation, of a man about to marry, to the woman is expressed in a variety of ways,² and the names for husband³ and wife are several.⁴ As indicative of endearment, either before or after marriage, the words *ami* and *amie* are preferred.⁵

The relation of the sexes either before or after married life begins is not always ideal in the *Romans d'Aventure*. There are scenes portrayed reflecting the moral condition of those times, which exhibit both good and bad tendencies.⁶ Whether the romances are accurate to the letter in their delineation of life in this particular it is difficult to determine.⁷ There is no doubt that felicity in married life among the nobles, of whom these poems treat, was attained and fostered to an extent closely approaching modern ideas.⁸ When a woman is represented as seeking the company of some man other than her own husband, it is because either his age or jealous nature makes life a burden to her and to himself alike.⁹ The penalty for breach of the marriage vows by a

¹ Cf. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 4420, 4421; *Ipomédon*, v. 2993; *Comte de Poitiers*, v. 1102; *Lai de Melion* (ed. F. MICHEL, Paris, 1840), p. 47.

² Cf. *Guillaume de Palerne*, v. 8767, where a man is said to take a woman in marriage "A per, a feme et a compaigne; *Blancandin et l'Orgueilleuse d'Amour*; v. 3517; "Puis vous prenderei a moillier;" *Roman de Mahomet*, p. 21: "Sa dame a femme prent."

³ The words, *mari*, *baron* in *La Manékine*, v. 523: "De mes barons baron vous doing;"; *sires*, in *Escanor*, v. 3440, occur in the meaning of husband.

⁴ The terms, *femme* and *dame* (*Galerent*, vv. 1585, 1586: "Dame seray de sa maison, Sa femme et sa loyal espouse;"; *moiller*, *La Manékine*, v. 2366; *oissor*, *L'Escoufle*, v. 2175, are employed interchangeably for "wife."

⁵ Cf. *Cligès*, vv. 1392-97; *Clariss et Laris*, v. 29662; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 1139-41.

⁶ Cf. *Amadas et Ydoine*, vv. 1980 ff.; *Éracles*, vv. 2954-57; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 15713 ff.; *Lai du Cor*, vv. 345-48; *Livre de Baudouyn*, p. 144—these are examples of good morals. *L'Escoufle*, vv. 6531-40, 7880 ff.; *Joufrois de Poitiers*, vv. 3949-4007; *Comte de la Violette*, vv. 735-46; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 1511-48; *Flamenca*, vv. 6885-73, are instances of questionable manners.

⁷ Cf. A. SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 580-82 and 595-613; E. DE LA BEDOLLIÈRE, *Histoire des mœurs et de la vie privée des Français* (Paris, 1847), Vol. II, p. 186.

⁸ Cf. *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 33-35, 38-45, 14875 ff.; *La Manékine*, vv. 2433 ff. and 6374. Exhortations from parents to their newly married daughters to "love, honor, and obey" their husbands appear in *Cléomadès*, vv. 18199-18207, and *Guillaume de Palerne*, vv. 9019-38 and 9067-76.

⁹ Unconscionable disparity in the ages of a man and woman at marriage is shown occasionally in the poems: cf. *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 1263-70; *Durmars li Galois*, vv. 121 and 148 ff. For an instance of a disagreeable husband as the cause of separation from his wife cf. *Flamenca*, vv. 3240-49, and *Roman de la Poire*, vv. 1422-30.

married woman was unusually severe.¹ Of divorce, as it is known today, there are no real cases in the *Romans d'Aventure*, although several examples are found which make clear that a separation of body could be consummated on sufficient grounds with regard either to husband or wife.²

The names of certain saints are mentioned in connections where goodly offices are needed by married women in their behalf. The Virgin Mary appears to be, in the romances, a tutelary genius of married women and protectress of orphans unmarried.³

As between the twelfth century and the thirteenth, concerning morality at large it is known that the former period was inferior in standard to the latter. The literature of both centuries offers this contrast, however, in that the earlier period ingenuously confesses the truth about itself in the *Chansons de Geste* whilst the thirteenth and following centuries cannot claim more than a guarded and self-conscious statement of the truth for its poets. This renders it difficult to determine just how far the *Romans d'Aventure* may be relied on to have reproduced the actual moral life of the age of their writers. In other particulars, it seems safe to believe the facts as to that which these *trouvères* have described in their writings on affairs of daily life and on the

¹Cf. *Joufrois de Poitiers*, vv. 240 ff., and *Bisclavret* (ed. K. WARNKE), Halle, 1900, vv. 231-35.

²Cf. *Éracles*, vv. 5095 ff.; *Flamenca*, vv. 6688 ff.; *Jehan et Blonde*, vv. 5343, 5344; *Amadas et Ydoine*, vv. 7275 ff. Sometimes the repudiation of a wife by her husband occurs after the manner of Roman custom; cf. *Flore et Jehanne*, pp. 120, 121. The Old French *desseverement* was confused subsequently with divorce, but falsely, because the former word denotes the simple authorization of the church for a separation of body, without any liberty for either party to marry again; cf. GUIZOT, *Hist. de la civilisation en France* (Paris, 1872), p. 128. Cf. also *Eliduc* (ed. K. WARNKE), Halle, 1900, vv. 1120-30. In *Guillaume le Maréchal*, which is not fiction but history, may be seen how the demands of feudal life could override church regulations concerning repudiation and could obviously force a procedure "contre sainte église;" cf. this poem of the middle of the twelfth century in *Romania*, XI, 1882, p. 52, vv. 370-80; also M. MEYER'S comments, *ibid.*, pp. 42, 43.

³Cf. *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, vv. 496-502, where a mother in the throes of childbirth prays Holy Mary for aid; *Comte de Poitiers*, vv. 423 ff., in which a woman invokes the Virgin to witness to her purity as the wife of the count. Cf. also the expressions in *Floriant et Florete*, vv. 5038-40: "En l'église sainte Marie, Qui les orphelines marie;" *Clarès et Laris* vv. 8485, 8486: "La tres douce virge Marie, Qui les orfelines marie." A newly married queen is represented as honoring the Holy Mother in her daily life, and following her example by marrying off poor but refined women; cf. *La Manékine*, vv. 2433-35: "Povres gentils femmes marie, Mout par demaine sainte vie Ele honneroit Dieu et sa mere." In the poem *Éracles*, vv. 2954-57 and 2966, 2967 the same is said of Queen Athenais just after her marriage: "Messes fait chanter et matines, Et fait nourrir cez orfelines, Pour l'amour Dieu, le fil Marie Et Pour l'amour Deu les marie."

customs of the nobility class especially with which they came into closer contact than did any other profession.¹

The writer intends to give, in a future contribution, the results of an investigation, similar in character to this present one, but concerned with mediæval German betrothal and nuptial rites and based upon a survey of Middle High German literature and the German laws incident to these ceremonials in the Middle Ages.

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¹ Cf. *Histoire littéraire*, Vol. XXII, pp. 841-51; W. P. KER, *Epic and Romance* (London, 1897), pp. 375 ff. and 393; H. MICHELANT, Introductions to: *Blancandin* (Paris, 1867), *Guillaume de Palerne* (Paris, 1876), and *Escanor* (Tübingen, 1886).



ENGLISH DRAMATIC COMPANIES IN THE TOWNS OUTSIDE OF LONDON, 1550-1600.

DURING the first half of the sixteenth century we find two general classes of actors in England, those who depended on their acting for a living, and those who acted only a few times a year and did not depend on their acting for a livelihood; the first class we may call the "professional players;" the second, "the amateur players." By 1550, however, the professional players had to a large extent superseded the amateur players, and the danger of the comparatively incompetent acting of the amateur players (they had both less time and less incentive to practice their art than the professional players) arresting our drama at the miracle- and morality-stage, had been averted.

Though the main reason for this triumph of the professional players is probably to be found in the confirmation of the hostile attitude of the stricter churchmen toward the miracle- and morality-plays—with which the amateur players were mainly concerned—by the growing Protestant sentiment, still the custom of traveling for the purpose of giving performances at the principal provincial towns, instituted by the professional companies, was of considerable importance in bringing it about. If the town authorities desired a play given, not only was it less trouble to hire a professional company than to train a number of citizens for the performance, but, as a rule, it was also less expensive and the work was more satisfactorily done. It is not surprising, then, to find that after the middle of the sixteenth century practically all dramatic performances given in England were in the hands of the professional companies, and that they came to look upon their tours through the country as a by no means unimportant or unremunerative part of their work.

It is the object of this paper to give some account of the customs of these companies—their methods of performance, their relations to the town authorities, the amounts they were paid, etc., while touring the towns outside of London from 1550 to 1600.

Before attempting this, however, it may be well to point out that, in spite of the growing Protestant sentiment against plays and players and the hostile attitude of the stricter churchmen, the popularity of the drama during these years was very great. This is conclusively shown, not only by the number of performances of which we have record, but also by the fact that during these years we find notices in the town accounts of Leicester, Nottingham, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Doncaster, Plymouth, Beverley, Bath, and Stratford-on-Avon of no less than fifty-six dramatic companies. That these companies were all distinct and, as regards individual actors, mutually exclusive, is highly improbable, for we know it was the custom of the players to pass from one company to another and for the companies to change their names with a change of patron. So under different company names we may be dealing with the same actors. But, even allowing for this, the number of actors in England during the half-century must have been very great, and Walsingham's statement that in 1586 there were two hundred players in or near London¹ is probably no exaggeration. The existence of so large a body of players, who depended upon their profession for a living, can be accounted for only by supposing a widespread popularity of dramatic performances during these years.

The dramatic companies which visited the provincial towns fall naturally into three classes: First, the companies which performed in London as well as in the country towns. They were always under the patronage of royalty or some great nobleman. I have called them the "London Companies." In this division may be classed the Children of the Chapel Royal who acted in Leicester in 1591.² Secondly, the companies which performed in the country towns, but not in London, and were under the patronage of some nobleman or great commoner. I have called them the "Noblemen's Companies." Thirdly, those companies which bore the name of some town. They never acted in London, but traveled over the country, acting in various towns. I have called them the "Town Companies."

¹ Quoted in *Lights of the Old English Stage* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1878), p. 8.

² W. KELLY, *Notices of Leicester* (London, 1865), p. 226.

In addition to these more or less regularly authorized companies, there were undoubtedly many vagabond companies which bore no name and whose performances it is impossible to trace.

The modern custom of sending an advance agent to the town to be visited several days before the coming of the company, to make the necessary arrangements for the visit, was not in vogue during the years 1550-1600; at least, I have been unable to find any record of such a custom. Even the great London Companies, when touring the country, seem to have given the town authorities no notice of their coming, and to have trusted to their good-will for permission to play and for a place to play in.

The first concern of a company upon arriving in a town was to obtain permission to play. Before 1572 any company of vagabonds could palm themselves off as a dramatic company, if they could succeed in hoodwinking the town authorities. But in that year a law was passed requiring that

all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, and minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this realm, or to any other honorable personage of greater degree; all jugglers, pedlars, tinkers and petty chapmen, which said fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, minstrels, etc., shall wander about, and not have license of two justices of the peace at the least, shall be deemed and dealt with as rogues and vagabonds.¹

Consequently, after 1572, when a company of players arrived in a town where they wanted to play, they at once presented their license to the civic authorities or satisfied them that they belonged to some "baron" or "honorable" person of the realm. Thus in the Leicester records for 1583 we find the following entry:²

	Tuesday the third day of March, 1583, certain players who said they were the servants of the Queen's Majesty's
Mr. Mayor	Master of the Revels, who required license to play and for
Mr. J. Tata	their authority showed forth an Indenture of License from
Mr. Morton	one Mr. Edmund Tylney, Esquire, Master of her Majesty's Revels, of the one part, and George Haysell of Wisbeach in the Isle of Ely, in the County of Cambridge, gentleman, on the other part.

¹ J. P. COLLIER, *The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare: and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration* (1879), Vol. I, p. 195.

² Quotations and extracts have been modernized in spelling throughout.

The which Indenture is dated the 6th day of February in the 25th year of her Majesty's reign, etc. In which Indenture there is one article, that all Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and all other her officers, Ministers, and Subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto the said Edmund Tylney, his Deputies and Assignees, attending and having due regard unto such persons as shall disorderly intrude themselves into any the doings and actions before mentioned, not being reformed, qualified and bound to the orders prescribed by the said Edmund Tylney.¹ These shall be therefore not only to signify and give notice unto all and every her said Justices, etc., that none, of their own pretended authority intrude themselves and presume to show forth any such plays, interludes, tragedies, comedies, or shows in any places within this realm, without the orderly allowance thereof under the hand of the said Edmund.

Note. No play is to be played, but such as is allowed by the said Edmund, and his hand at the latter end of the said book they do play.

The aforesaid Haysell is now the chief player, etc.²

A few days later the Earl of Worcester's Company arrived in Leicester, and the records give us a short summary of the license:

William, Earl of Worcester, etc., hath by his writing, dated the 14th of January, A° 25° Eliz. R° licensed his Servants, viz., Robt. Browne, James Tunstall, Edward Allen, Wm. Harryson, Tho. Cooke, Richard Johnes, Edward Browne, Richard Andrews to play and go abroad, using themselves orderly, etc. (in these words, etc.). These are therefore to require all such Her Highness' officers to whom these presents shall come quietly and friendly within your several precincts and corporations, to permit and suffer them to pass with your furtherance, using and demeaning themselves honestly and to give them (the rather for my sake) such entertainment as other noblemen's players have (In Witness, etc.).³

In 1597 a law was passed reviving the act of 1572 and requiring, in addition, that

the players of the nobility, wandering abroad, should be "authorized to play" under "the hand and seal of arms" of the Baron or personage of greater degree.⁴

¹ Edmund Tylney was master of Her Majesty's Revels from 1573 to 1610; cf. "Henslowe's Diary," ed. J. PAYNE COLLIER, *Publications of the Shakspeare Society* (London, 1845), Introduction, p. xxix.

² WILLIAM KELLY, *op. cit.* (1865), pp. 211, 212.

³ KELLY, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213.

⁴ COLLIER, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 195, note.

The exemption of these two laws in favor of noblemen's servants was taken away by the act of 1603-4.¹

It seems to have been the custom in some towns for the players to give a first performance before the town authorities and those citizens who wished to attend, no admission being charged, but the players receiving a "reward" from the mayor. Thus Willis, in his *Mount Tabor*, 1639, describing the performance of the *Cradle of Security* seen by him when a boy, says:

In the city of Gloucester the manner is (as I think it is in other like corporations) that when Players of Enterludes come to town, they first attend the Mayor, to inform him what noble-man's servants they are, and so get license for their public playing: and if the Mayor like the actors, or would show respect to their Lord and Master, he appoints them to play their first play before himself and the aldermen and Common Council of the City; and that is called the Mayor's play, where everyone that will comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as he thinks fit, to show respect unto them.²

In the Bristol accounts for August, 1576, we find an entry which apparently refers to such a performance and gives ample evidence that these "free shows" were fully appreciated by the citizens:

Item, pd: for 2 rings of iron to be set upon the houses of the one side of the Guildhall door to rear the door from the ground and for mending the cramp of iron which shooteth the bar, which cramp was stretched with the press of people at the play of My Lord Chamberlain's servants in the Guildhall before Mr. Mayor and the Aldermen—6d.³

That this first performance before the mayor and aldermen was always free to the citizens, the players being satisfied with their reward, as Mr. W. Kelly states,⁴ and as Mr. E. K. Chambers seems to imply when he says referring to the players, "In the towns they would give their first performance before the municipality in the guild-hall and take a reward,"⁵ is highly improbable.

¹ E. K. CHAMBERS, *The Mediæval Stage* (Clarendon Press, 1903), Vol. I, p. 55, note.

² COLLIER, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 196.

³ J. F. NICHOLLS AND JOHN TAYLOR, *Bristol Past and Present* (Bristol and London, 1881), Vol. I, pp. 234, 235.

⁴ KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵ *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 189. The evidence quoted above from Willis, *Mount Tabor*, and used by Mr. Chambers in proof of his assertion, refers not to the old amateur players of interludes, but to the professional "noble-man's servants."

In the town accounts we find frequent entries such as the following in the Leicester Records:

- 1555. Item. Pd. to the Queen's Players, over and above that was gathered — 3s. 6d.
- 1559. Item. To the Queen's Players, beside the money that was gathered — 3s. 6d.
- 1592. Item. The 19th of December, given to the Lord Admiral's Players, more than was gathered — 8s.¹

Now, both the amount paid and the fact that there is only one such entry during the stay of the company in the town indicate that these rewards were given for a single performance, and most likely for the first performance before the mayor and council. If this is the case, it is obvious that an entrance fee was often charged at these first performances and the mayor's "reward" added to the amount collected for the benefit of the players. Very likely, as the visits of dramatic companies to the towns became more frequent, their credentials more reliable, and their plays and players better known, this "free" performance, which was at first the only way the authorities had of testing the merits of the plays and players, was done away with, and the mayor and aldermen attended, if at all officially, the first regular performance, the old custom of giving the players a "reward" out of the city coffers being continued. The fact that after 1550 the vast majority of entries in the town records of payments to companies of players are of "rewards" which have been added to the "money that was gathered" is almost conclusive proof of this.

Not only did the town authorities thus "show respect" unto the players, as Willis quaintly puts it, but often, if for some reason they refused to allow the company to play, they still gave them their "reward." Thus in the Leicester accounts we find the following entries:

- 1591. Item. Given to the Lord Dacre's Players in reward, which were not suffered to play — 2s. 6d.
- Item. Given to the Earl of Worcester's Players in reward, for that they did not play — 10s.²

Even after the system of licensing the companies was inaugu-

¹ KELLY, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 227.

² *Ibid.*, p. 226.

rated, the town authorities were often imposed upon, and even defied, by the bands of players. In the Leicester Records there is an interesting account of a case of this kind. In the quotations from the records, we saw that on March 3, 1583, a company claiming to be the servants of the Queen's Majesty's Master of the Revels received permission to play in Leicester upon presenting an indenture of license from Edw. Tylney Esq., Master of Her Majesty's Revels, and George Haysell of Wisbeach, in the Isle of Ely, Gentleman (the chief player of the company).¹

Another entry, on March 6, states that—

Certain players came before Mr. Mayor at the Hall, there being present Mr. John Tata, Mr. George Tata, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Worship: who said they were the Earl of Worcester's men: who said the aforesaid players were not lawfully authorized, and that they² had taken from them their commission; but it is untrue, for they forgot their box at the Inn in Leicester, and so these men got it; and they said, the said Haysell was not here himself and they sent the same to Grantom to the said Haysell who dwelleth there.³

The entry then gives an abstract of the license presented by Worcester's men, and proceeds:

Mr. Mayor did give the aforesaid players an Angel towards their dinner and willed them not to play at this present: being friday the 6th of March, for that the time was not convenient.

The aforesaid players met Mr. Mayor in the street near Mr. Newcome's house, after the Angel was given about a 2 hours, who then craved license again to play at their Inn, and he told them they should not, then they went away and said they would play, whether he would or not, and in despite of him, with divers other evil and contemptuous words: Witness hereof Mr. Newcome, Mr. Wycam, and William Dethicke.

More, these men, contrary to Mr. Mayor's commandment, went with their drum and trumpets through the town, in contempt of Mr. Mayor, neither would come at his commandment, by his officer, viz: Worship

Wm. Pateson my lord Harbard's man	} these 2 were they which
Tho. Powlton my lord of Worcester's man	

did so much abuse Mr. Mayor in the aforesaid words.

Nota. These said players have submitted themselves and are sorry for these words past and craved pardon, desiring his worship not to write to their master again, and so upon their submission they are licensed to play this night at their inn; and also they have promised that upon the stage, in the beginning of their play, to show to the hearers that

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.

² Worcester's men?

³ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

they are licensed to play by Mr. Mayor and his good will, and that they are sorry for the words past.¹

Not only were the players often in conflict with the civil authorities, but they also, at times, formed a bone of contention between the civil and spiritual powers. From the treasurer's accounts for the city of Edinburgh for November, 1599, it appears that a company of English players, of whom Laurence Fletcher was manager, obtained a warrant from the king to act in public. They accordingly proclaimed with drums and trumpets that they would act at a house in Blackfriar's Wynd in Edinburgh. The four sessions of the church promptly announced that anyone who attended the performance would be under the kirk's severest displeasure. The entry then states that, by His "Majesty's directions," Sir George Elphinstone delivered certain moneys to the players, and then continues:

Item. To the aforesaid messenger, passing with letters to the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, charging the elders and deacons of the whole four sessions of Edinburgh to annul their act, made for the discharge of certain English Comedians. 10s. 8d.

The four sessions accordingly annulled their act against the players, and the ministers announced the fact from the pulpit.²

The players had their own methods of defying the hostility of the clergy. When in 1547 Bishop Gardiner announced that he would hold "a solemn dirge in honour of the late king at St. Mary Overies," the players of Bankside issued the following proclamation: "They will act a solemn play to try who shall have most resort, they in game or he in earnest."³

That the players were often indiscreet in their treatment of the authorities is shown by the letter of Nicholson to Lord Burleigh on April 15, 1598, in which he says:

It is regretted that the Comedians of London should scorn the King and the people of this land in their play; and it is wished that the matter be speedily amended, lest the King and the country be stirred to anger.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-14.

² J. C. DIBDIN, *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 23.

³ WILLIAM RENDLE, *Old Southwark and its People* (Southwark, 1878), p. 215.

⁴ DIBDIN, *op. cit.*, p. 21; quoted from the *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland*, II, p. 749.

The elders of the four sessions of Edinburgh made the same charge against the English Comedians as a partial justification of their refusing them the right to play in 1599.¹

In spite of occasional quarrels with the various powers that be, the regularly licensed companies of players were usually welcomed heartily by the authorities of the towns they visited. They were even highly honored at times, for in 1601 we find the members of a company of English players, called the "King's Servants," in Scotland, of whom Laurence Fletcher was chief actor and manager, receiving the freedom of the city while visiting Aberdeen.²

Having obtained permission to play, the next concern of the company was to notify the townsfolk of the time and place of the performance. Sometimes this was done by the town authorities, as in the case of Southampton, where we find the authorities issuing an order informing the townsfolk "that a famous company just arrived would play at convenient times."³ More often, however, the players themselves proclaimed with drum and trumpet the time and place of their entertainment.⁴

The places of performance varied from a private house or inn to the guild-hall or a regular playhouse. If the following entries refer to private houses, and not to inns, it seems probable that such performances were usually given on festive occasions. Thus in the Nottingham accounts for December 7, 1603, we read:

Richard Jackson committed for suffering players to sound their trumpets and playing in the house without license and for suffering his guests to be out all night.⁵

The expenses of such performances were probably borne by the owner of the house. Possibly the following entry in the same accounts for 1572 also refers to such a performance:

Item. Paid to Master Harpbam for ale, when the Queen's Players did play at his house—6d.⁶

¹ DIBDIN, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³ REV. J. S. DAVIES, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton and London, 1883), p. 217.

⁴ Cf. above, pp. 7, 8.

⁵ *Records of the Borough of Nottingham* (London, 1889), Vol. IV, p. 268.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 143. It is to be noted in connection with the two above entries that from 1550 on the inns were almost invariably designated by their sign, and not by their owner's name.

If so, it would apparently indicate that sometimes the town authorities paid for the ale or wine consumed by the players. It may be that in such cases the owner of the house was an alderman or some other municipal dignitary.

Again, in the Leicester accounts for 1571 we find the following entry:

Item. Pd: for wine that was given to Derby's men at Matthew Norris' wedding—6d.¹

In some of the towns the usual place for performances was the church—an obvious survival of the custom of the miracle- and interlude-players. In the Doncaster and Plymouth records such entries as the following are common:

1574, Aug. 2. To Lord of Leicester [s men] for playing in the church—20s.²

1559-60. Lord Robert Dudley's players for playing in the church—20s.³

So strong a hold had this custom taken in some places that in 1602 we find the town authorities of Syston in Leicestershire paying a company of players a "reward" on refusing them the privilege of playing in the church. The entry reads:

Paid to Lord Morden's players because they should not play in the Church—xii d.⁴

In other towns, the town- or guild-hall was the customary place of performance. In the Oxford and Nottingham records we find such entries as the following:

Oxford: 1562, June 8. Given to my Lord of Warwick's players when they played in the Guildhall—6s. 8d.⁵

Nottingham: 1577, August. Earl of Sussex (Men) at Town Hall—13s. 4d.⁶

Just as in the case of performances in the churches, when a

¹ KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

² JOHN TOMLINSON, *Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time*, 1887, p. 47.

³ R. M. WORTH, *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records* (Plymouth, 1893), p. 117.

⁴ KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁵ WILLIAM H. TURNER, *Selections from the Records of Oxford from Henry VIII. to Elizabeth* (1509-1583). By William H. Turner, (Oxford and London: Jas. Parker & Co., 1880) p. 299.

⁶ *Records of Nottingham*, Vol. IV, p. 168.

company was refused the right to use the town- or guild-hall, the town authorities considered it necessary to pay them a "reward." Thus in Leicester, 1586, we find this entry:

Item. Given to Earl of Essex players in Reward being not suffered to play at the Hall—20s.¹

When the players could not obtain the church or town-hall, they would resort to their inn or the inn-yard. Thus in the quotation above, on p. 7, when the Worcester Company was refused permission to play by the Leicester authorities, they said they would play at their inn whether the mayor wished or no. It does not seem likely, however, that the more important companies were often driven to this after 1550, as there are very few records of such being the case. Possibly the minor companies and mountebanks had more often to put up with such quarters, as in the following case at Leicester:

1590. Item. Given to certain players, playing upon ropes at the Cross Keys, more than was gathered—28s. 4d.²

In the same year, Worcester's, Hartford's, and the Queen's men played at the hall.

Sometimes when there was no suitable place available for the players to perform in, the authorities would prepare a place for them. Thus when the English players visited Edinburgh in 1599, we find the king ordering the "bailies" of the city to assist the players in preparing a place at his charges. This is the entry in the treasurer's accounts:

Item. By his Majesty's directions given to Sir George Elphingstone to be delivered to the English Comedians, to buy timber for the preparation of a house to their pastime as the said Sir George's ticket bears £40.³

The place chosen was Blackfriar's Wynd, not the historic playing-ground of Edinburgh, Greenside. The latter was made over to the Burgh of Edinburgh by James II., in 1456, for "tournaments, sports, and proper warlike deeds to be done and accomplished there for the pleasure of us and our successors."⁴ Plays and players soon took the place of tournaments and knights, and

¹ KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

² *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³ DIBDIN, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8

in 1554 we find Sir David Lindsay's *Three Estates* being performed there. At this time there were several buildings on the playfield, as the following entry shows:

Item. Paid for making of the Queen's Grace's house on the playfield, beside the convoy house under the same, and the players' house, the gibbets and scaffold about the same, and boards on the playfield, carrying of them from the town to the field, and therefrom again, the cutting and inlaying of great and small timber, with the nails and workmanship of 6 wrights, two days thereto, pinner's fees, cart hire and other necessities, as Sir William M'Dougall, master of work's ticket bears. £16. 5s. 4d.¹

Greenside was used for plays as late as 1588, for on "November 1, John Hill who was tenant of that land 'was discharged of any tilling and riving of any part of the playfield.'"²

Some such place for performance of plays existed in Shrewsbury in 1533, when plays were given in the "quarry outside the walls." Referring to this place in 1570, it is stated "that the places have been accustomed to be used." Here there were traces of a seated amphitheater as late as 1779.³ If players visited Shrewsbury from 1550 to 1600, they may possibly have used this place for their performances.

A few of the towns outside of London had regular playhouses, which were probably used for other purposes when no dramatic company was using them. Mr. E. K. Chambers found evidence of a playhouse in Exeter as early as 1348.⁴ In the town records of Great Yarmouth we find that—

after the Reformation the Corporation erected "a game house," and in 1538 when they granted a lease of these premises to Robert Copping they stipulated that he should "permit and suffer all such players and their audiences to have the pleasure and use of said house and game place, at all such times as any interlude or plays should be ministered or played at any time; without any profit thereof to his or his assigns to be taken."⁵

In Worcester in 1584 a lease of the "vacant place where

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9; quoted from town records.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13; quoted from town records.

³ *Books of Council Orders in Historical MSS*, Report XV, Appendix, Pt. X, p. 16, and in E. PHILLIPS, *History of Shrewsbury*, p. 201; quoted by E. K. CHAMBERS, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 394.

⁴ E. K. CHAMBERS, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 190.

⁵ CHAS. JOHN PALMER, *Perustration of Great Yarmouth with Gorleston and Southtown* (Great Yarmouth, 1872), Vol. I, p. 351.

pagants do stand" was granted for building, and there was a building known as the "Pageant House" as late as 1738. Whether or not this was used for plays does not appear.¹

Sometimes the players gave their entertainment in the evening, as in the case of the Worcester Company at Leicester in March, 1583,² though it seems probable that their usual time of performance was in the afternoon, as in London.

Sometimes, when traveling, the players were accompanied by a band of musicians. We come across such records as the following:

Nottingham: December 19, 1578—To Lord Haworth's players and musicians. 5s.³

Doncaster: 1578—Item. To My Lord Dacre's players and musicians. 13s. 4d.⁴

An entry in the Shrewsbury records may indicate that sometimes a company of players was accompanied by a band of musicians which regularly belonged to another company. It is as follows:

1591. Paid to L of Darby's musicians and Earl of Worcester's players. 22s. 8d.⁵

Of course, this may mean merely that these musicians and players performed separately and the payments to them were lumped together in one entry. But the amount, while large, does not seem an adequate reward for two separate performances of such famous companies, for in the same year such an insignificant company as Lord Beacham's was paid by the Shrewsbury authorities 13s. 4d.⁶ for one performance, and in 1590 Worcester's men received in Leicester, also for one performance, 20s.⁷

As many of the entries in the town records already quoted will have indicated, the players relied for remuneration for their services on two sources—the "gifts" or "rewards" granted them by

¹ Quoted by E. K. CHAMBERS, *loc. cit.*, p. 398.

² Cf. above, p. 7.

³ *Records of the Borough of Nottingham* (London, 1889), Vol. IV, p. 183.

⁴ JOHN TOMLINSON, *Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time* (1887), p. 50.

⁵ OWEN AND BLAKENEX, *History of Shrewsbury* (Shrewsbury, 1825), Vol. I. p. 394.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

⁷ KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

the town authorities or, in the case of Edinburgh, by the king, and the admission fee.

The relative amount of income derived from these two sources about 1590 can be estimated from an interesting entry in the Leicester records.¹ Under the date October 30, 1590, we find the following:

Receipts towards the charges of the Gifts given to Noblemen's Players:—

Imprimis. Received at the Hall door the 30th day of October, The Queen's Majesty's Players then playing—10s.

Item. Received at the Hall door, the Earl of Worcester's players then playing—6s. 8d.

Item. Received at the Hall door, the Earl of Hartford's players then playing—6s. 8d.

Item. Received of John Underwood, the Mayor's Sergeant, which was by him received of the Mayor's Brethren for 6 plays and one Bear Baiting—44s.

Item. Received more of the 48s, for the same plays and Bear Baiting—48s.

Total 5£, 15s, 4d.

Item. The 30th of October, given to the Queen's Majesty's Players, by the appointment of Mr. Mayor and his Brethren—40s.

Item. Given to the Earl of Worcester's Players, by the appointment of Mr. Mayor and his Brethren—20s.

Item. The 22nd of November, given to the Earl of Hartford's Players by the appointment, aforesaid—20s.

According to this account, which probably deals only with the first performances (if there were any others²), in which alone the city authorities seem to have been interested financially, the "rewards" or "gifts" given by them to the players are considerably greater than the receipts for admission. Thus, while the receipts at the hall door for the performance of the Queen's Company were only 10s., their "reward" out of the city purse was 30s., and in the case of Worcester's men 6s. 8d. at the door and 13s. 4d. from the city. The average amount taken at the door seems to have been about 7s., while the "gifts" from the city vary from 10s. to 40s. for the more important London Companies, the

¹*Ibid.*

²Cf. below pp. 17, 18.

Queen's usually obtaining the greatest "reward." The Noblemen's and Town Companies had often to be satisfied with such small amounts as 2s. 6d., or 5s. for "rewards," with which amounts Lord Dacre's players are credited in 1591 and 1592.¹

Kelly supposes that the rewards of the various companies depended upon the rank of their patrons; the Queen's players receiving the highest reward; the companies of great noblemen, such as Worcester, Leicester, etc., receiving the next highest; then in the scale came the lesser noblemen's and great commoners' companies, and finally the Town Companies.² I have been unable to find any evidence in proof of the theory, except that those companies patronized by royalty and one or two of the more famous noblemen always received the greatest "rewards." Between the other companies the civic authorities do not seem to have distinguished.

On special occasions, such as May Day or Christmas, the Town Companies might receive a greater reward than usual, for in Plymouth in the years 1565-66, and 1566-67, we find such companies as the children of Totnes playing at Christmas, and the players of St. Burdock's playing on May Day, receiving 10s. reward.³

In Nottingham, Doncaster, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bath, and Beverley the "rewards" given to players are about the same as in Plymouth and Leicester.

From 1550 to 1570 we find a steady rise in the "rewards" given to players by the town authorities. After 1570 the increase is not so marked, though there is still some noticeable.

As the visits of these itinerant companies became more frequent, the giving of rewards came to be a severe drain on the town coffers, and we are not surprised when we find the Leicester Corporation in 1566 making "an act against wasting of the town stock," in which it is set forth that—

Whereas before this time the town stock hath been and is much decayed by reason of giving, carrying, and bestowing of great gifts, as well in the country as in the town, to noble men and women, and also to others that have sundry times resorted to the said town of Leicester,

¹ KELLY, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 227,

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³ R. N. WORTH, *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records* (Plymouth, 1893), p. 120

and also at the banquets of venison, of gifts and rewards given to players, musicians, jesters, noblemen's bearwards, and such like charges; and is like daily to be more and more to be decayed, except reformation thereof be speedily had; therefore it is enacted, . . . that from and after the said day there shall be no such great allowance paid, delivered, or allowed out of the town stock for any such expenses that shall happen, but that the spenders thereof, as at banquets of venison, plays, bear baitings, and such like, every one of the Mayor's brethren, and of the forty-eight, being required or having summons by the commandment of Mr. Mayor for the time being, to be there, shall bear everyone of them his and their portion.¹

It is also required that no "gift" should be given by the mayor without the consent of four or five of the "ancients" of his brethren, and as many of the ancients of the forty-five, except five shillings and under; which he could bestow for the "honor of the town" as often as he wished.

In November, 1581, the giving of rewards was further restricted by an act which stated:

It is agreed that from henceforth there shall not be any fees or rewards given by the chamber of this town, nor any of the twenty-four nor forty-eight to be charged with any payments for or towards any bearwards, bearbaitings, players, plays, interludes, or games, or any of them, except the Queen's Majesty's or the Lords of the Privy Council; nor that any players be suffered to play at the town hall (except as before excepted), and then but only before the Mayor and his brethren, upon pain of 40s. to be lost by the Mayor that shall suffer or do the contrary.²

These orders do not seem to have been very rigidly enforced, however, for we find the visits of companies and the payments of "rewards" to be about as frequent after as before their enactment.

We have already seen that the city sometimes gave presents of ale or wine to companies of players when playing at private houses on festive occasions.³ Occasionally they seem to have presented the companies with gifts of ale, wine, or even a contribution toward a meal in addition to the regular reward. Thus in Beverley, August 8, 1572, we find an entry in the town records of 9*d.* "for wine bestowed" on the Earl of Leicester's players in addition to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95 (quoted).

² *Ibid.*, p. 95 (quoted).

³ *Cf.* above, pp. 9, 10.

their reward of 30s.¹ When Worcester's men visited Leicester in 1583, "Mr. Mayor did give the aforesaid players an angel towards their dinner."²

As we should expect, the receipts of the companies while traveling in the provincial towns were much smaller than their receipts while acting at the regular theaters in London. Malone supposed that during the early seventeenth century as much as £20 was often taken at the doors of the Globe and Blackfriar's Theaters for one performance, and we know that these theaters averaged about £9 clear profit on the benefit nights for the five and a half years after 1628.³ While the receipts at the older theaters, the Rose and Curtain, were probably smaller, still they must have been considerably more than the receipts in the provincial towns, for Henslowe as manager and part owner of these theaters from 1591-97 often pocketed daily as much as £3 or £4 as his share of the profits.⁴ Even supposing that he took more than his fifteen shares of the forty which was the proportion Malone supposed the proprietors to receive, the company getting twenty-two shares, still the profits must have been more than in the towns. In addition to this, we must remember that their traveling expenses must have been considerable while on the road, and that on many days while moving from one town to another, they could give no performances.⁵

How long a company would remain in a town, or how many performances it would give, I have been unable to determine, as the town records deal almost exclusively with the single performance in which the civic authorities were financially interested. That their stay was not long we may be fairly certain. Willis, in his reference to the customs of companies playing in Gloucester, implies that they gave more than one performance during their visit,⁶ and from the account of the quarrel between the town authorities and the so-called "Servants of the Queen's Majesty's

¹ GEORGE POULSON, *History and Antiquities of Beverley* (London, 1829), quoted from records, p. 319.

² Quoted from KELLY, *op. cit.*, above, p. 7.

³ COLLIER, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 233.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ It should be remembered that from 1550 to 1600 money had about eight times its present value.

⁶ Cf. as quoted above, pp. 5, 6.

Master of the Revels" and Worcester's men in Leicester in 1583, it appears that the former company did not stay in the town more than three days, for they arrived on Tuesday, March 3, and on March 6 appear to have left the city.¹

To be sure, in the Edinburgh accounts for October, November, and December, 1599, we find records of the performances of a company of English comedians, apparently the same company.² But whether their stay in Edinburgh was continuous during these months the entries do not allow us to determine. It is, however, probable that a company would stay a few days in a town, giving daily performances.

That some companies were more popular in certain towns than in others is evident from the frequency of their visits in those localities. Thus in Bath,³ the Lord Chamberlain's, afterward the Queen's Company, is by far the most frequent visitor, while in Beverley⁴ and Oxford⁵ the Earl of Leicester's men seem to have been the favorites.

Sometimes certain companies seem to have had a practical monopoly of the patronage of a town, at least for a certain length of time. Thus at Leicester in 1581 it was enacted that from that date only the players of the Queen and Lords of the Privy Council could act in that town.⁶

That the companies while traveling materially reduced the number of their actors does not seem probable, for in the Leicester records for 1583 we have the following list of Worcester's men given:

Robert Broune	Edward Broune
James Tunstall (Dunstan?)	Richard Andrews
Edward Allen	Thomas Powlton
William Harryson	William Pateson, Lord Har-
Thomas Cooke	bard's man. ⁷
Richard Johnes	

¹ Cf. as quoted above, pp. 7, 8.

² Cf. DIBDIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24.

³ AUSTIN J. KING AND B. H. WATTS, *Municipal Records of Bath, 1189-1604* (London, 1885), p. 56.

⁴ GEORGE POULSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-319.

⁵ *Selections from Records of Oxford from Henry VIII-Elizabeth (1509-1582)* By WILLIAM H. TURNER, (Oxford and London: Jas. Parker & Co., 1880), pp. 267 *et seq.*

⁶ KELLY, *op. cit.*, cf. above, p. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Including Pateson, this gives a company of ten players, which was about the usual number carried by a company while acting in London, if we rule out persons taking unimportant parts in certain plays requiring a large cast. Undoubtedly a company while traveling would present only such plays as could be acted by an average number of players, and so do away with the expense of taking with them actors for unimportant parts.

In closing this paper, I wish to emphasize again the popularity of professional dramatic performances in England during the latter half of the sixteen century. There can be no doubt that that there were frequent quarrels between the town authorities and the traveling dramatic companies, and that among the more religious element of the citizens there was a feeling of opposition to dramatic performances as savoring of the devil; still such a statement as Mr. Courthope's in his *History of English Poetry* that "from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards the representation of stage plays, always encouraged by the nobility, had been *vehemently opposed* by the magistrate in almost every considerable city in England,"¹ can be nothing but misleading. The evidence he adduces to prove his statement is that "in 1572 the corporation of Leicester refused leave to the Earl of Worcester's players to act in the town."² Possibly this is true, though I have been unable to find the entry. Even so, the magistrates often had other reasons than religious ones³ for refusing to allow the players to perform. At any rate, we know that in 1572 Worcester's men did act in Leicester, for in the town records we find the following entry under that date:

Item. Given to the Lord of Worcester's Players, more than was gathered — 8s.⁴

Also from 1571 to 1576 we find records of the Queen's Players, the Players of Coventry, Lord Leicester's players, Lord Sussex' men, Lord Derby's Bearward and Essex' men, the players that came out of Wales, and Earl of Warwick's men, playing in that

¹ W. J. COURTHOPE, *History of English Poetry* (London, 1903), Vol. IV, p. 391.

² *Ibid.*

³ The context of the above quotation from Mr. Courthope implies that the magistrates of Leicester thus refused Worcester's men permission to play on religious grounds; cf. p. 391.

⁴ KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

town.¹ A reference to the town records of Nottingham, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Doncaster, Beverley, Plymouth, Bath and Stratford-on-Avon shows frequent visits of dramatic companies. If the magistrates were so "vehemently opposed" to the "stage plays," it is remarkable that they so often should have not only allowed them to play, but attended the first performances, given the players "rewards" out of the city coffers, permitted them to act in the guild-hall or church, and even in some cases built play-houses for their performances; that in 1572 "John Hankey, Mayor of Chester would needs have the plays go forward against the wills of the Bishops of Canterbury, York, and Chester,"² and the plays were miracle plays at that. In fact, the state of the case seems to have been that the great body of English citizens, both magistrates and private citizens, were not only willing but glad to welcome the properly authorized dramatic companies to their towns and to attend their performances. Even the more Puritanical element did not so much object to the plays of the regular professional companies as to the miracle- and mystery-plays, and the popular amusements, such as the May games and Morrice dances. The former they connected with the ritual of the Roman Catholic church, which they hated, and the latter with paganism. To assert, then, that, because a small and comparatively unimportant body of extremely strict Protestants and Roman Catholics loathed dramatic performances, the people of England were "vehemently opposed" to the stage, is both misleading and unjust.

Thus we have seen that during the latter half of the sixteenth century the professional actors superseded the old amateur players in the favor of the British public; that the professional companies, when traveling among the provincial towns, carried their usual number of players and, though not making such large profits as in London, managed to clear enough out of the admission fees they exacted, and the "gifts" or "rewards" of the corporations, to make their tours not unprofitable; that when in these towns they gave their plays at private houses, inns, inn-yards, churches, town- or guild-halls, and play- or game-houses where

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-6.

² E. K. CHAMBERS, *The Mediæval Stage*, Vol. II, p. 353.

such existed, and that in those towns where the companies were accustomed to play in the church or town- or guild-hall they might even demand a "reward" if the town council refused to allow them to use these buildings for their performances; that in some towns one or two companies had a practical monopoly of the patronage of that town; and that, in spite of their occasional quarrels with the civil and spiritual authorities, these professional companies were popular with all but the extremely strict element of Protestant and Roman Catholic citizens of England.

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NOTE.—As the examination of the material connected with this subject is still going on with a view to the publication of a history of the dramatic companies, I wish it to be understood that the opinions expressed in this article are more or less tentative.



RIDDLES OF THE BEDE TRADITION.

THE "FLORES" OF PSEUDO-BEDE.

AMONG the works doubtfully attributed to Bede, the so-called "Flores"¹ holds an interesting place. This varied assortment of queries falls roughly into three divisions. (1) The first, and by far the largest of these belongs to dialogue literature,² and has much in common with such well-known groups as the *Salomon and Saturn* (*S. & S.*)³ the *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti* (*A. H. E.*),⁴ the *Disputatio Pippini cum Albino* (*D. P. A.*),⁵ the *Joca Monachorum*,⁶ and the many other collections of like kind. These questions can hardly be regarded as riddles at all, for they are rather tests of knowledge than of the understanding and at all points display their clerkly origin. They consist of "odd ends from Holy Writ" eked out by monkish additions to scriptural lore, scraps of proverbial philosophy, bits of pseudo-science, fragments of fable and allegory, gleanings from the folklore of the time.⁷ (2) The second class of problems consists of direct citation of famous Latin enigmas. Five riddles from Symphosius (1, 7, 4, 11, 10) and five from Aldhelm (I, 3, 10, 2, 4, 11)⁸ are quoted in full; and one from the latter (I, 10), "De puerpera geminos enixa," is prefaced with this paraphrase: "Vidi mulierem cum sex oculis, cum sexaginta digitis, cum tribus

¹ The full title of this *mélange* is *Excerptiones patrum, collectanea, flores ex diversis, quaestiones et parabolae*. Included in the Bale edition of BEDE's *Opera* of 1563 and in the Cologne edition of 1612, the "Flores" was reprinted, partially and incorrectly, from the second in KEMBLE's *Salomon and Saturn* (1848), pp. 322-26, but appears in complete and accurate form in MIGNÉ's *Patrologia latina* (1850), 90, pp. 539 f.

² For an interesting summary of the material upon this subject see FÖRSTER, *Old English Miscellany* (Furnivall, 1901), pp. 86 f.

³ KEMBLE, *loc. cit.*

⁴ WILMANN, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XIV, 530.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ WOLFFLIN-TROLL, *Monatsberichte der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1872, p. 116.

⁷ The following query, with its strangely picturesque answer, has doubtless a local or topical reference: "Quaero barbarum quem invenire non possum. In aquilonari parte civitatis ubi aqua attingit parietem tolle saxum quadratum, ibi invenies barbarum."

⁸ Compare MANITIUS, *Zu Aldhelm und Baeda*, (Wien 1886), p. 82.

linguis, cum uno ore loquente."¹ (3) There remain a dozen riddles rich in popular motives and abounding in analogues. Some of these I have incidentally considered in an article upon the *Exeter Book Riddles* (*E. B. R.*),² but the group now demands a treatment more exhaustive than I was then able to offer.

TEXT.

(I) Die mihi, quaeso, quae est illa mulier quae innumeris filiis ubera porrigit, quae, quantum sucta fuerit, tantum inundat? Mulier ista est Sapientia.

(II) Vidi filium cum matre manducantem, cujus pellis pendebat in pariete.

(III) Sedeo super equum non natum, cujus matrem in manu teneo.

(IV) Dic mihi quae est illa res quae, cum augetur, minor erit: et dum minuitur, augmentum accipit.

(V) Dic mihi quae est illa res quae caelum totamque terram replevit, silvas et surculos confringit, omniaque fundamenta concutit: sed nec oculis videri aut manibus tangi potest.

(VI) Dic mihi unde fugit dies ante noctem et nox ubi currit et in quo loco uterque requiescit. In sole requiescit dies et in nube nox.

(VII) Quid est quod mater me genuit et mox eadem gignetur a me?

(VIII) Vidi filium inter quatuor fontes nutritum: si vivus fuit, disrupti montes; si mortuus fuit, alligavit vivos.

(IX) Vidi bipedem super tripodem sedentem: cecidit bipes, corrui tripes.

(X) Vidi filium non natum sed ex tribus personis suscitatum et eum nutritum donec vivus vocaretur.

(XI) Vidi mortuum super vivum sedentem et ex visu mortui moriebatur vivus.

(XII) Vidi virginem flentem et murmurantem, viae ejus sunt semitae vitae.

NOTES.

(I) This appears in the St. Gall MS No. 196, of the tenth century:³ "Quae est mulier, quae multis filiis ubera porrigit et quanto plus sugerint, tanto amplius redundabit?" See my association of our query with *E. B. R.*, XLII.⁴

¹ See my note on "Holme Riddles" No. 134 (MS Harl, 1960), *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XVIII (1903), p. 289.

² *Modern Language Notes*, XVIII., 97.

³ SCHENKL, *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien, 1863), XXXIV, p. 18.

⁴ *M. L. N.*, XVIII, 104.

(II) This has already been discussed by me as an analogue of *E. B. R.*, XIV,¹ and its place among popular riddles established. The "son" is evidently the hand, the "mother" the pen, and the "skin" the glove. This solution finds abundant support in two riddles of the St. Gall MS 196:² "Vidi hominem ambulantes cum matre sua et pellis ei pendebat in pariete;" and, "Vidi mulierem flentem et cum quinque filiis currentem cujus semita erat via et pergebat valde plana campestris." This second riddle, which is clearly a variant of "Flores," No. XII, points to the pen, the five fingers, and the leaves of parchment. The motive appears again in the Lorsch enigmas of English origin in MS Vaticana Palatinus, 1753 of the ninth century:³

En video subolem propria cum matre morantem
Mandre cujus pellis in pariete pendet adhaerens.

Ebert, in his discussion of this group of riddles,⁴ offers no solution of this, but Dümmler is misled by Eusebius, No. 38, "De Pullo," into suggesting "Ovum." In this connection note another interesting "Fingers" query in the "Joco-seria" of Pseudo-Bede, No. XIX (*infra*).

(III) My answer to this problem, "A horse drawn by a pen," puts it in the same class as No. II.

(IV) This finds its explanation in "Joco-seria," No. XVII, "Aetas hominis (*infra*).

(V) The solution of this, "Ventus," is supplied by the author himself a few lines later, when he gives as the first victory of the wind, "Inflat et non videtur." He is undoubtedly indebted to the first line of Aldhelm, I, 3, "Cernere me nulli possunt nec prendere palmis," afterward quoted by him. Wilmanns points out⁵ the resemblance of this to the "Anima" query of the Munich *Interrogationes*,⁶ and the *Adrian and Epictetus*, No. 38,⁷ "Quid est quod tangitur et non videtur?" Another analogue is the

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² SCHENKEL, *loc. cit.*

³ DÜMMLER, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini* (Berlin, 1881), I, p. 20. These riddles are evidently countrymen and close kinsmen of those of Aldhelm and Eusebius, with which they are associated in the MS (*Zs. f. d. A.*, XXII, 258-61).

⁴ *Zs. f. d. A.*, XXIII, pp. 200-202.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XV, 169.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁷ KEMBLE, *S. & S.*, p. 214.

"Wind" riddle of Vienna MS 67:¹ "Cernere me (nec) quisquam vinclis quoque (potest) neque tenere."

(VI) I have already pointed out the likeness of this to *E. B. R.*, XXX.² The relation of sun and moon, of day and night, is elsewhere in riddle literature a friendly one;³ indeed, in an Icelandic riddle,⁴ the two luminaries are a married pair. The association of night and a cloud is found in *D. P. A.*, 54; *A. H. E.*, 55.

(VII) This universal problem of "Ice" I have traced in detail.⁵ In addition to references already given, it is interesting to note that the riddle master of our collector, Aldhelm, cites this seeming *lusus naturae* in his *Epistola ad Acircium*.⁶

(VIII) The "Ox" motive seems the common property of all the riddle-groups of the Anglo-Saxon period.⁷ An elaborate form of the query not yet cited by me is found in the Lorsch collection, No. 11.⁸

Quando fui juvenis, bis binis fontibus hausi:
Postquam consenui, montes vallesque de imis,
Sedibus evertens natura jura rescidi.
Post misero fato torpenti morte tabescens,
Mortuus horrende vivorum stringo lacertos.

(IX) This is the embryo of the universal riddle of "Two-legs and three-legs" discussed in my note to "Holme Riddles," No. 50.⁹

(IX) The explanation of this enigma seems to me to lie in the "Pullus" and "Ovum" problems of Symphosius, No. 14. ("Nondum natus eram, nec eram tum matris in alvo: Jam posito partu natum me nemo videbat"), Eusebius, No. 38; *D. P. A.*, No. 91, and MS Bern. 611, No. 5.¹⁰ The "three persons" of the riddle are, therefore, the cock, the hen who lays, and the hen who hatches the egg.

¹ MONE, *Anzeiger*, VIII (1839), 219, No. 42; RIESE, *Anthologia latina* (1870), I, ii, p. lxxii

² *M. L. N.*, XVIII, 104.

³ Compare Eusebius, No. 11; REUSNER, *Enigmatographia* (1602), I, 174, 200; II, 68; WOSSIDLO, *Mecklenburgische Volksüberlieferungen* (Wismar, 1897), No. 499; and see WÜNSCHE, *Kochs Zeitschrift*, IX, 499 f.

⁴ ARNASON, *Izlenskar Gatur* (Copenhagen, 1837), No. 670.

⁵ *M. L. N.*, XVIII, 4; *Publ. M. L. A.*, 1903, 246.

⁶ GILES, *S. Aldelmi opera* (1844), p. 230; MANITIUS, *Zu Aldhelm und Baeda*, p. 52,

⁷ *M. L. N.*, XVIII, 99.

⁸ DÜMMLER, *P. L. A. C.*, I, 22.

⁹ *Publ. M. L. A.*, 1903, 257, 258.

¹⁰ RIESE, *Anthologia latina*, I, 297.

(XI) This "Wick" ("Tallow and Flame") problem, appearing in *D. P. A.*, 89, is discussed by Wilmanns,¹ who cites our reference and a modern analogue from the *Strassburger Ratselbuch*, No. 198. I find the query, in like form in MS St. Gall. 196;² and similar contrast-motives are not uncommon in recent riddle literature.³

(XII) This query has been explained under No. II (*supra*). "Viae ejus sunt semitae vitae" can refer only to the holy words traced by the pen. Compare the close of Aldhelm's octostich, V, 3, "De Penna Scriptoria":⁴

Nec satis est unum per campos pandere callem:
Semitā quin potius milleno tramite tendit,
Quae non errantes ad caeli culmina vexit.

Note, too, the gloss to "Joco-seria," No. XIX, 2 (*infra*).

"JOCO-SERIA" OF PSEUDO-BEDE.

The Cambridge MS Gg V 35 is described in the catalogue⁵ as "a quarto of 454 leaves, in a handwriting not earlier than the eleventh century, once belonging to the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury." For the date a *terminus a quo* is established by the presence, near the close of the MS, of certain German lyrics evidently composed during the reign of Emperor Henry III (1039-55).

Valuable for many reasons, this codex is of prime importance to the student of Latin enigmas. Among its contents are the riddle-groups of Symphosius, Boniface, Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Eusebius. The last three have been printed by Giles;⁶ those of Boniface, by Dümmler.⁷ On very good grounds, Giles ("Preface") assigns the MS to the time of the Norman Conquest;⁸ and in this opinion he seems to be sustained by so high

¹ *Zs. f. d. A.*, XIV, 552.

² SCHENKL, *loc. cit.*

³ WOSSIDLO, Nos. 78, 677; PETSCH, *Palaestra*, IV (1899), p. 138.

⁴ GILES, *loc. cit.*, p. 261.

⁵ *Catalogue of MSS of the Library of the University of Cambridge* (1858), Vol. III, p. 201.

⁶ *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci et Aliorum*, Caxton Society, VII, 1851.

⁷ *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, I, p. 3.

⁸ The conclusions of Giles are accepted by EBERT, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wiss. zu Leipzig*, XXIX (phil.-hist. Cl., 1878), p. 29. A like view is held by Mr. Jenkinson, who kindly discussed the MS with me at Cambridge, July, 1903.

an authority as Felix Liebermann, who collated the Boniface text for the Dümmler edition.

Two leaves of the MS (fol. 418*b*, 419*a*) contain "Enigmata" attributed to Bede in the table of contents. On how strong a tradition this ascription of authorship rests it is, of course, impossible to determine; but perhaps its explanation lies in the immediate precedence of the enigmas by Bede's well-known "Versus de Die Iudicii"¹ (fol. 416*a*.)

The "Joco-seria," nineteen in all, are copiously glossed in what seems to me to be a different hand of the same period. I now take occasion to publish text and gloss, not because the queries themselves are of first-rate importance, but because the interlinear commentary is unique among glosses in casting a powerful light upon the peculiar esteem in which art-riddles were held in the Anglo-Saxon time.

Of our nineteen enigmas a dozen may be classed as logogriphs,² a form of word-riddle very popular in the later Middle Ages and occasionally furnishing diversion before the Conquest. The ubiquitous³ "Castanea" logogriph appears in the Lorsch collection,⁴ No. VII; the hardly less known problem of "Paries"⁵ is employed by Aldhelm (V, 8, l. 8); and similar word-problems diverted the leisure moments of Alcuin.⁶ The essential unlikeness of the enigmas of the Cambridge MS to those that we meet elsewhere proclaims their author's originality as truly as the inadequate diction, awkward syntax, incorrect grammar, and halting meter attest his literary limitations. Enigmas, Nos. V ("Amor") and VIII ("Apes") employ, it is true, puzzle-words, frequently appearing in riddle literature,⁷ but in very different fashion. No. IX is built upon the Letter I, like the thirty-ninth enigma of Eusebius, but the single line of our problem certainly

¹ GILES, *Bede's Opera*, I, 99 f.

² "Der Logogryphe besteht darin, dass man von einem Worte die Buchstaben auf verschiedene beliebige Weise versetzt und dadurch andere Wörter bildet" (FRIEDREICH, *Geschichte des Räthels* [Dresden, 1880], p. 20). Compare OHLERT, *Rätsel und gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen* (Berlin, 1886), p. 180.

³ *M. L. N.*, XVIII, 7, note.

⁴ DÜMMLER, *P. L. A. C.*, I, 22.

⁵ *M. L. N.*, loc. cit.

⁶ DÜMMLER, I, 281, 282; *M. P. L.*, 101, 802.

⁷ "Amor" ("Roma") is found not only in an unpublished English MS of the fourteenth century, Arundel. 248, fol. 9*b*, but in several of the continental MSS cited by Mone (*Anz.*, VII, pp. 43, 47, Nos. 73, 123). "Dapes" I have already traced (*M. L. N.*, loc. cit.).

owes nothing to the earlier enigma. The possibilities of "Navis" (No. XIII) as a logogriph, so well recognized by monkish riddlers,¹ are entirely overlooked in this tame riddle; and No. VII "Aetas Hominis," which I have associated (*supra*) with "Flores," No. IV, is but a riddle-germ. The "Digiti" query (No. XIX), as we have already seen in considering "Flores," No. XII, contains, in its second line, a motive not dissimilar to one used in older "Finger" enigmas, but the explanation of this resemblance probably lies in coincidence of fancy. To the remaining riddles I find not even remote analogues.

Yet these enigmas are merely the least part of themselves. The author is not so important as the glossator: the text is quite overshadowed by the commentary of Baruch. While the queries, as I have said, occupy no high place in riddle literature, the glosses are of peculiar value in illustrating, as nothing else could do, the attitude of the monkish audience of the early enigmatographs. After the manner of his kind the commentator takes his pleasure very sadly: every line, indeed every word, of his author, must be weighed as gravely as the phrases of Scripture or the rubrics of liturgy. As we follow him from his patient exposition of the metrical considerations involved in the key-words to the two opening problems, through his unnecessary restatement of much that is obvious in the logogriphs (see No. VIII, "Apes"), to his elaborate exegesis of the hidden meanings of the final enigma, we are brought to comprehend the ready welcome accorded by pedantic leisure to the serio-comic products of pedantic scholarship and to understand the continued vogue of these in the cloisters of England. By the mediæval reader queries which so often seem to us drearily dull and flat were evidently deemed miracles of ingenuity, inviting and repaying his utmost subtlety.

In one respect, however, the interpreter of our enigmas commands applause. He is clearly master of his subject, and his solutions, unlike so many of those fastened by modern scholarship upon early riddles, have the not small merit of really solving the problems to which they are attached. In the one riddle (No.

¹ MONE, *Anz.*, VII, p. 48, Nos. 128, 132.

VIII, "the dweller in the deep, which feeds a numerous people," in which the commentator has failed to state definitely his answer, we are left in every sense at sea. For obvious reasons, "Balaena," in riddle literature, is rather the eater than the eaten.¹

One of the smaller cetaceans—perhaps the dolphin, whose flesh is edible—may be intended.

TEXT.

[418b]

- (I) (1) Nil herebo melius celo sic peius habetur.
 (2) Uilius aut potius quamquam pretio caret est quid.
(Gloss.)
 (1) Melius nihil quam herebus i. infernus vii tempora habet. inferno (over "herebo").—peius est nihil habere quam celum tria tempora.
 (2) Celum non habet pretium pro quantitate balnitatis eius nec infernus pro quantitate malitie.—melius (over "potius"). celum et infernus (over "caret est").
- (II) (1) Bis titiucilium plumbum numerat trutinando.
 (2) Ter sese cedit prope peiori meliusque.
 (3) Plus (h)oneris hoc est quod jam minus aggrauat orcam.
(Gloss.)
 (1) r. pro sillaba non pro pondus—plumbum dissillabum est et magnum pondus habet—titiucilium est exasillabum et leuissimum constat.
 (2) locum dat (over "cedit"). titiucilio (over "peiori"). ideo quia titiucilium habet vii tempora et plumbum iv (repeated)—titiucilium si in statera amittitur parum ualde trahit, plumbum multum pensat, tam plures sillabas et tempora habet quamplumbum. (On margin) melius peiori cedit, i: locum dat.
 (3) maioris ponderis (over "plus honeris"). onerat (over "aggrauat"). lancem uel stateram (over "orcum").
- (III) Littera que mutata saporem mutat acerbum.
(Gloss.)
 (On margin twice) Acerbum saporem habet; muta f. in m. et mutabis saporem quia erit mel.
- F. M. Mel.
- (IV) Que sensum vertit monosyllaba grammata servans?
(Gloss.)
 os—monosyllaba est siue significes os—oris aut os—ossis et non mutat litteraturam in nominativo sed sensum.

Os.

¹ Cf. MS Reims 743, MONE, *Anz.*, VII, p. 44, No. 82. "Piscis ero per quem vivens homo saepe voratur."

- (V) Uel que pars urbem dissillaba uersa patrabit?
 (*Gloss.*)
 amor dissillabus est—uerte sillabas et fiet Roma. faciet (over
 "patrabit").
 Amor.
- (VI) Nemo supinum non amat omnipotens nec amantes.
 (*Gloss.*)
 Uerte has sillabas et fiet omen, i. augurium—omnipresens deus
 non amat augurium nec obseruantes.
 Nemo = Omen.
- (VII) Quid dat hac illacque meanti pabula panis?
 (*Gloss.*)
 Muta sillabam, semper seges erit—ideo datur meanti hac et illac.
 Seges.
- (VIII) Gramma pedem sine sanguine quod tollit copulatum.
 (*Gloss.*)
 (On outer margin) ideo littera copula pedis et tollis pedem sine
 sanguine.
 (Over line) si littera a preponit pedi erit apes—i. sine pede et
 declinat apes—apedis et sine concisione.
 (On inner margin) tollit pedem cum datur apes—absque ped.
 Apes—apedis—sine pede et inde apes datur quia sine pede.
 Apes.
- (IX) Que res sola est recta sodalibus uncis?
 (*Gloss.*)
 I littera sola recta est in alphabetis.
- (X) Littera queque culum facit ut uideat uelut oc[ul]lus?
 (*Gloss.*)
 Etque culus—ani dorsi que minime uidet, antepone o littera et
 uidebit ut oc[ul]lus utpote quia erit oculus.
 O.
- (XI) Si bonus amittit caput admittens onus artat.
 (*Gloss.*)
 Si tollis b. litera fiet bonus, statim grauatur. perdit (over "amit-
 tit"). grauatur uel stringit uel aliter (over "artat").
 Bonus.
- (XII) Peruersus bonus est, leuitati si caput absit.
 (*Gloss.*)
 Quisquis peruersus est ex leuitate mentis est, tolle primam sil-
 labam que caput est eius i. per et sit uersus i. bonus.
 Peruersus.
- (XIII) Quid capite et cauda sicca ineat in mare natans?
 (*Gloss.*)
 nauis prora et puppis sicce erunt quando mare innatant. sicco
 (over "et").
 Nauis.

- (XIV) (1) Tres proles nantes iuncte genuere sorores:
 (2) Rursus easdem he mature post pepererunt.
 (3) Manducasse nocent somno prosunt bene mensa.
(Gloss.)
 (1) Ista est constructio—tres iunctae sorores i. tres litterae
 o. u. a. genuere nantes proles i. tres pullos et iterum
 maturi pulli genuere easdem scilicet litteras o. u. a. que
 iuncta ova exprimunt.
 (2) Sorores i.—o. u. a., ova sana postea.
 (3) Si quem somniat manducasse ova dum euiglaerit, intelli-
 get non esse somnium bonum.
 [419a.] O. u. a.
- (XV) (1) Uidi in celo cornutam petisse uolantem,
 (2) Quam minimum peteret si non hanc ipse iuaret.
(Gloss.)
 (1) Cornigerata(m) catapulta uolantem in aere auem appetit,
 que minime posset attingere, si ipsa catapulta suis pennis
 subleuaret ante. in aere (over “in celo”). catapultam
 (over “cornutam”). appetisse (over “petisse”). auem (over
 “uolantem”).
 (2) si pennata catapulta non fuerit, non potest longi iaci.
 f. uolantem (over “minimum”). attingeret (over “peteret”).
 cornutam (over “iuaret”).
- (XVI) Quid iugiter cedit, cum cessauerit (MS, siuerit) omen habebit?
(Gloss.)
 Semper mare accedit et recedit, quando cessauerit in die iudicii
 magnum portentum erit. percutit (over “cedit”). cessauerit
 (over “siuerit”). signum (over “omen”).
- (XVII) Quid, quanto crescit mage, curtiior extat?
(Gloss.)
 Aetas hominis quanto magis crescit uicinior erit morti. defec-
 tiior per senium (over “curtiior extat”).
- (XVIII) (1) Quis nolens hospes maris illustrat tenebrosa?
 (2) A nullo pastus pascit pop[u]lum numerosum:
 (3) Unius arte hominis perit et non fauce ualebit;
 (4) Una namque die, nunquam consumptus abibit.
(Gloss.)
 (1) Occisus certe magnum praebebat sagine augmentum lichnis(?)
 et nolens quia inuitus moritur.
 (2) a nullo pop[u]lo pascit[ur] et tamen multitudinem pop[u]lli
 satiat suis carnibus.
 (3) unus homo potest eum decipere sed non unus potest eum
 deuorare.

- (4) nunquam abibit, i. consumetur in una die. consumetur uel recedet (over "abibit").
- (XIX) (1) Tres gemini repunt stimulatī marmore pellis:
 (2) Hac illacque uias geminas monstrant uagitando,
 (3) Atque docent muti fantes cecique uidentes.
 (4) Sepe mouentem se fallunt quod it (MS, id) haud ubi mandant:
 (5) A se sepe etiam falluntur torta colendo.
 (*Gloss*).
 (1) Tres digiti discurrunt in pagina stimulatī i. cum acuta penna uel graphio uel planitie. stimulis armati (over "stimulatī"). uel campi (after "pellis").
 (2) discurrendo huc et illuc duas uias ostendunt i. bonam et malam quia tam bene scribunt uias sequendas quam uitandas.
 (3) et ipsi muti digiti loquentes et sunt ceci et ostendunt uiam uidentibus. docent (over "cecique uidentes").
 (4) (Over line) sepe decipiunt scriptorem quia scribunt quae non debent et non seruant quod scribunt. scriptorem (over "mouentem"). decipiunt (over "fallunt"). quia uadit non (over "quod id haud").
 (On outer margin) cum digiti scribunt que sancta sunt et scriptor non seruat que scribit, tunc decipit quia non uadit uiam quam docet scribendo.
 (5) sepe seipsos decipiunt ut puta moneta, quia falsum numisma sculpit et pro hoc amputantur ei manus.

"PROPOSITIONES AD ACUENDOS IUVENES"

The "Propositiones ad Acuendos Juvenes," which are number problems rather than riddles, appeared in the Bāle edition of Bede, 1563 (p. 133), and, under protest, are included in his works in the *Patrologia latina*.¹ They are not mentioned by Bede in his enumeration of his writings; and Alcuin's editor in the *Patrologia*² finds two good reasons for ascribing them to that scholar. They are assigned to him in at least one old MS, and are specifically mentioned by him in a letter to Charlemagne (Epistle 101): "aliquas figuras arithmeticae subtilitatis laetitiae causa." These number-puzzles were for a long time popular. I find Alcuin's fifty-three "Propositiones," under our rubric in MS Burney 59 (eleventh century), fol. 7b-11a, and many similar arithmetical riddles in MS Cott. Cleopatra B. IX (fourteenth cen-

¹ *M. P. L.*, 90, 655.

² *Ibid.*, 101, 1143.

ture), fol. 17b-21a. Alcuin's river-crossing problem (No. XVIII), "De homine et capra et lupo," is found, somewhat modified, in later English and continental MSS.³

³ MS Sloane 1489 (seventeenth century), fol. 16, unpublished; MS Reims 743 (fourteenth century), Mone, *Anz.*, VII, p. 45, No. 105; MS Argentoratensis, Sem. c. 14, 15 (eleventh century), fol. 176, *Zs. f. d. A.*, XVI, p. 323.

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THE STUDY OF FOLK-SONG IN AMERICA.

WITH the completion of the late Professor Child's monumental collection of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*—a definitive edition, if anything of the sort can be definitive—it has seemed to many that the final returns had been gathered and the subject practically closed. But an inevitable result of the work of a great scholar is that it originates a long line of subsequent investigation. Professor Child's collection was practically definitive for certain purposes. It is the aim of this paper to suggest the importance of supplementary research for the satisfaction of certain other interests, as well as a method by which that research can be carried on.

The traditional ballad still persists in America, and to an extent undreamed of by many. At the University of Missouri, during the past year or two, the attempt has been made to record and classify such material as could be gathered from the lips of the people by students and instructors. The results have been interesting and gratifying. The body of American university students, especially of students in the state universities, is a body representative of all classes of American society. Is it not worth while to attempt a systematic search for old and vanishing folk-song in America, to be carried on by the students and under the direction of the teachers of our schools, colleges, and universities?

The Missouri collection, imperfect as it is, will give an idea of the results that may be looked for from such an investigation. Though contributions of a piece or two each have been made by many, the collection is in the main the work of four persons, each representing a different locality. In a year and a half versions have been found of eleven of the British ballads recorded in Professor Child's volumes. Some of these are not represented by American versions in Child's collection, and the others differ in various interesting ways from the American versions recorded by him. Five forms of "Barbara Allen" have come in. Of "The Demon Lover"—of which Child mentions, but failed to

recover, an early American broadside, printing only two stanzas, and those from an old Philadelphia magazine—we have two complete versions, both nearer to the British form than is Child's fragment. And all these representatives of old English balladry are known and have been preserved orally; though this is not to say that they are unknown here in print. The finding of eleven out of three hundred and five ballads, and most of those already recorded in American versions, is, to be sure, no great matter in itself; but, taken in conjunction with what Mr. Newell and Mr. Barry have printed in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, it partly indicates the extent to which the old ballads have been preserved in this country. The finding of recognized ballads inherited from the old country is not, however, the only, nor indeed the most interesting, result of our efforts. The existence as authorless popular song of pieces that clearly go back to the Old World and to former centuries, but have not found place in collections; the formation of new ballads out of old ones by "degeneration;" the continuance of the ballad-making faculty among Americans, evidenced not only by pieces relating to the War of 1812, the fight for Texas, the Mexican War, the Argonauts of 1849, and the Civil War, but also by such ballads of homely tragedy as "Young Charlotte," "Fuller and Warren," and "McAfee's Confession," and such archaic rimed homilies as that which I have called "The Wicked Girl"—all these things are shown by what a few students have brought together here in a few months.

What has been done in Missouri is mentioned only for the light it throws on what may be expected from widespread organized research. With the interest of students aroused and directed by competent scholars throughout the Union and Canada, it is not too much to hope that in a few years—half a score at most—practically every vestige of the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* in America will be found and reduced to writing. What in the great work of Professor Child, in the gatherings of Mr. Newell and Mr. Barry, and in our Missouri collection appears sporadic and merely curious will then be seen completed—and related. With organized research, employing the services of

students from the communities; and even from the very homes, where the old ballads still live, it will soon be possible to tell not only what ballads have survived in America, but how they have survived—what changes they have undergone, how widely they are known, and what the course and manner of their transmission have been. Take, for example, "The House Carpenter" (i. e., "The Demon Lover"). Mr. Barry has found the American broadside of this, printed in New York apparently in the first half of the last century. Professor Child¹ printed two stanzas of this version from *Graham's Magazine* for September, 1858 (having failed to find the broadside, though he knew of its existence). Now, there are in our Missouri collection two copies of this ballad from oral tradition. They are probably similar to the broadside (of which I have seen only the two stanzas printed by Child), but are certainly by no means identical with it.² What, then, has been the history of "The House Carpenter" in America? Did some enterprising English printer introduce it in the early broadside, and are the Missouri versions, and all other versions in America, descendants of that single print? Or does the New York print mean that the piece was already familiar in America, and that the Missouri versions are probably independent of it? At present we can only guess at the answer. But when we know accurately in what parts of the country, in what variety of forms, and with what traditions of its source the piece has been preserved; when, by comparison of the ascertainable history of this with that of other pieces, we are clear as to the typical course or courses of transmission of English ballads in America—then such questions can be answered with some confidence. The only sure means of getting the needed information is co-operative organized research.

¹ Vol. IV, p. 351.

² Compare with the first of the stanzas printed by Child the corresponding second stanza of Missouri A:

"If you have returned from the salt briny sea
I'm sure you are to blame,
For I have married a house carpenter,
And I'm sure he's a nice young man."

Observe that the "king's daughter" has disappeared entirely. Moreover, the story is not Americanized in the Missouri version as it is in the broadside. The destination of the lovers is not the banks of the Tennessee, but of "the sweet Willee." In British versions it is "Italy."

Those who hold the doctrine (more or less modified) of the "communal origin" of ballads are inclined to deny the existence of native American balladry, at least in any proper sense of the word. Ballad-making, says Professor Gummere, is "a closed account." But whatever may be one's theory of ballad formation there is already evidence, which organized research would unquestionably fill out to demonstration, of the existence in America of truly popular ballads, widely known in the land, with no more personal authorship in the minds of those that sing them than "Hickory Dickory Dock," and yet with internal evidence of an American origin. Such is "Springfield Mountain," of which Mr. Newell published a number of versions, from different states, in Vol. XIII of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. Another is "Young Charlotte," well known in Missouri, reported by Professor Lewis, of Chicago, as known to him in childhood (though by another name) in New Jersey, found (a fragment) by Mr. Barry in Maine, and recently communicated to me from Wisconsin. It may very likely go back to print; it may go back to a strictly personal authorship in the brain of some humble poet, but as it is known to those who sing it now it is as purely impersonal and traditional as "The House Carpenter" or "Thomas and Eleanor." And there are others in the Missouri collection that are unquestionably American in the minds of those who sing them, and just as unquestionably employ the formulas, and sometimes the typical incidents, of Old World balladry. What is the origin and what has been the history of these? What part has print played in their spread and perpetuation? These are questions that well-directed organized research should enable us to answer.

The serious eagerness of the folk-song enthusiast over the very humble material with which he busies himself sometimes calls forth a quizzical smile on the faces of his friends. In American folk-song it must be confessed that the poetic quality of "Sir Patrick Spens" or "Kempion" will for the most part be sought in vain. The study must justify itself, where justification is called for, on other grounds, and chiefly on these two; that it leads to a knowledge of the simplest elements of literary taste, and that it contributes directly to the history of civilization, to a

knowledge of social and ethical conditions, among the people where the songs are found. Sometimes these songs have a good deal of local interest by reason of specific incidents embalmed in them, but the general and final value, the wide significance that underlies the study and justifies it to culture is the light it sheds on problems of taste and of social history. If, as has been supposed, ballads both British and American are found chiefly in such communities as those of the Kentucky and Tennessee mountains, we shall draw certain inferences from that fact. If, as I incline to believe, ballads are much more evenly distributed over the United States, are nearly as frequent in the New England, middle and north central states as in the southern mountains, we shall revise our notions of the culture-media of ballads—or, perhaps of the original social character of different parts of the Union—accordingly. But we cannot expect satisfactory results from partial, isolated investigation. From whatever point of view we approach the study—that of our inheritance from the Old World, that of ballad origins, that of literary taste or of social history—our research, if it is to give a basis for reliable inference, must be systematic and practically exhaustive. If the work of collection is taken up by college students under the direction of scholars in all parts of the country, a classified body of material can in a few years be got together that will lead to reasonable certainty on many points that are now mere matter of conjecture.

Having thus attempted to set forth the results to be expected from systematic co-operation in the study of popular poetry, it remains only for me to give in outline the method I have in mind. The reason for suggesting the plan here is merely the hope that it may elicit further suggestions, may bring those interested in touch with one another, and so prepare the way for an effective organization at an early date.

I. In many of our colleges and in most of our universities there is, among the teachers, at least one who knows and cares something about folk-song. Among the students there are probably several who have direct knowledge of some traditional folk-song, and access to much more. The problem is to arouse

the interest of these students and bring their knowledge within reach of the seeking scholar. The study of ballads in literature classes may accomplish it. A public lecture on balladry, with some account of the eighteenth-century ballad revival and its significance in literary history, might, by the introduction of some of the American versions already recorded, be the electric spark to complete the circuit. At the University of Missouri the investigation was set on foot, as indeed it has been carried on, by the English Club, a student organization that has a good deal of local patriotism. By these or other means the first step is to arouse interest among the students who have access to the sources. Once aroused, it will probably soon spread to others besides the students. The work will involve some labor of correspondence.

II. Inclusion rather than exclusion should be the rule in the work of collection. Until the matter is in your hand, sometimes even then, you do not know whether it is worth anything or not. One of our most efficient collectors was inclined to apologize for sending a version of "The Jew's Garden" (i. e., "Sir Hugh"), thinking that it was merely a "funny" piece; and I myself failed to recognize in "Black Jack Daley," when it first came to hand, the "Gypsy Laddie" of Child's collection. It is easy to disregard what is worthless after you have it, but if you reject or discourage on hearsay you never know what you may have lost. Printed matter is by no means to be refused; both because the investigation is ideally a study of popular taste, in which print certainly plays nowadays a most important rôle, and because the relation of print to oral tradition is precisely one of the chief problems to be solved.

III. An essential point, of course, is that the circumstances under which any piece is found shall be recorded. Yet this is difficult to enforce. Many people that know and enjoy folk-song are shy about acknowledging the fact to strangers, or at least reluctant to have their names and antecedents set down on paper. Others do not understand the need of authentication; still others are careless. It is here particularly that the services of the directing scholar are needed. My practice is to ask contributors to give with each contribution answers to these questions:

1. Have you given it just as you found it—mistakes, meaningless words, and all?
2. Where, when, and from whom did you get it?
3. Did you take it down from singing, or from recitation, or copy it from MS?
4. Where, when, and under what circumstances did your informant learn it?
5. What do you know of the antecedents (racial stock, location, etc.) of your informant?
6. Does your informant know of the piece in print?

It is well to assure the contributor that no improper or inconsiderate use will be made of the information desired.

The director of the work will no doubt classify tentatively as his matter comes in, and will soon find what kind of folk-song has most thriven in his territory; but he will do well to destroy nothing until he has compared his results with those secured at other places.

The organization for this final comparison, recording and perhaps publishing of results, though essential to the scheme, need not be discussed at present. If the method thus far outlined meets with approval and adoption the last step in the organization will not be difficult. Inasmuch as the idea was first suggested at a meeting of the Modern Language Association,¹ and has as its essential feature the co-operation of college teachers throughout the land; inasmuch, also, as the constitution of the association provides for the appointment of special committees when occasion arises, it would seem that no new association would be needed to carry out the work. But it will be time enough to consider this when the work is fairly begun in the local centers, the schools, colleges and universities of America.

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¹ In a paper on "Folk-Song in Missouri," read by the present writer at the recent meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association, in Chicago.



SOME PRINCIPLES OF ELIZABETHAN STAGING.¹

PART I.

THERE is perhaps no subject connected with Shakespeare on which there is more uncertainty of opinion than on the actual staging of his plays. No one any longer doubts that the public stage consisted of three important parts: a front, uninclosed platform; a rear stage, separated from the front by a curtain; and a balcony or upper stage. A growing feeling exists also that the stage was fairly well-furnished with properties. But the exact relation of one part to another, the precise list of furnishings, and, more important than either of these, the actual customs and methods of play-production, yet remain to be determined. Given such a triple stage, how were plays performed which consisted of a large number of short, rapidly changing scenes, and which demanded, and often were clearly furnished with, numerous and sometimes heavy properties? They could not have been staged according to modern methods, with a complete and harmonious background for each scene. What, then, was the method or methods by which these plays were produced?

Practically but one answer has been given—that of Kilian,

¹ This study is only part of a more comprehensive one now in preparation, discussing not only the staging of the Elizabethan plays, but also the actual construction of the stage itself and the properties which furnished it. Most of the opinions advanced here were formulated three years ago, but the publication of BRODMER's *Die Shakespeare Bühne* in 1904 has made necessary the reconsideration of the alternation theory in the more reasonable form in which he presents it. I have attempted, however, neither to answer nor to review his valuable contribution, leaving many interesting points in his dissertation quite unnoticed.

The two pictures of theater interiors reproduced are from photographs of the originals in the British Museum. The Roxana picture has been many times reprinted, but not, I believe, with the whole title-page. The Messallina picture has never before been published, and seems practically unknown to writers upon the stage. My attention was called to it by a note by William Rendle, *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., Vol. VI, p. 221. It closely resembles the Roxana picture; both agreeing in showing the railing, the hexagonal(?) stage, and the window-like balcony. The Messallina picture is valuable, however, for its figured stage curtain, its balcony curtain, and its peculiar projecting tiring-house.

All references in the following pages are, I think, self-explanatory. Perhaps it should be noted that the dates and the names of theatrical companies or theaters given after the names of the plays are those upon the earliest title-pages. Where it has seemed advantageous I have also given the date of composition, usually following Ward or Fleay, though not necessarily accepting their conclusions as final.

Genée, etc., in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*,¹ of Brandl, in the Introduction to the new Schlegel-Tieck Shakespeare; and of Brodmeier, in his recently published dissertation, *Die Shakespeare Bühne nach den alten Bühnenanweisungen*² (Weimar, 1904). These writers assume the triple stage; suppose most, if not all, of the properties to have been placed on the rear stage, and by the use of a few of Shakespeare's plays, Brodmeier alone taking account of all, attempt to establish what one may call an alternation staging; that is, that the plays were so constructed that no two differently set scenes on the rear stage ever came directly in succession, but that front and rear stage were used alternately, the rear stage being arranged while the front stage was in use.

It is not quite true to say that this is the only method of stage management yet suggested, for early plays, like *Nice Wanton* (1560) and *Jocasta* (1566), obviously were written for no such system. Most of the earlier dramas frankly avoid all properties. *Nice Wanton* requires nothing in the way of setting, and the scene is practically the stage itself. *Jocasta* is more elaborate, for it requires a house front at either side of the stage; but, built upon classical models, it has but one scene, the place of action never changing. So complex a play as *The Contention of Liberty and Prodigality* (1602), with its "homely bower" for Virtue and its "palace" for Fortune, recurring throughout the play, suggests a similar classic staging, but rather more highly elaborated. Most Elizabethan plays, however, cannot be staged at all according to the classical method, or according to the simple method of the early plays, though some, in their numerous unlocated scenes, do suggest the latter. The alternation theory therefore remains the only one yet suggested at all applicable to most plays.

It is, however, as presented by its advocates up to this time, extremely unsatisfactory. German students seem to have accepted

¹ See, especially, GENÉE, "Ueber die scenischen Formen Shakespeare's in ihren Verhältniss zur Bühne seiner Zeit," *Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXVI; KILIAN, "Die scenischen Formen Shakespeare's," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII; KILIAN, "Shakespeare auf der modernen Bühne," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI. See also, for a short summary of the alternation theory, A. H. TOLMAN's *Introduction to Julius Caesar*, in the "Star Series of English Classics."

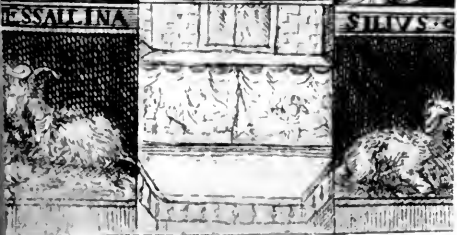
² Brodmeier adds a fourth stage, the space discovered when the stage doors were opened. Everybody admits that this was sometimes used in the plays, but hardly with the frequency he supposes.





THE
TRAGEDY
of
MESSALLINA
by
N^o RICHARDS.
London printed
for
Dⁿⁱ Freere.
1640







ROXANA
TRAGÆDIA
*A plagiarij
vnguibus
vindicata,
aucta, et
agnita ab
authore
Gulielmo
Alabastro.*





it unhesitatingly and reason from it as if it were thoroughly established. On the contrary, it rests on a singularly limited study, and that of inconclusive sources; it assumes as certain and universal an unproved reconstruction of the Elizabethan theater; it is supported by principles and tests which contradict one another; and it disregards entirely several plays which it cannot easily explain. It has been advanced as a dominating factor in play-construction, but it is doubtful whether it ever influenced, in any very pronounced or vital way, any Elizabethan dramatist. To show the grounds for these objections is the purpose of the first part of this study.

In the first place, Shakespeare's plays, to which alternationists have practically confined themselves, are far less complete in specific directions than those of other authors—Greene or Heywood, for example. *The Wonder of Women* (1606), one of the richest of plays in directions of value, has a note to its epilogue which says: "After all, let me intreat my Reader not to taxe me for the fashion of the Entrances and Musique of this tragedy, for know it is printed only as it was presented by youths, and after the fashion of the private stage." If we had Shakespeare's plays in a similarly complete form, we might find that our present theories needed to be largely changed. As it is, it is not safe to trust solely to the directions of his plays; for questions of staging, many other plays are more valuable. In the second place, the plays of Shakespeare range in date over a long period of years, and were given at several theaters. Presumably the stage customs and furnishings changed from time to time and varied in different theaters. Instead of confining himself to one author, the student should examine all the plays performed either at one theater or in one period. In questions of stage construction and use of properties the study by theaters will yield the most satisfactory results, since the several theaters may have varied in these particulars; but dramatic customs are a matter more of long periods and general usage—slowly arising and slowly decaying, but prevailing pretty generally while they do prevail. There are a few plays, like *Sir Thomas More* (ca. 1590), *The Massacre of Paris* (1596?), or *Faustus* (1604), so cut, interpolated, or disarranged

that it is useless to attempt to form theories which will explain them. Others, like *The Taming of the Shrew* (1623), not published until long after their first composition, may represent in their directions such varied conditions of stage custom that they are of little value for any one period. But, aside from these, one must include in his investigation all the plays of a given period, finding some theory or group of theories which will explain them consistently and completely.¹

But quite as important as a wide and comprehensive reading of the plays of a period is the consideration of each play as a whole. If theories of stage management are to be valuable at all, they must apply to whole plays and not merely to scattered acts or scenes. Strangely enough, few of the alternationists seem to have recognized this principle, or at least to have reckoned with it. Brodmeier, whose very purpose is to explain the staging of Shakespeare's plays, presents only a study of scenes. Perhaps one could make from his scattered hints a consistent staging of each individual play, but he certainly has not shown his reader the way to it. It is true that there is some reason for this. It is a relatively simple matter to find a few scenes in succession which will show a possible alternation in the use of the front and back stage, but to find a whole play arranged on that or any other

¹In this study I have examined practically every extant play accessible to students, published between 1559 and 1603. I have also included all plays published later which probably were produced during that period. Plays produced at court or under court influence, like *Old Fortunatus*, have been included and used as illustrations in spite of that fact; for, however the court plays differed in furnishings or form of stage, in dramatic conventions they probably did not vary widely from the usual custom. The reason for choosing 1603 is that it not only marked the end of the Elizabethan drama, precisely speaking, but that it also was a time around which cluster other important dramatic events. The erection of the Globe (1599) and *Fortune* (1599); the resumption of playing by the children of Paul's and the children of the Revels, which also happened not long before this—all mark it as a turning-point in the drama. The difficulty of assigning plays of this period to the theater in which they were produced is so great that study by theaters is hazardous and comparatively valueless. In the Jacobean period, however, I believe it will be possible to follow this method with profit. From a lack of this knowledge of the exact stage construction, I have drawn very little from Shakespeare; the staging of his plays can be satisfactorily explained only when the construction of the Globe and Blackfriars is more exactly determined. I have throughout used the best modern editions of the plays—best in that they preserve the original stage directions. Most of the directions of importance have been collated with the originals in the British Museum. Bullen's editions, which I have had occasion to use more than those of other editors, seem substantially correct, except that of Marlowe, which varies so widely in its directions from the original quartos that I have used few illustrations from his plays. These plays, however, present no evidence contradictory to my conclusions, but rather decidedly support them.

principle is difficult. To be of value as evidence, a play must contain so many directions or unmistakable textual hints indicating the use of properties or some specific part of the stage, that practically every scene is definitely located. This, however, very few plays do; most of them, so far as any indicated arrangement is concerned, are quite inconclusive. Mention of the use of a curtain, the only obvious test of a rear stage scene, is comparatively rare, and even this, in very many cases, can be interpreted as referring to a bed curtain.¹ In order to prove alternation even between scattered groups of scenes, its advocates have been compelled to formulate certain principles of stage custom and tests of rear-stage scenes, holding that in plays so apparently deficient in directions, such assumptions of the use of the curtain, where it is not specifically mentioned, are justifiable.

The principles upon which the whole theory rests may be summarized as follows: the performance of an Elizabethan play was continuous;² in consequence of this, two rear-stage scenes with different settings could not come in direct succession,³ since their rearrangement would cause a pause in the action; all properties were confined to the rear stage.⁴ These principles, though not definitely stated by all the writers, obviously must be assumed to be the basis of their argument, or there is no need of alternation. The tests of rear-stage scenes, by which these principles have been applied to the plays, have not been widely illustrated by anybody but Brodmeier. His principal tests of rear stage or

¹In *Golden Age* (1611, Red Bull), Act IV, "curtain" can scarcely mean anything else than "bed-curtain." The scene has been in the outer room of a castle. Danæ, talking to Jupiter disguised as a peddler, says (p. 66): "You is my doore, Dare not to enter there. I will to rest." Jupiter obtains permission to sleep in this outer room. As soon as Danæ and her four watchful beldams are gone, he throws off his disguise, saying: "Yon bright Queene I'le now court like a King." Exit. But instead of his going in to her comes this direction: "Enter the foure old Beldames drawing out Danæ's bed; she in it. They place foure tapers at the foure corners," and withdraw. Jupiter re-enters, "crown'd with his Imperial Robes," for which he obviously went out, puts out the lights, and Danæ says: "Before you come to bed, the curtaines draw" (p. 69). At the end of this part of the scene "the bed is drawne in," Jupiter's clownish companion enters, and the scene is again the outer room. If this curtain were the stage curtain, the bed would hardly have been so drawn out and in. But generally when a curtain or curtains (I can distinguish no difference in the use of these terms) is alluded to, the stage curtain was probably meant. Almost every important theater had a curtain and would be likely to use it for concealing the bringing in of a bed, if for anything. Each direction has to be interpreted, therefore, in the light of its context.

²KILIAN, *Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 235.

³*Ibid.*, and BRANDL, "Introduction," p. 31.

⁴BRODMEIER, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

in scenes are: discovery by means of a curtain—though small discovered scenes like the *Tempest*, Act V, where Prospero “discovers Ferdinand and Miranda, playing at Chesse” (p. 64), he places in his fourth stage; the use of properties; the use of the doors; the use of the balcony; the use of arras. Kilian¹ classes as *in* scenes all the Belmont scenes in the *Merchant of Venice*, presumably because they are largely *room* scenes; and² considers any scene as played on the rear stage in which a character dies and there is no hint in directions or text of a removal of the body. Most alternationists, indeed, tend to put almost any located scene on the rear stage. But since a clash—that is, the occurrence of two *in* scenes in direct succession—is fatal to the theory, its whole purpose being to avoid breaks and pauses in the action, scenes before and after these *in* scenes must be *out* scenes. Most scenes in some way or other, however, are located, and a large number use doors or balconies or properties, so that usually only short, relatively unimportant scenes remain to be classed as *out*. This, in turn, leads to a greater emphasis than ever on the rear stage, and to classifying as *out* any short scenes of which the purpose is obscure. At once a purpose easily suggests itself for such scenes—they fill the time while the rear stage is being prepared. This is the final result of the theory: authors, in order to secure this alternation, had so to construct their plays that no two *in* scenes should occur together, and actually composed short “carpenter” scenes for this purpose.³ Alternation becomes therefore a factor in play-construction—it sums up the influence upon the playwright of his theatrical environment. By applying these tests to Shakespeare’s plays, a large number of examples have been secured to prove and substantiate the theory. But examples gathered in this way are practically valueless, for they rest for their validity upon the tests; and the tests, so far as I am aware, no one has taken the trouble to prove, though each is open to serious question, if not to absolute denial.

For example, the statement that use of doors or balcony indi-

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 235.

² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

³ So KILIAN, *loc. cit.*, p. 236: “Eine ganze Reihe von Szenen dankt ihr Dasein nicht einem künstlerischen Bedürfnis, sondern lediglich einem äusseren technischen Umstände, der sich aus dem primitiven Bühnengerüste jener Zeit ergab.”

cates a rear stage scene depends entirely upon one's reconstruction of an Elizabethan stage. Brodmeier's—and he is only following Brandl¹—is based on the familiar picture of the Swan Theater, to which the important addition is made of a curtain between the pillars. Yet even the reliability of the original picture without this imagined addition has been attacked and its value as an authority for the Elizabethan playhouse seriously questioned. Lawrence² insists that it is merely "hearsay evidence," being the drawing of Arend van Buchell, who never visited England, from the instruction of DeWitt, an observer so inaccurate that his description of the theater is wrong both as to the size and its materials. Moreover, the picture, Lawrence claims, is self-contradictory, showing a movable stage supporting fixed columns, and he therefore doubts its value as evidence concerning even the Swan Theater. It is not necessary to go as far as this, perhaps, but he is certainly right in uttering his "stern note of protest" against accepting the picture as a fair representation of a typical Elizabethan stage. For one thing, though he does not notice this, it shows but two doors, and many of the old theaters had three;³ and, for another, it not only shows no curtain, but also no

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 27.

² *Englische Studien*, Vol. XXXII, Part I, p. 46.

³ The generally received opinion that there were but two doors leading from the stage to the dressing rooms is founded, no doubt, upon the Swan picture and the very common direction "Enter at one door . . . ; enter at the other door . . ." The directions, however, use this phrase, "the other," very loosely, as is clear from the directions from *Maid's Metamorphosis* given below. The following directions prove the existence of three doors. Besides the *Misfortunes of Arthur* (1587) and *Jocasta* (1566), the directions of which plainly require three entrances, the following may be noted: In the "plat" of the *Seven Deadly Sins* (Fleay dates 1585) occurs: "Enter queene with 2 counsaillors, Mr. Brian Tho. Goodale. to them Ferrex and Porrex several waies with drums and powers. Gorboduk entering in the midst between." Prologue to the *Four Prentices of London* (Red Bull, 1615, but acted according to Ward, 1603): "Enter three in blacke clokes, at three doores." *Maid's Metamorphosis* (1600, Paul's) p. 137: "Enter Ioculo, Frisco, and Mopso, at three severall doores;" yet only a dozen pages before we read, "Enter at one doore Mopso singing. . . . Enter at the other door Frisco singing; . . . Enter Ioculo in the midst singing." Plainly "other" is not very precisely used. In like manner, *Antonio's Revenge* (1602, Paul's, V, has: "Enter at one door Castilio and Forobosco. . . . All these go softly over the stage, whilst at the other door enters the ghost of Andrugio, who passeth by them." But in PERCY's *Faery Pastoral* (written also for Paul's, about 1601), IV, 6, occurs the direction: "They entered at several doores Learchus at the midde doore." *The Travels of Three English Brothers* (1607, Queen's), p. 90: "Enter three severall waies the three Brothers." Other illustrations are *Eastward Ho* (1605, Blackfriars) I, 1; *Fair Em* (1631, but acted, according to Fleay, ca. 1590), I, 4; *Nobody and Somebody* (1606, Queen's), II, 1321-31; *Histriomastix* (1610, but acted ca. 1599), V, 103; *Epicoene* (1609), IV; *Covent Garden* (1632, Cockpit), V, 1, and *English Traveller* (1633, Queen's, Cockpit), IV, 3. It seems fairly certain, therefore, that, at some time in their history, the Blackfriars, Paul's, Cockpit, and Red Bull Theaters had three stage doors; and if the Blackfriars, perhaps the Globe (because

reasonable place to suppose one. Brodmeier appreciates, in some degree at least, the difficulty of hanging a curtain on the Swan stage, but persuades himself that it could have hung between the pillars, trying to prove (p. 43) that the space between the pillars and tiring-house was inclosed. Perhaps this space could have been closed, rather by movable curtains than in some permanent way, as he supposes, but that is only part of the difficulty. A curtain hanging from the "heavens" would be difficult to manage and would hide the balcony, rendering its curtain useless.¹ If we can judge at all from the proportions of the picture, a short curtain would not conceal the rear stage from the upper galleries, and would hide the balcony from the spectators in the yard and lower boxes. The more one attempts to hang a curtain between the Swan pillars, the more difficulties he will discover. The Swan picture therefore, lacking curtain, lacking three doors, is not a typical theater. It is only adding to confusion longer so to consider it.

Perhaps there was no typical theater; it would be strange if all the London playhouses had been alike. Two, and perhaps three, arrangements are entirely conceivable: Brandl and Brodmeier's, in which the curtain hides both the balcony and the

theaters at which the same plays were given could scarcely differ in so important a particular; and if the Globe, then the Fortune (since they were built alike, except in specified details). BRODMEIER, in attempting to prove that there were side entrances to the stage, notes the following instances in Shakespeare which certainly point to three doors: (p. 50) *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, 10; (p. 44) *John*, II, 1; (pp. 49, 50) *Macbeth*, II, 1; (p. 54) *Merry Wives of Windsor*, V, 5. The recognition of three doors leaves his argument for side entrances singularly weak. They may have existed, but are unproved. Side walls on his rear stage are very improbable, and the only argument for side entrances remaining, after three doors in the rear are supposed, is that of inconsistency. So in *Henry V* (1600), III, 1-3, because Henry enters to storm Harfleur, the doors representing the gates of the town, and the balcony, its walls, BRODMEIER (p. 45) thinks it impossible that Henry, supposed to be coming from some place outside the city, should have entered through another door, cut through the same wall. In view of other inconsistencies of the stage, and of the innumerable scenes in which the doors represent at the same time different places (e. g., the general directions to PERCY's *Cuckqueens' and Cuckolds' Errants* (MSS dated 1601, Paul's), this objection is of little weight. Moreover, the following example shows specifically that it is unsupported by the plays: *Four Prentices of London* (1615, Queen's, Red Bull, but acted according to Ward, 1603?). The Christians are assaulting Jerusalem. The Turks are on the walls (p. 230). But (p. 234), "The Christians are repulst. Enter at two severall dores, Guy and Eustace climbe vp the wals, beate the Pagans," etc. The direction specifies distinctly entrance through the doors by enemies who assault the walls directly above.

¹ That a balcony curtain existed is shown by the Red Bull and Messallina pictures, and among other passages in the plays, by *Henry VIII* (1613), V, 2; by *Wounds of Civil War* (1594, Admiral's), V, 2; and *Antonio's Revenge* (1602, Paul's), I, 2, as well as Act V of the same play.

doors; the "corridor" (rear) stage, if I may term it so, in which the curtain hung from a projecting balcony, thus leaving it uninclosed, but hiding the doors; and the "alcove" stage, in which neither the balcony nor all the doors were concealed, two doors, presumably, lying at either side the curtained space.¹ Brodmeier's stage could be of almost any size, depending on how far out the pillars stood. The corridor stage would, as the name implies, be rather shallow, since it could scarcely be much deeper than the balcony. The alcove stage, in its name, gives a misleading impression of smallness, for the alcove was not necessarily very limited in size. In the Fortune Theater, according to the contract,² the whole stage was to be forty-three feet wide, and in depth was to extend to the middle of the yard, a distance not exceeding twenty-eight feet. The rear stage in such a theater could hardly have been other than an alcove, for a long shallow stage would have been awkward and useless. The alcove, however, could easily have measured twenty feet in width, and then left over ten feet on either side for the doors. There is, therefore, no need of supposing the alcove stage diminutive, although it probably was shallow. All these suggested arrangements are probable enough; perhaps all actually existed; no one form, at least, can without proof be adopted as normal or exclusive.

The alternation theory, however, bases itself almost entirely on the form described by Brodmeier, though it is the most doubtful of all. The Swan picture is no argument for that form of stage, for the shading under the balcony may be interpreted to mean that the balcony projects, in which case the curtain could be suspended from it. The other pictures are unanimously against it, since in each the balcony is not hidden by the stage curtain.³ The objection urged against supposing a curtain on the Swan stage, that, if it was long enough to hide the balcony, it would be awkward to manage and would render the balcony cur-

¹ For if the curtain did not hide the doors, it probably did not hide the balcony either; the natural place to suppose the rear stage is therefore beneath the balcony, and between the doors, the most easily visible position for it.

² HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Vol. I, p. 304.

³ By stage curtain I mean here and elsewhere the curtain hiding the rear stage, as distinguished from that of the balcony, or that possible before a single door, or before some special structure.

tain useless, applies to any other theater as well. Moreover, if spectators sat in the balcony, they would be unable to see any out scene at all.¹ To these practical objections against a curtain concealing the balcony may be added the testimony of the plays themselves.

In *Antonio's Revenge* (1602, Paul's), I, 2, 194, a group of men are serenading a lady. One says: "See, look, the curtain stirs." The direction continues: "The curtain's drawn and the body of Feliche, stabb'd thick with wounds, appears hung up." The lover continues: "What villain bloods the window of my love Death's at thy window, awake, bright Mellida." Near the end of the scene, which is also the end of the act (308, 340), are remarks which show that the body is still in sight. Act II is in a church, and a hearse is brought in with the body of another victim and left there, appearing again in Act III. But in Act II, without the actors leaving the stage and immediately after the hearse scene, the place of action shifts to the scene of Act I, and the father addresses a passionate speech to his son's body. Not till IV, 1, 232, is there a command to take down the body of Feliche. The body hung in the balcony, for allusions to ladies' windows usually refer to the openings of the upper stage, and every indication points to its being out of reach from below. But if the body did appear in the balcony, there is, according to the principles of alternation, a violent clash: the first part of Act II being in a church with a hearse; the second, in front of the palace with the body exposed above. If the balcony, however, projected over the rear stage and was not concealed by the lower curtain, Act II would be easy to explain. The first part of the scene would be played on the rear stage, the action would gradually pass forward, the lower curtains close, the upper ones open, and the scene continue without interruption—the clash entirely avoided.

In the *Wounds of Civil War* (1594, Admiral's) V, 2, "Marius [appears] vpon the wals [of Preneste] with the Citizens" (p. 64). Many kill themselves there, but there is no indication that the

¹ Probably they did not sit there. There is much more reason for thinking that the people shown in the Swan picture are musicians, or actor-spectators of a play within a play, than actual spectators. The proof of this is too long to be given here. One argument, however, is the one in the text—the impossibility of devising any stage which will be consistent with their presence.

bodies are removed—more evidence of a special balcony curtain. Scene 3 uses a throne, however—"Scilla seated in his robes of state is saluted by the Citizens" (p. 67). Therefore, according to alternation, there is a clash, which could again, however, be removed by supposing that the balcony projected over the rear stage.

But it may be objected that, if the rear stage was below the balcony, people in the balcony could not see the scenes underneath them. Even if spectators did not sit there, actors often did, who were supposed to be observing scenes on the rear stage. So it would be in *David and Bethsabe* (1599), I. 1: "He [the Prologue] drawes a curtaine and discouers Bethsabe, with her Maid, bathing ouer a spring: she sings, and David sits aboue, vewing her." Here, of course, David should be able to see Bethsabe; but if that is insisted upon, a worse difficulty arises. The very next scene requiries that the balcony be used as the walls of Rabath. If both rear stage and balcony were concealed by the stage curtain, a decided clash would result, for the "spring" furnishing must be removed. If the balcony was above the rear stage, however, as soon as the scene between David and Bethsabe was over, the curtains could have closed below and the action continued without interruption.¹ The balcony in the theater in which this play was given was not behind the rear stage, or clashes count for nothing. The fact that David could not see Bethsabe while she was in the rear stage is of little importance. He could have seemed to see her, the audience could see them both—that was all that was necessary. Similar situations arise with added arguments in *James IV* (1598); *The Looking Glass for London* (1594); and *The Taming of the Shrew* (1623). In *James IV*, Bohan (l. 109, Induction) tells Oberon: "That story haue I set down; gang with me to the gallery, and I'll shew thee the same in action." Perhaps they did not sit in the balcony when the simpler set of act interludes (those printed between each act) were used, for they seem to come on and go off for each interlude; but in the more elab-

¹ Of course, if any hangings representing walls were to be hung out, there would be a clash which no arrangement of the stage could remove, and this instance, though weakening the argument at this point, would strengthen it a little farther on in the discussion of incongruities.

orate set of interludes¹ there is no hint of their entering and leaving the stage, but rather that they sat somewhere throughout the play observing it. In the *Looking Glass for London*, Oseas the Prophet is "let down over the stage in a throne" (l. 163), and from that point until l. 2020 remains there commenting on nearly every scene. Yet ll. 572-605, for example, have the curtains closed. Did Oseas disappear from view also? In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Sly and his companions sit above to watch the play. It is impossible to suppose that these actor-spectators were concealed from sight during the *out* scenes. Yet that is what the situation would be if the balcony were behind the curtain. The slight unreality involved in their being unable to see the infrequent scenes on the rear stage is not half so confusing as this would be.

From these plays, therefore, it seems that in the theaters where they were produced, and at the time when they were produced, the balcony was not hidden by the lower curtain. Three of them were by Shakespeare's own company, all are contemporary, and all but the *Shrew* were published not long after production, and are therefore of undoubted authority. They do not prove that all theaters were arranged so that the lower curtain did not hide the balcony; they only established a strong presumption that some were. The complete agreement of the Roxana, Messallina, and Red Bull pictures on this point is strong corroboration, even though they are too late in date to be taken as direct proof. The plays and pictures together are, however, sufficient to show that in proposing the use of the balcony as a sure test of a rear-stage scene Brodmeier is making an entirely unwarranted assumption, for the type of theater it presupposes is not known to have existed at all, much less to have been the only form.

For the use of doors as a test there is much stronger evidence. A curtain on the Swan stage would certainly hide the two doors shown in the picture; that on the Red Bull stage conceals any stage doors opening upon it;² the Messallina and Roxana stages,

¹ MANLY, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, Vol. II, pp. 351-54.

² The Red Bull picture, published in 1672, dates, Mr. Lawrence thinks (*Englische Studien*, Vol. XXXII, Part I, p. 42) from 1656. The footlights and suspended candles show that at this stage in its history it depended upon artificial illumination, and that it therefore was roofed. But this was the most characteristic feature of the "private houses." The author of the *Historia Histrionica*, however (published 1699, but written by some one well acquainted with

though they allow the supposition that other doors, not shown in the picture, existed at either side of the stage, hardly suggest any such theory; so that the weight of the evidence offered by the pictures is decidedly in favor of the door test for rear stage scenes.

But that another type of stage is conceivable, and has seemed reasonable to students, is plain from Lawrence's article already referred to, in which he contends that the curtain in a typical theater could not have hidden the doors, although he gives little specific proof, and from two remarks of Genée, who also gives no proof. In the *Jahrbuch* (Vol. XXVI, p. 133) the latter says that there was "in der Mitte des Hintergrundes eine nischenartige Vertiefung der Bühne;" and in *Entwicklung des scenischen Theaters*, p. 31.

In der Mitte des Hintergrundes befand sich aber noch eine durch einen Vorhang zuschliessende Mittelbühne, welche vortrefflich zu verwenden war und durch deren geringe Veränderungen wie auch durch das Schliessen und Oeffnen derselben auch der Phantasie der Zuschauer bei dem so häufigen Szenenwechsel auf die leichteste Art nachhalf.

In other words, both Lawrence and Genée think it possible that the alcove rear stage existed. The plays offer the following evidence, if not directly for this alcove stage, at least against the corridor stage or the stage of Brodmeier. I use again Brodmeier's own tests and principles, citing clashes which prove them self-contradictory:

Property scenes are supposed to be *in* scenes; so are door scenes; yet the following show clashes of door scenes and property scenes; in some cases a curtain being directly mentioned:

Antonio's Revenge (1602, Paul's), II, 1. The act opens in a church; a coffin is brought in, and left on the stage, being used again in Act III.

"The coffin [is] set down; helm, sword, and streamers hung up, placed by the Herald." (Act II). In Act III a page says to Antonio, visiting the church: "Those streamers bear his [Andrugio's, Antonio's father] arms." Antonio says: "Set tapers to the tomb." Soon Andru-

pre-Restoration conditions), describes it (p. 408) as one of the public houses, which were only partially roofed, and which therefore needed no artificial illumination. I have already shown that it once had three doors, though the picture hardly allows room for more than one. The theater must therefore have been rebuilt at some time in its history, and the picture of 1656 can be of little authority for the period before 1603.

gio's ghost rises, saying: "Lo, the ghost of old Andrugio, Forsakes his coffin."

Without the actors leaving the stage, the scene changes to the space before the palace where the body of Feliche is hung up, and the scene closes with the direction: "Exeunt at several doors." Unless one would accept the idea that the tomb remained in plain sight even during the last part of the scene, one must suppose the curtain to have been closed with the change of scene, but that it did conceal the doors.

The Wisdom of Dr. Dodypoll (1600, Paul's), III, 3. The scene is described as a valley near a green hill. Fairies bring in a banquet, and a peasant, spying a cup, steals it and disappears. "Enter the spirit with banquetting stuffe, and missing the pesant, lookes up and downe for him; the rest wondering at him; to them enters the Enchanter." To this company Lassingbergh and Lucilia enter, and the Enchanter binds him by magic. No exeunt direction closes the scene, and the fourth scene, located in another place, opens with the direction: "Enter Alberdure at one doore, and meetes with the Pesant at the other doore." The succeeding (fifth) scene is again at the place of the third scene, beginning with: "Enter Enchanter, leading Luc. and Lass. bound by spirits; who being laid down on a green banck, the spirits fetch in a banquet." The only explanation at all consistent with Brodmeier's theories would be to place the green bank and the banquet on the rear stage: the curtain would close at the end of sc. 3, and open again for sc. 5, but the doors would necessarily be outside the curtain. In any other way a clash would result.

Alchemist (1610, Kings'), V, 1, plainly uses one door at least for the entrance to Lovewit's house. Scene 2 is within the house and uses chests. A clash will therefore result if the doors are concealed by the curtain.

Captain Thomas Stukeley (1605; dated by Simpson, 1598), II. 120-335 are before an inn, on the way to Tom's chamber, and finally within the chamber, which is entered by a door. The next scene is in an entirely different place and begins with: "Enter at one door Cross the Mercer, at another Spring the Vintner."

Poetaster (acted 1601, Chapel Children), IV, 2, is short,

with hardly fifty lines. At the beginning Lupus says: "Shut the door, lictor;" but sc. 3 opens at a feast, and the stage is set with chairs or stools, for Ovid says: "Gods and goddesses, take your several seats." Again the most obvious staging which will avoid a clash is to place sc. 3 on the rear stage and to suppose that the door was not concealed by the curtains.

Wonder of Women (1606, Blackfriars), III, 1; near the end has a direction: "They lay Vangue in Syphax' bed and draw the curtains." Act III, sc. 2, begins: "Enter Scipio and Lælius, with the complements of Roman Generals before them. At the other door, Massinissa and Jugurth." Even if the curtains mentioned are those of the bed, the bed, according to Brodmeier, would be on the rear stage and a clash would result in sc. 2—unless, of course, the doors were outside the curtain.

Timon of Athens (written in 1607?; 1623), V, 1, 2, 3, 4: Scene 1 is before Timon's cave, which Brodmeier places in the rear stage (p. 19). sc. 2 is probably before the walls of Athens, as the Globe direction says, though there is nothing to set the scene definitely but the third Senator's "in, and prepare." Scene 3, however, is, as plainly as any scene can be, again, as in sc. 1, the woods before Timon's cave; moreover, something now stands for Timon's tomb. Brodmeier says this scene is on the front stage, but only, it seems, because he would otherwise be forced into a clash with sc. 4, which is again before the walls of Athens and alludes to the "gates," that is the doors. Yet, if the doors and balcony were outside the curtain, all would be simple—Timon's cave, the woods, and the tomb could be on the rear stage, sc. 1 and 3 would be *in*, the other two be *out*.

Other examples are not difficult to cite: In Shakespeare, for example, *Cymbeline*, II, 2, 3; *Taming of the Shrew*, V. 1, 2; *Richard II*, 1, 3, 4; all of which Brodmeier explains by more or less acceptable split scenes;¹ but these are enough to show the nature of the illustrations possible. I have chosen examples which represent leading theaters—Paul's, the Rose, Blackfriars, and the Globe; these plays suggest that in each the doors were not concealed by the curtain.

¹ See *infra*, p. 31, for explanation of this means of avoiding clashes.

Scenes tending to show the same stage construction are found in several other plays, but the evidence is not directly applicable. The situations are generally of this nature: One or more characters enter, and almost as soon as they are on the stage the curtains open, displaying something surprising or at least unknown to them. Or sometimes, near the end of a scene, the curtains close and characters remaining on the stage exeunt, but, according to the intention of the dramatist, *not* through the curtained space. In many cases beds are in use, so that bed curtains may be meant by the word "curtains" or "discover" of the directions; but since it can certainly be shown that stage curtains existed in every important theater, it is usually more reasonable to suppose that it is the stage curtains which are referred to.

The Woman in the Moon (published 1597; written, Bond, 1591-93, Paul's), I, 1: Four Shepherds ask Nature for a female; she promises them one and they exeunt, after which the maidens "draw the Curtins from before Nature's shop, where stands an Image clad, and some vnclad, they bring forth the cloathed image," and it becomes Pandora. The shepherds could hardly have gone out through the "shop" curtain.

Henry VIII (acted 1613), II, 2: The Lord Chamberlain is reading a letter when Suffolk and Norfolk come to him. They ask: "How is the king imployed?" The Chamberlain replies: "I left him priuate, Full of sad thoughts and troubles." Norfolk suggests that they go in to the king, but the Chamberlain refuses. "Exit Lord Chamberlaine, and the King drawes the Curtaine and sits reading pensiuely." Suffolk speaks and the king, disturbed, starts up angrily. Brodmeier (p. 57), of course, has the scene begin on the front stage, but, since he supposes all the doors to be behind the curtain, is forced to have the nobles enter and Lord Chamberlain depart through the curtain, the latter action being especially incongruous. If the curtain does not hide the doors, the Lord Chamberlain enters through the curtain, the nobles come in through one door, he exits in the same way, and all is simple, fitting, and clear.

Sir Giles Goosecap (1660, Chapel; acted, Fleay, 1601), V, 2:

The plan is to bring certain people near to the chamber of Clarence, who is feigning sickness, so he may get conversation with Eugenia, whom he loves. Clarence and the Doctor enter; others come a little later and talk of Clarence, as if he were in another room; Clarence does not see them. All but Clarence exeunt; he "drawes the Curtaines and sits within them" (p. 84). Eugenia immediately enters with two friends, and these three talk for two pages before they rouse Clarence. The staging with the alcove stage is simple and consistent; with the doors concealed by the curtain it could not but be confused and utterly unrealistic, for the visitors would have entered through the very space in which he was concealed.

Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington (1601, Admiral's), III, 4: An old man, Marian's father, enters disguised, talking of how he is coming to see his daughter. Then "Curtains open: Robin Hood sleeps on a green bank, and Marian strewing flowers on him." Marian greets her father kindly, and Friar Tuck and Jenny, dressed like peddlers, enter. Still more come in, one of the last comers saying to Tuck, "Yonder is the bower," and hides to wait for developments. More striking than the inconsistency of the old man's coming in through the curtain, which was so soon to open and display Robin Hood to him, is the improbability of speaking of the rear stage as "yonder," if one had just entered it, as the speaker would have done had the bower been the rear stage, the easiest explanation, and the doors in its back wall, as Brodmeier would have them.

Antonio's Revenge (1602, Paul's), III, 8: Maria, wife of the murdered Andrugio, is preparing for bed. Scene 1 was in a church about a coffin. Presumably the scene was therefore the rear stage, but now in the beginning of sc. 2, it is on the front stage. While she is thus employed, the settings on the rear stage are being changed, for, l. 64, "Maria draweth the curtain: and the ghost of Andrugio is displayed, sitting on the bed." The ghost tells her how treacherously he has been treated, but finally says: "Sleep thou in rest, lo, here I close thy couch." Then the direction says: "Exit Maria to her bed, Andrugio drawing the curtains," He speaks five more lines and then exits. This, of

course, may refer to the bed curtains, but, if it does, the first part of the scene must be on the rear stage, and the clash of two property scenes would have to be explained; for the alternation theory a much more difficult matter.¹

Other examples such as these are numerous. Among those which may be noted are *Humour Out of Breath* (1608, Revels), III, 4; *Life and Death of Thomas, Lord Cromwell* (1602, Chamberlain's) III, 2;² *II Henry IV* (1594; Chamberlain's), III, 2, 3; *Old Fortunatus* (1600, Admiral's), II, 1; *I Honest Whore* (1604), I, 3, in all of which the incongruity of exit or entrance through the rear stage is marked.

Situations like these, of course, might not seem incongruous to an Elizabethan. If he were accustomed to them, he would receive them as he would any inherently impossible dramatic convention—dramatic time, for example. In that case the illustrations cited merely call attention to an, as yet, unnoticed stage custom. But to arrange the stage so as to avoid this incongruity is so easy that it seems fair to admit these cases as evidence of the alcove rear stage. It is true that two other explanations have been suggested—one by Archer,³ who would have characters in such scenes come around the pillars, as the messenger seems to have done in the Swan picture; the other by Bang,⁴ who would divide the rear stage into two parts. Both are intended to explain how such scenes could be arranged on a stage similar to the Swan's, and therefore are less to be regarded. Archer's explanation is perhaps true for such a theater, but would not apply to the other theaters of which pictures exist. Bang's seems to me quite impossible. Actions on such a rear stage as he pre-

¹To be sure "curtain" is used in the first direction; "curtains" in the second; but I know no reason for thinking them different. The stage directions, carelessly written and carelessly printed, are not to be too curiously or minutely examined. If there were a difference, "curtains" in the above direction would mean the bed curtain, and "curtain," the stage curtain. But in the same play near the end is the direction, "The curtains are drawn, Piero departeth," where there is no doubt of the plural form, and no possibility that bed curtains are referred to.

²This is the scene which BANG, with amusing exclamation, cites as showing how students have completely forgotten the necessity of providing for entrance to the front stage (*Jahrbuch*, Vol. XL, pp. 223-25). KELLER's answer (*ibid.*, pp. 225-27) is unsatisfactory; there is absolutely no authority for assuming the balcony, as he does in such instances, and in most cases it will not suit the directions at all.

³*Universal Review*, June 15, 1888, pp. 281-88.

⁴*Jahrbuch*, Vol. XL, pp. 223-25.

sents—one divided by curtains into two narrow deep parts—would be almost, if not entirely, invisible to a large part of the audience in the old circular theaters. Brodmeier attempts no special explanation of such scenes.

If the alcove stage be granted, directions and situations in the plays are explained which are otherwise puzzling. The direction in *Alphonsus* (1599), l. 1255 is explained: "Let there be a brazen Head set in the middle of the place behind the stage, out of the which cast flames of fire, drums rumble within; enter two priests." The order of directions in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1594, Queen's), l. 1890, which Grosart thinks should perhaps be changed, becomes exactly applicable: "Enter two Schollers, sonnes to Lambert and Serlsby. Knocke." The directions in *What You Will* (1607) become intelligible. II, I: The scene is Laverdure's bedroom. "One knocks: Laverdure draws the curtains, sitting on his bed, apparelling himself; his trunk of apparel standing by him," the last showing that a stage curtain was probably used. II, 2: "Enter a schoolmaster, draws the curtains behind, with Battus, Nous, Slip, Nathaniel, and Holofernes Pippo, schoolboys, sitting, with books in their hands." What is the force of "behind"? As the scene is too large to stage it in Brodmeier's "fourth" stage, the curtain "behind" is not one over a single door. The directions exactly fit the situation if the schoolmaster had entered through a door on either side the alcove, and had then drawn open the stage curtain behind him. *Eastward Ho* (1605, Blackfriars), I, 1: "Enter Master Touchstone and Quicksilver at several doors; . . . At the middle door, enter Golding, discovering a goldsmith's shop, and walking short turns before it." This direction, one of the most confusing of all, becomes reasonably plain with the alcove stage and suggests several interesting points. It certainly sounds as if the alcove stage was arranged as a shop, and that Golding, coming through the middle door, drew back the curtain discovering the shop and walked before it. The direction from *Woman in the Moon*, already quoted, is very similar. The shop of *Alexander and Campaspe* (1584, her Majesty's Children and Paul's) is admirably explained by the alcove stage; so is the

pavilion of *David and Bethsabe* (1599), III, 2; and the shop of *Edward IV* (1600), p. 63.¹

The direction of *Eastward Ho*, in saying "the middle door," suggests another consideration. We have assumed that the alcove stage was in the middle between the two other doors; the middle door is probably then the means of entrance to the alcove from the dressing-room. Perhaps the fact that it was usually concealed by the curtain will explain the directions which say, "Enter at one door . . . the other," the dramatist forgetting for the moment the existence of the third entrance, which was usually concealed by the stage curtain.²

These latter illustrations are, however, only of secondary importance. The two great objections to the rear stage of Brodmeier are the fact that a large number of plays show clashes of door scenes with property and curtain scenes, and that in many scenes, if all the doors were concealed by the curtain, the action on the stage would often contradict the plain meaning of the lines. A third argument, hardly capable of direct proof, yet certainly to be carefully considered, is the importance of the doors themselves. They were valuable scenic details; when the balcony is used as the walls of a city, they are nearly always plainly in sight as the gates; when the balcony is the second story of a house, they are its street doors. But, more than this, they had what may be called a symbolic value. By the use of different doors the dramatists were able to show at once that characters entering at the same time came from two or three different places. By the use of scene-boards³ the visible doors

¹Sometimes, however, real separate structures were used on the stage for shops, etc. though I believe the subject of such properties has never been investigated. Their use is clear in *Histrio-mastix* (written 1599?; published 1610): "Enter Lyon-rash to Fourchier sitting in his study at one end of the stage: At the other end enter Vourcher to Velure in his shop." Here there should be two doors—one for Lyon-rash, the other for Vourcher. The study and the shop can hardly be the doors: they cannot be the rear stage, but they must be on the rear stage so their occupants can be discovered. Other plays probably showing the use of structures are *Faery Pastoral*, *Bartholomew Fair*, and *Arden of Feversham*. This is a subject to which I hope to return at some future date.

²Perhaps the direction means rather that the opening of the middle door discovered the shop. Parallel cases, where doors seem used when one might expect curtains, are the non-Shakespearean *Richard II* (1591-96), V, 1, and the *Trial of Chivalry* (1605), II, 3. It is conceivable that the alcove was closed, not only by the curtains, but also by large doors; but more probably common doors are here referred to.

³The existence of such boards has been denied, but always on theoretical grounds, not by any specific facts. So MATTHEWS ("Conventions of the Drama," pp. 257, 258, in *The His-*

became even more useful, for the boards showed from what precise place each party came. This is made absolutely clear in the directions of *The Cuckqueens' and Cuckolds' Errants* (written 1601, Paul's). The general direction reads: "Harwich. In midde of the Stage Colchester with Image of Tarlton, Signe and Ghirlond Vnder him also. The Raungers Lodge, Maldon, A Ladder of Roapes trussed vp neare Harwich. Highest and aloft the Title. The Cuckqueanes and Cuckolds Errants. A Long

torical Novel, 1901), says: "There was no need of the alleged placards declaring the scene; this would have been an intrusion in the eyes of Marlowe's contemporaries, who never cared where the place was so long as the play was interesting. These supposed signs are no more than the Victorian explanation of a need not felt by the Elizabethans; and they are not warranted by the passage of Sidney which is cited in support. So also APPLETON MORGAN (Introduction, *Titus Andronicus*, "Bankside Shakespeare," pp. 31, 32): "But the days when to represent change of scene, placards with 'Africa,' 'Vienna,' 'Paris,' 'Padua,' etc., written upon them were displayed must have been about over when Shakespeare began his career. The realism which began to wheel in a four post bedstead to make a bed room scene . . . certainly would have demanded the retirement of these placards." (See also BRANDL, Introduction, Vol. I, p. 27, and GENEÉ, *Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 133, 139). But the play mentioned in the text is certainly contemporaneous with Shakespeare, and was presumably played at Paul's playhouse, by no means a poorly furnished theater. It is true that the line in the *Spanish Tragedy*, "Hang up the title, our scene is Rhodes" (IV, 3, l. 16), does not, as BRANDL (*loc. cit.*, p. 28), truly observes, refer to scene-boards, but to the title-boards. These title-boards, or their substitutes, were used as early as 1523 when the Paul's boys gave *Phormio* for Cardinal Wolsey. The secretary of the Venetian ambassador wrote: "The hall in which they dined, and where the comedy was performed, had a large garland of box in front, in the center of which was inscribed in gilt letters, 'Terentii Phormio.'" Venetian State Papers, Jan. 8, 1528. These title-boards are perhaps referred to in the accounts of the Revels: "Syse, cullers, pottes, Assydewe, golde, and silver used and occupied for the Garnyshinge of xliij titles," etc. (1579, p. 162, when ten plays were given); "Painting of ix titles with compartmentes, xvs" (1580-81, p. 169, when seven plays were given). The familiar passage in the Induction to *Willy Beguiled* (Fleay dates 1596-97; published 1606) establishes the use of these title-boards beyond question, as do also the general directions of Percy's plays.

But scene-boards existed also, as the directions quoted in the text show. They were not, however, such primitive things as popular fancy represents them. The old stage never saw labels like "This is a street," "This is a house," and seldom such as "This is a tree," or "A mount." There is, so far as I am aware, but one existing direction which would go to prove such labels, that in PERCY's *Faery Pastoral* (written 1603, for Paul's), which, after describing the properties and furnishings of the stage, goes on to say, "Now if so be that the Properties of any of These, that be outward, will not serue the turne by reason of concourse of the People on the Stage, Then you may omit the sayd Properties which be outward and supplye their Places with their Nuncupations onely in Text Letters. Thus forsome." Even here the labels are only a makeshift, and the real properties are assumed as usual. The scene-boards were not to take the place of furnishings so much as the place of programs. It would often be difficult even now to indicate by scenery whether the place of any particular scene were New York, London, or Paris, and this difficulty the scene-boards did away with. JUSSEURAND (*Shakespeare in France*, p. 68) shows that early artists also felt the necessity of labels, reproducing a picture of Benozzo Gozzoli's where such a label is used, and (*Furnivall Memorial*, p. 136) quotes a prologue from an old French play, to the effect, that as for the place names

"vous les povez cognoistre

Par l'escritel que dessus voyez estre,"

That they existed in Elizabethan times, the citations in the text show.

Fourme." The play makes this confusing direction plain. Over one door was the word "Harwich;" over another, "Maldon;" over the middle entrance, "Colchester," with the sign of the inn which the rear stage seems to have represented, for in Act V two maids in this inn sit on the "long fourme" and tell each other dreams. The directions are all in the past tense, as if the author were describing an actual performance. Act I, scene 1, begins, "They entered from Maldon," and the scene all occurs in that place. Scene 2 says, "They [two rogues] mett from Maldon and Harwich," and one says to the other, "Thou beest welcome to Colchester." Scene 3 is in the same place; scene 4, in Harwich, beginning, "They entered from Harwich all" (p. 17), and containing an allusion to "that Ladder, hong." The play continues with this same sort of directions until the end, the place of action being consistent with the place designated by the sign above the doors through which the characters enter. Sidney's famous remark in the *Apology for Poetry* (1581) illustrates the same custom, again connecting the scene-boards with the doors: "What childe is there, that comming to a Play, and seeing *Thebes* written in great letters vpon an olde doore, doth beleene that it is *Thebes*?" (p. 52), and (p. 63), "You shall haue *Asia* of the one side and *Affrick* of the other, and so many other vnder-kingdoms, that the Player, when he commeth in, must euer begin with telling where he is or els the tale will not be conceiued;"—obviously there are limitations to the number of scene-boards. Jasper Mayne in his poem on Jonson, in *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638), says that in Jonson's plays "The stage was still a stage, two entrances Were not two parts o' the world, disjoin'd by seas." So Envy, in the Prologue to the *Poetaster* (1601, Chapel Children), comes expecting to find the scene of the play laid in London. Instead she discovers, obviously from some *visible* source, that it is Rome, saying

The scene is, ha!

Rome? Rome? and Rome? Crack, eye strings, and your balls
Drop into earth.

The triple mention, in view of these other references, suggests that she is reading scene-boards over each door, and from their

uniformity discovers that the scene throughout the play is to be in one city. In *Eastward Ho* (1605, Blackfriars), IV, 1, "Enter Slitgut with a pair of ox-horns, discovering Cuckhold's Haven above," certainly alludes to a similar thing, for that is where the scene is located. Perhaps such a direction as "Enter two Carpenters under Newgate" of *Warning for Fair Women* (1598, Chamberlain's), II, l. 1510, is an evidence of this same custom. This would be perhaps the easiest way to explain ll. 690-870, and 1913-52, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1594, Queen's), in which characters on one part of the stage are able by looking through a glass to see events supposed to be occurring miles away, but which are really acted on the stage at the same time. *Common Conditions* (ca. 1576) and *Two Lamentable Tragedies* (1601) are two other plays which suggest some such conventionalized use of the doors with scene-boards. *Jocasta* also (Grey's Inn, 1566) perhaps used them. Neglecting, however, these few less certain illustrations, the unquestioned ones show clearly that this custom of scene-boards prevailed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They do not, of course, show how general it was, but there is nothing in the directions to indicate that it was anything unusual, and Sidney's and Mayne's reference would imply that it was widely practiced at two widely different dates. All connect it closely with the doors also, which, if this was an established custom, must therefore have been in sight most if not all of the time.

The importance of the doors from this and other causes mentioned, and the necessity that they be in sight throughout the play, the clashes resulting from supposing them only on the rear stage, the incongruous situations arising if all exits from the front stage were made through the curtained space, compel the opinion that in some theaters at least the doors were not hidden by the curtain. I would not claim but one form of theater. The Swan could not have had an alcove stage; the Red Bull picture shows no alcove stage; the Roxana and Messallina pictures, though they might be construed to do so, perhaps do not. But, in view of the evidence of the plays, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the lateness of date of the three pictures, and the general

inapplicability of the Swan picture, it does not seem too much of an assumption to admit the alcove stage as one of the possible forms, if not as the most general form of stage construction.

Probably Brodmeier would object that rear-stage scenes, and "fourth" stage scenes were being confused, and that the alcove stage would not be large enough for all the rear-stage scenes of the plays. On the contrary, the curtained space of the *Roxana*, the *Messallina*, or the *Red Bull* picture, even if very shallow, would be large enough for practically every scene certainly played on the rear stage. The plays do demand a rear stage of considerable size; the following directions prove that: "An arras is drawne, and behinde it (as in sessions) sit the L. Maior, Iustice Suresbie, and other Justices; Sheriffe Moore and the other Sherife sitting by. Smart is the plaintife, Lifter the prisoner at the barre" (p. 6, *Sir Thomas More*, ca 1590). "Winchester, Arundel, and other Lords, discovered; the Lord Treasurer kneeling at the council-table" (p. 188, *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, 1607, Queen's). In II *Tamburlaine*, II, 4 (1690, Admiral's), a bed and eleven people occupied the rear stage, and in *Lust's Dominion* (1657, but certainly an early play), I, 3, at least seven people are discovered. More instances might be cited, but I know of no specific direction for more people than this to be discovered on the rear stage. But because the rear stage was large enough to hold eleven people and a bed is no reason for supposing a larger stage than that behind the curtains of the pictures. Brodmeier's rear-stage scenes may require a larger stage, but the proof that they were rear-stage scenes is because, on account of them, the rear stage must have been large. Such argument in a circle proves nothing. Even if these were rear-stage scenes, the rear stage of the *Messallina* or the *Roxana* stage would probably suffice. Brodmeier, in making the distinction between scenes on the *Vorderbühne* and *Hinterbühne*, or what I, in consequence, have called *out* and *in* scenes, seems to have forgotten that most, if not all, *Hinterbühne* scenes are really full stage scenes. On his stage, especially, no marked distinction between the two stages could have existed. An alcove stage, perhaps, was elevated above

the floor of the rear stage,¹ but on the Swan Theater stage, as soon as the imagined curtains are drawn, no distinction remains. The alcove stage is amply sufficient for staging all the unquestioned rear-stage scenes of plays dating between 1577 and 1603. It need not necessarily have been small. As has been pointed out, it could in the Fortune have been twenty feet long, and then have left ten feet on either side for the doors. In the Roxana and Messallina pictures the curtained space is represented as at least twelve feet wide, and the Roxana does not show the whole width.² Brodmeier denies (p. 62) that the curtains of these pictures—the only ones showing a curtain of any kind, one remembers—are true stage curtains, because the concealed space is too small; but at the same time is forced to think the cell of Prospero in the *Tempest* not the rear stage, because the rear stage which he assumes is too large for it (p. 64). The fact is that Brodmeier, in increasing the importance of the rear stage to fit the alternation theory, has increased its size until, in both size and frequency of use, it surpasses the front stage. Yet the unmistakable evidence of the plays and the pictures is that the front, not the rear stage, was the larger and the more used. Common-sense points to the same consideration. To suppose, as Brodmeier does (p. 8), that all the “play” in the *Taming of a Shrew* was on the rear stage is, on the face of it, unreasonable. Speech on the rear stage, inclosed as he would have it, would be inaudible to most of the house, and action so far removed from the audience, especially on a stage whose front portion was crowded with spectators, would be invisible. Instead of most actions occurring on the rear stage, no matter whether it were the alcove stage or Brodmeier’s, the larger number of scenes, even when they began on the rear stage, must have moved down toward the front of the stage, into the center of the theater, close to the audience. This is perhaps one reason why so few scenes open or close with “situations.” The door and balcony tests, then, rest

¹ This supposition would explain a little more easily than the balcony *Wounds of Civil War* (1594, Admiral’s), IV, 1; *Titus Andronicus* (1600, Chamberlain’s and others), V, 2.

² The basis for this estimate is the height of the railing, which could be scarcely less than a foot; nothing is allowed, moreover, for perspective.

on a false view of the stage and disregard the plain evidence of the plays.

The only other important test¹ which Brodmeier employs is that of the use of properties: scenes set with properties are from that reason rear stage scenes.² For this test there seems to a modern reader to be more probability than for any other. Naturally, if there was a curtain, the properties would be arranged behind it. This is especially true of a certain class of properties, like rocks, shops, trees, woods, and tombs, which are naturally immovable. It is true to a lesser degree of beds and thrones. The placing of such furnishings takes time and, if done in plain

¹The possibility of confusing the stage curtain and bed curtain has already been discussed. It should be noted that the curtain is sometimes referred to in different ways. A very common mode of indicating it is by the word "discover": "Winchester, Arundel, and other Lords, discovered; the Lord Treasurer kneeling at the council-table." (*Sir Thomas Wyatt*, p. 183, 1607, Queen's). Sometimes, however, doors are used for discoveries—as in *Woman is a Weathercock* (pp. 49, 50, Whitefriars, entered 1611). "Enter Scudmore, like a serving man, with a letter." "Scudmore passeth one door, and entereth the other, where Bellafont sits asleep in a chair, under a taffata canopy." Sometimes, as BRODMEIER suggests (p. 92), "enter" means rather a discovered scene. So in *Cymbeline*, II, 2 (folio), "Enter Imogen in her bed, and a lady," the scene seems surely an *in* scene, as does also *Histrionastix* (1610; dated by Simpson, 1599), II, 1. "Enter Plenty in Majesty, upon a Throne; heapes of gold; Plutus, Ceres & Bacchus doing homage;" and "Enters a Schoomaker, sitting vpon the stage at worke;" *George A Greene* (p. 993, 1599, Sussex's; Henslowe, 1593). However, "Enter Semele drawne out in her bed," *Silver Age* (p. 154, 1613), clearly should be a discovery, but quite as clearly is not. Sometimes, not always, the word "arras" means the curtain, a circumstance which makes doubtful another of Brodmeier's tests. In the following direction it seems very clearly the curtain: "An arras is drawne, and behinde it (as in sessions) sit the L. Maior, Iustice Suresbie, and other Justices; Sheriffe Moore and the other Sherife sitting by. Smart is the plaintife, Lifter the prisoner at the barre" (*Sir Thomas More* p. 6, ca. 1590). The only test of Brodmeier's of any importance not yet discussed is the use of the trap, which he suggests to have been inside the curtain. See the following scenes to show that it was not always so: *Looking Glass for London*, II. 558 ff.; *The Wonder of Women*, III, 1; and the general direction to Percy's MSS play *Aphrodisial* (dated 1603, for Paul's), "A Trap door in the middle of the stage."

A test for the rear stage not mentioned by Brodmeier, but given by Kilian, is the presence of "dead" or "sleeping" persons in a scene with no one to remove them. Usually bodies are removed, something in directions or text showing plainly that this was done, as in *Antonio's Revenge* (1602, Paul's), IV, 1, or II *Tamburlaine* (1590, Admiral's), II, 3. Even when there is no hint of removal, but when other characters are on the stage who probably could bear away the bodies, it is often best to suppose that the specific direction is merely forgotten. But in *Endimion* (1571, Paul's), II, 3, it is much better for the play that Endimion remain asleep upon the stage, and the same is true in *Dido* (1594, Chapel), II, 1, of Ascanius. In *Edward I* (1593), sc. 16, there is no one left to remove the body, and in II *Edward IV* (1600, Derby's), p. 155, the bodies of the two princes seem brought on the stage for the sole purpose of leaving them there.

²BRODMEIER says (p. 97): "Bühneninventar wird nur auf die Hinterbühne gebracht," He does feel forced to have (p. 14) the bed of II *Henry IV*, IV, 4, stand on the front stage for a little while, but says: "Dennach ware dieses die einzige Stelle die ein grösseres Inventarstück auf die Vorderbühne bringt." The exception implied in "grösseres" can mean little, however, for (p. 91) he supposes *Coriolanus*, I, 3, a rear stage scene because two stools are used in it.

sight, more or less disturbs dramatic illusion. We modern readers, accustomed to a stage with an ideal of complete illusion, naturally tend to put such scenes on the rear stage, where they could be arranged out of the sight of the audience. Yet if "clashes" mean anything this supposition is not true. In many plays a property scene occurs immediately after another property scene, or after a scene for some other reason to be considered an *in* scene. One scene or the other, according to the alternation theory, must therefore have been played on the front stage. Of course, one fundamental principle of the theory is that no property did stand on the front stage, but another is that the performance was continuous. One or the other must give way, and the falseness of the first is shown by the Swan picture itself, where the bench, the only property shown by any of the pictures, stands, not in the supposed curtain space, but far out upon the front stage.

The general direction of the *Faery Pastoral* (written for Paul's in 1603) shows the same thing:

Highest, aloft and on the Top of the Musick Tree the Title The Faery Pastorall, Beneath him pind on Post of the Tree The Scene Eluida Forrest. Lowest off all ouer the Canopie ΝΑΠΑΙΤΒΟΔΑΙΟΝ or Faery Chappell. A Kiln of Brick. A Fowen Cott. A Hollowe Oake with vice of wood to shutt to. A Lowe well with Roape and Pullye. A Fourme of Turues. A greene Bank being Pillowe to the Hed but. Lastly A Hole to creep in and out. Now if so be that the properties of any of These, that be outward, will not serue the turne by reason of concurse of the People on the Stage, Then you may omitt the sayd Properties which be outward and supplye their Places with their Nuncupations onely in Text Letters. Thus for some.

"The sayd Properties which be outward" can hardly mean anything else than that some usually stood out on the front stage, and that they would thus be in the way of the spectators sitting on the stage. Probably in this play these properties were the kiln, the bank, the cot, the hollow oak, and the well; for only the chapel seems to be concealed by the "canopy." These instances alone show one of the main principles of alternation not always to have been true; the following scenes from other plays indicate the same thing:

Dido (1594, Chapel Children, III, 1).—If the pictures which Aeneas is describing as visible were represented at all, they must have been hung on the front stage, for sc. 2 must begin with the discovery of Ascanius.

In *Looking Glass for London* (1594), l. 558, Remilia says: "Shut close these Curtaines straight, and shadow me." "They draw the Curtaines, and Musicke plaies." Then Magi enter, and, at the command of the king, "the Magi with their rods beate the ground, and from vnder the same riseth a braue Arbour." Meanwhile the king exits, to return in more splendid attire. Directly after his re-entrance it thunders, the king "drawes the Curtaines, and findes her stroken with thunder, blacke." Here there is not only a property, the arbour, outside the curtain, but the trap-door, which Brodmeier supposes in the rear stage, is also obviously not concealed by it. In much the same way in *Wonder of Women* (1606, Blackfriars) the altar and trap are without the curtains in III, 1, and V, 1.

David and Bethsabe (1599): In II, 2, there is a banquet; in sc. 3, a banquet; but in sc. 4 a throne and the balcony as the walls of a town are employed together. Thus three property scenes come in succession.

Alexander and Campaspe (1584, Paul's and Her Majesty's Children), III, 3, 4: If the shop in which sc. 3 occurs was the rear stage, as is at least possible, Diogenes' tub of sc. 4 must have been on the front stage. In the last scene the shop is described as in sight at the same time. A similar situation is to be found in V, 3, 4. This play is most easily explained by making the alcove stage the shop, and by placing the tub near one of the doors. It is curious to observe however—and this perhaps would make one think the shop a structure—that no concealed entrance is necessary for it; all people appearing in it go in and come out of it in plain sight of the audience.

Alphonsus (1599), III, 1, 2: Scene 1 uses a chair which should be throne-like, but perhaps was not; so does sc. 2, but the scene is in a different country. Scene 2, moreover, employs a trap-door and, perhaps, woods, a change of place from the palace to a solitary grove occurring without clearing the stage. Unless

one prefers supposing chair and woods on the rear stage at the same time, one must place either woods or chair on the front stage.

Sapho and Phao (1584, Paul's and Her Majesty's Children), IV, 3: At the end of the scene Sapho orders her maids to "draw the curtains." There is no exeunt direction for them. Scene 4 should use a forge in the shop of Vulcan; in V, 1, this forge is alluded to as present; it was probably used, therefore, in both scenes; in V, 1, it is apparently near one of the doors, and the seat of Sapho is also in view.

The Old Wives' Tale (1595, Queen's): This play is one succession of property clashes. If the cell of Sacrapant is the rear stage, both the well and the cross must be outside the curtain (see Part II for more detailed description).

These scenes are none of them conclusive, for by using structures for the shop, etc., or doors for some of the discoveries, it is perhaps possible to explain all the plays without placing properties on the front stage. But why should this be considered necessary? The *Faery Pastoral* and *Swan* pictures show that properties did stand on the front stage. It must have been set with stools for the spectators, and these were no doubt used in scenes requiring seats, even perhaps for such large scenes as the Senate of Rome. Tables also are brought in extremely often or assumed without any direction whatever. If all scenes where seats are used were classed as *in* scenes, many plays would be nothing but a continual series of clashes; the *Staple of News* (1625), for example, or almost any of Jonson's plays. Plays are extremely numerous, moreover, in which larger properties are brought in; for example, II *Henry VI*, (1623); *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* (1605), and *Golden Age* (1611, Queen's at Red Bull),¹ which show that even so awkward a property as a bed was

¹II *Henry VI*, folio, 134, has the direction: "Bed put forth", *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* (1605), p. 200: The scene is an antechamber in which a commission is waiting for Elizabeth. A woman says she will tell Elizabeth, but Tame says: "It shall not need . . . Presse after her, my Lord." "Enter Elizabeth in her bed." She says: "We are not pleased with your intrusion, Lords." This can perhaps, since it is so very unrealistic, be interpreted as a discovered scene. *The Golden Age*, 1611 (Queen's, Red Bull), p. 67, cannot so be explained, however. The direction reads: "Enter the foure old Beldams drawing out Danae's bed: she in it." The scene changes as in the instance just mentioned, from antechamber to bedroom.

sometimes brought upon the stage without the slightest explanation. Perhaps these properties were not used on the front stage, but wherever used they were brought on in sight of the audience, which amounts to the same thing. The only obvious reason for not supposing properties on the front stage is the difficulty, delay, and lack of realism in the bringing on and taking off. Difficulty and delay one may admit, but realism—so far as the plays go, there is no indication that the Elizabethans were at all adverse to the bringing on of furnishings before them. If one can judge from the frequent occurrence and long continuance of the custom, they rather enjoyed it. At any rate, the burden of proof is decidedly upon the alternationists when they assume that, because of this dislike, or more probably because of modern dislike for such a practice, properties were never used on the front stage.

Of the other principles, the one that no two *in* scenes, differently set, could directly succeed each other, is of course undeniable. Some pause, however short, was necessary for the rearrangement. The alternationists, insistent upon a continuous performance, have however, assumed that the dramatists composed special *out* scenes for the sole purpose of filling these pauses.¹ Any short scene apparently unnecessary to the plot, they, for that reason, label at once as an *out* scene, and the scenes before and after as *in* scenes. The *Merchant of Venice* (1596, 1600), III, 5, is a case in point.² It is the punning conversation of Launcelot and Jessica, and, its value not being easily apparent to a modern reader, it is at once selected as an *out* scene, even though it ends the act; and there is no reason, therefore, for supposing an *out* scene at all. Having determined that scene 5 is an *out* scene, of course, scene 4 becomes as *in* scene—and another proof of alternation is thus secured. But such scenes may have arisen from very different reasons: to allow a change of costume, or, as perhaps in this case, to give the actor of the part of Launcelot an opportunity to display his talents. An author did not need to bother himself

¹ KILIAN (*Jahrbuch*, XXXVI, p. 235) is so insistent upon a continuous performance that he denies even the act intermissions, unmindful of the numerous clashes which would result and the specific directions, of such plays as *Wars of Cyrus* (1594, Chapel), I; the "plat" of *Dead Man's Fortune* (1592-93); *Wonder of Women* (1606, Blackfriars); and all of Percy's plays, written apparently for Paul's at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

² See KILIAN, *loc. cit.*

to fill the slight pauses arising from the stage management. Most of the pauses must have been short—the *out* scenes suggested to fill them average about two minutes in length; why should the spectators for so short a time require special amusement? Such scenes did not shorten the play, nor, according to the theory, improve it; they were mere stop-gaps. If it were necessary to have something going on, the orchestra was always ready to play or the clown to come in with his jigs and nonsense.¹ The alternation theory, when it goes so far as this, seems to me to be solving a non-existent difficulty, and to be useless and improbable. As presented by Brodmeier, however, it is much more credible. He admits the act intermissions (see, for example, p. 79); he admits the use of music, even within the act, to fill the time used in setting properties (p. 90); he recognizes split scenes, without emphasizing, however, that they are a custom before unnoted by students, and therefore deserving of more attention.²

With all these exceptions and variations—and without them the theory is not to be received—the alternation theory loses most of its force as a constructive influence on the plays. *In* scenes were not unnecessarily preceded by *out* scenes; there were a number of ways to avoid them, and Brodmeier wisely does not emphasize, indeed hardly alludes to, what former writers have made much of. As stated by him, the theory amounts, constructively, hardly to more than saying that *in* scenes were often preceded by *out* scenes—a fact no one would deny. But in attempting to prove alternation important and of wide applica-

¹ (See HALL, quoted in BULLEN's Marlowe, Vol. I, p. xx).

² In a split scene the action begins on the rear stage, but gradually transfers itself to the front stage. At first it uses properties, and the impression of location is strong, but toward the end the conversation itself usually shows either by an absence of reference or by some direct hint that the setting is no longer before the audience. Some such scene seems to be described by GENÉE (*Entwicklung des scenischen Theaters*, pp. 42, 43) as occurring on the stage of Johann Rist, 1647 in Königsberg—a stage which he thinks showed English influence. A typical scene occurs in *Histrionastix*, II, 1, 2 (written 1599?; published 1610). Scene 1 begins; "Enter Plenty in Majesty, upon a Throne; heapes of gold; Plutus, Ceres, Bacchus doing homage." Scene 2 has a curtain drawn discovering a "Market set about a Crosse". The throne is left vacant at l. 46, when the curtain could have been closed, the action transferred to the front stage, and the rear stage rearranged.

Split scenes must be assumed very often if the alternation theory is to be held at all. Brodmeier even in Shakespeare is compelled to resort to them many times; for example, *Richard II*, 1, 3, 4 (p. 84); *Henry VIII*, 1, 2, 3 (p. 86); *Richard III*, 4, 5 (p. 92); *Hamlet*, III, 1, 2 (p. 94).

tion he uses tests for *in* scenes which are found, when applied logically and completely to contemporary plays, to be self-contradictory and rather to discredit than prove the theory. They rest either on an unproved reconstruction of the stage, as in the case of the door and balcony tests, or, in that of the properties, on a modern idea of dramatic propriety. The whole theory as an important factor in play-construction is as yet only a figment of the imagination; and the fact that the plays of Shakespeare have been arranged according to it proves hardly more than that the imagination has worked consistently. The more complete a play is in directions, the more difficulty does it present when one tries to make it conform to the alternation system. Conversely, the early plays, like *Cambises* (ca. 1570), which have almost no stage or property directions, probably because they were played on the simplest of stages and with practically no furnishings, are for that reason the easiest to arrange into brilliant examples of alternation. All this throws doubt on the theory.

But worse than this is an objection which not only would make it unproved, but unprovable. Perhaps no plays can be accepted as reliable evidence in this matter. The alternation theory rests largely on the succession of scenes, and must therefore deal with copies of the plays which represent them as they were actually produced. Such notes as the following are therefore disquieting: From the printer's address, *Tamburlaine*, 1592:

I have purposely omitted and left out some fond and frivolous gestures, digressing, and, in my poor opinion, far unmeet for the matter, which I thought might seem more tedious unto the wise than any way else to be regarded, though haply they have been of some vain-conceited fondlings greatly gaped at, what time they were showed upon the stage in their graced deformities.

A note in a MS version of *Bonduca* (*Athenæum*, February 14, 1903) explaining an hiatus in the text:

The occasion why these [scenes] are wanting here, the books whereby it was first acted from is lost; and this hath bene transcribed from the fowle papers of the Author wh. were found.

Stationer to the Reader, 1647 Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher:

One thing I must answer before it is objected; 'tis this. When these comedies and tragedies were presented on the stage, the actors omitted some scenes and passages with the author's consent as occasion led them: and when private friends desired a copy, they then and justly too, transcribed what they acted; but now you have both all that was acted and all that was not, even the full perfect originals without the least mutilation, so that were the authors living they themselves would challenge neither more nor less than what is here put down, this volume being now so complete and finished that the reader must expect no future alterations.

If publishers took the liberty of editing whole scenes away, if the authors MSS do not represent the acted versions, if these MSS were themselves sometimes incomplete and defective, there is little chance for proving a theory which rests entirely on the acted alternation of scenes.

Yet if the alcove stage be allowed, there certainly are in the plays hints of alternation. *Old Fortunatus* (1600, Admiral's), perhaps by chance, perhaps by the very necessities of the story, falls into an almost perfect succession of *in* and *out* scenes; so does *Antonio's Revenge* (1602, Paul's), if one assume several split scenes. *Sir Giles Goosecap* (1606, Chapel), V; *Edward I* (1593), V; *Arden of Feversham* (1592), V, provided the texts are accepted as complete, also illustrate it. In most of these cases the directions themselves practically demand the rear stage. When that is the case, no one can deny the existence of alternation. Sometimes it does even happen that an unfurnished scene intervenes between two obvious rear-stage scenes, and alternation is undoubtedly illustrated. But when, as most of the time, alternation rests only on unproved tests arising from an unproved stage, and is based upon the exact succession of scenes in texts of whose integrity, in view of contemporary comments, no one can be sure, the theory becomes rather a pleasant exercise of the imagination, an imposition of modern ideas upon ancient custom, than an established principle of the universal method of Elizabethan staging. It is unproved as yet, and, in view of the difficulty of securing adequate tests or absolutely certain sources of information, seems almost incapable of proof. It may be accepted as an occasional method of staging; but as the universal

and common and fundamental principle which every dramatist was bound to observe, it certainly cannot be accepted. Indeed some plays cannot at all be explained by it; these, with the staging which they illustrate, will be considered in Part II.

GEORGE F. REYNOLDS.

SHATTUCK SCHOOL,
Faribault, Minn.







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Modern Philology
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